

THE MORMON KINGDOM



VOLUME 2

Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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1. WORKS OF DARKNESS

After the Mormons were driven from Missouri, they gathered in Illinois and built the city of Nauvoo. Within a few years, however, the Mormons found themselves in serious trouble with the people in Illinois. In 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were assassinated by a mob, and in 1846 the Mormons were driven from Illinois. John Whitmer, one of the eight witnesses to the Book of Mormon, made these comments concerning this matter:

After Smith's return to Kirtland, Ohio, . . . He from this time began to be lifted up in the pride of his eyes, and began to seek riches and the glory of the world; also sought to establish the ancient order of things, as he and his counsellors, Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, pleased to call it. Therefore, they began to form themselves into a secret society which they termed the brother of Gideon, in the which society they took oaths that they would support a brother right or wrong, even to the shedding of blood. . . .

Thus things were carried on by secret plots and midnight machinations, which society was beginning to be established in Kirtland, Ohio, in the fall of 1836. The formation of these things together with adultery, wickedness and abominations which grew and multiplied in the heads and members of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints brought Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum to an untimely end, as also the scattering of the Church, and the Twelve who assumed the authority of leading the Church, were scattered from Nauvoo and suffered great afflictions. (*John Whitmer's History*, page 24)

While we cannot endorse the methods used by the people of Illinois in driving the Mormons out, there is another side to the story which the Mormon leaders do not tell their people. Actually, there were many reasons why the people of Illinois became disturbed with the Mormons, and we feel that John Whitmer's statements regarding this matter are very close to the truth. In the following pages we will deal with some of the practices which led the Mormons into trouble in Illinois and later in Utah.

VIOLENT METHODS

The people of Illinois were very disturbed by the violent methods used by the Mormon leaders. In the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, page 29, we quoted Joseph Smith as saying:

Josiah Butterfield came to my house and insulted me so outrageously that **I kicked him out of the house, across the yard, and into the street.** (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 5, page 316)

Brigham Young, the second president of the Mormon Church, was very prone to use violent methods in dealing with apostates and enemies of the church. On one occasion he stated:

Now, you Gladdenites, **keep your tongues still, lest sudden destruction come upon you.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 83)

Ebenezer Robinson related the following:

In the early spring, a singular circumstance transpired. A brother from Canada, who was stopping at brother Truman O. Angel's, became very much exercised, spiritually, and fasted and prayed, as we were told, for several days, when one morning, just after daylight he came out of the house and passed along near where we lived, hallooing at the top of his voice, warning the people and the nations to repent and prepare for the things which were coming upon the earth. The people came running together to see what was the matter, thinking perhaps there might be a house on fire. We remember of seeing brother Joseph Smith, jr., come in haste with a water bucket in his hand, and when he learned the cause of the outcry, turned back, and walking with his head down, seemed to be in deep thought, and have a heavy heart, but **Brigham Young came with a raw-hide whip, and whipped the man back into the house.** (*The Return*, vol. 1, page 115)

In the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 31-42, we show that the early Mormon leaders taught the doctrine of “Blood Atonement”—i.e., that those who committed certain sins should be put to death to atone for those sins. Brigham Young made these statements in one of his sermons:

This loving our neighbor as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is **necessary to spill his blood** on the earth in order that he may be saved, **spill it**. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin **requiring the shedding of blood**, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until **your blood should be spilled**, that you might gain that salvation you desire. **That is the way to love mankind.** (Sermon by Brigham Young, delivered in the Mormon Tabernacle, February 8, 1857, printed in *Deseret News*, February 18, 1857; also reprinted in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 219-220)

Besides the death penalty the Mormon leaders used whipping and castration to keep their people in line. Brigham Young recorded the following in his history under the date of September 6, 1846:

Daniel Barnham, Pelatiah Brown and Jackson Clothier received thirty lashes each, administered by the Marshal with a hickory switch, upon the bare back, for illicit intercourse with females. (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” September 6, 1846, typed copy)

Under the date of September 12, 1846, Brigham Young wrote:

Some boys have been whipped in camp, and it is right. I did not know of it till after it was done.

The next day Brigham Young preached a sermon in which we find the following:

Prest. Young said, . . .

There have been some feelings of late in the camp because some unruly boys have been flogged by the Marshal for their wickedness; . . . The Marshal has not whipped the boys enough, if he had, they would not have spit out their revenge, he should have whipped it out of them. . . . He [Brigham Young] would swear by the Eternal God that such conduct should be stopped, and if it is continued he would tell the Marshal what the law is, and such transgressors should be taken care of, in a manner that they would not whine. He said, he would whip any man that would sustain such corruption. . . . (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” September 13, 1846)

Hosea Stout speaks of this same matter in his journal:

Friday September 4th 1846. . . . I went to a council at Rockwoods . . . While here I saw Br Wilford Woodruff who informed me of the conduct of some young men towards some young women. President Young had also

previously given me charge to keep a sharp look out for them and that they had undertaken to get hold of them and some one informed them what was up

Elder Woodruff said that they and the girls had been out for fifteen nights in succession untill after two o'clock and that it was his wish & the wish of the President that I should take the matter in hand and see that they had a just punishment by whipping them and for me to take my own course and use my own judgement in executing the same I told him that I would see to it This was I believe the first step taken since we were in the wilderness to enforce obedience to the Law of God or to punish a transgressor for a breach of the same. The crimes of these men were adultery or having carnal communication with the girls which was well known to many and the legal punishment was death

Saturday Sept 5th 1846. I was busy in making preperation to execute the order of the President and Br Woodruff . . . we went to the timber towards the meeting ground where one of these men was chopping wood. . . .

When we came he suspected our business and was uncommonly excited He began to plead and wanted to see Br Woodruff or Brigham and tried every way to get to come into camp but it was all in vain. He had seen Woodruff & did not make satisfaction nor could he as Woodruff told him this side of hell for he told him that nothing short of fire & brimstone could cleanse them so when we came two of us having guns he never thought of anything else but to be killed forth with. This was what excited him so much At length I told in a few words that we must execute our orders . . . He was weeping & begging all the time. At length he exclaimed that he did not want to be taken off and killed this way. I then first discovered what he expected so I told him that he was not to be killed. He then expected we were going to put the next worst punishment on him [Juanita Brooks states that “The second worst punishment was emasculation.”] so then I told him that we were only going to give him a severe whipping. We took him to a good place and the Marshall gave him 18 hard lashes, which striped him well but did not bring the blood after which we taught him the principles of the law and the just punishment for such crimes and what he need to expect if ever we had to visit him again now since we had declared to him the law of God. His name was Daniel Barnum . . .

Sunday Sepr 6th 1846. This morning a number of the Police and the Marshall went over into Heber camp and took Peletiah Brown another one of the young men who had been with young Barnum and took him into the woods and give him 18 stripes which brought the blood in two places. When we were through we all came home we had now but one more case to attend to and that was A. J. Clothier . . .

We took him out of camp and gave him 23 stripes putting on five for his mean conduct while in our hands.

Monday September 7th 1846. Went to see President Young after breakfast and reported what [had] been done which he said was all right and perfectly satisfactory on his part but said for me to use the utmost care to keep down any undue excitement from those who did not understand the Laws & ordinances of this kingdom . . .

Saturday September 12th 1846. At home all day Went to a council at Rockwoods tent at 7 o'clock P. M. Here President Young spoke with great power and spirit and adverted to the spirit manifested by some in consequence of the whipping which those boys got by the Marshall & old Police. He sustained the whipping of them and gave them to understand **what they might expect if the law of God came** and we were disobedient to its mandates. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, University of Utah, 1964, vol. 1, pages 190-193)

Under the date of March 13, 1848, Hosea Stout recorded this statement in his diary:

One Tremain as he called himself who had married Roswel Steven's daughter & who was afterwards found to be a consummate thief. Had been tried found guilty & whiped & the tabernacle not long since He came over on this side & was taken up by the police & tried before Carns as He thought. He expected to be immediately **killed** and begged for his life which we told him would be spared in case he would go away and never more be heard of in this mormons territory this he gladly done & away he went. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 305)

The historian Juanita Brooks states that the Mormons not only practiced whipping but emasculation as well:

But there were some rogues among them who had to be dealt with, either by the whipping post, by public humiliation at the election polls, or by means even more drastic. If it were necessary to emasculate a man who was corrupting the morals of the community, it would serve as a warning to others that such things would not be tolerated here, and it would guarantee that the offender should be harmless thereafter. Public courts had their place, but differences settled between brethren at the Bishop's Courts or before the High Council were not determined by legal technicalities but by the broad principles of human rights. So the president did well to tell the world that in Zion there was no need of civil courts. (*John D. Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, California, 1962, page 153)

Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, made this statement on July 12, 1857:

... if I am not a good man, I have no just right in this Church to a wife or wives, or to the power to propagate my species. What, then, should be done with me? **Make a eunuch of me**, and stop my propagation. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 29)

Under the date of February 27, 1858, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his journal:

Saturday 27 Feb 1858. This evening several persons disguised as Indians entered Henry Jones' house and dragged him out of bed with a whore and **castrated** him by a square & close amputation. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 653)

Hosea Stout wrote the following under the date of August 17, 1858:

Was invited by Judge Eckles to day to his room He gave me a letter from one Wm R Yancey to him stating that one John Beal had been **castrated** in Ogden lately for adultery with E. Lish's wife. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 663)

Judge Cradlebaugh, who had served in the United States Federal Court in the Utah Territory, wrote the following in a letter dated January 18, 1860:

Wm. H. Hooper,
Territorial Delegate from Utah.
Sir:— . . .

Now to the end that the country may know the truth respecting these matters, I have thought it right and necessary to address you this communication. I assert—

1st. That the Mormon people are subject to a theocratic government, and recognizes no law as binding which does not coincide with their pretended revelations

...

4th. That they teach the doctrine of "the shedding of human blood for the remission of sin," as defined by their own ecclesiastical code, and these teachings are carried into practice. The murders of Jones and his mother at Pondtown; of the Parrishes and Potter at Springville; of the Aiken party at Chicken Creek, the mud fort at Salt Creek, and at the bone yard, and of Forbes at Springville, are the natural results of these vile doctrines.

5th. That they teach the doctrine that it is right and godly that Mormons should rob Gentiles whenever they can do so with facility and escape public exposure. The Mountain Meadows Massacre is a melancholy proof of this fact.

6th. That they teach the doctrine and practice it, of **castrating** men, and have declared from their pulpit, with public acquiescence, that the day was near when their valleys would resound with the voice of **eunuchs**.

I am prepared here and now with proofs to sustain these charges, . . .

(Letter from Judge Cradlebaugh, as printed in *Valley Tan*, February 22, 1860, page 2)

John D. Lee related the following in his "Confessions":

In Utah it has been the custom with the Priesthood to make eunuchs of such men as were obnoxious to the leaders. This was done for a double purpose: first, it gave a perfect revenge, and next, it left the poor victim a living example to others of the dangers of disobeying counsel and not living as ordered by the Priesthood.

In Nauvoo it was the orders from Joseph Smith and his apostles to beat, wound and castrate all Gentiles that the police could take in the act of entering or leaving a Mormon household under circumstances that led to the belief that they had been there for immoral purposes. I knew of several such outrages while there. In Utah it was the favorite revenge of old, worn-ou[t] members of the Priesthood, who wanted young women sealed to them, and found that the girl preferred some handsome young man. The old priests generally got the girls, and many a young man was unsexed for refusing to give up his sweetheart at the request of an old and failing, but still sensual apostle or member of the Priesthood.

As an illustration I will refer to an instance that many a good Saint knows to be true.

Warren Snow was Bishop of the Church at Manti, San Pete County, Utah. He had several wives, but there was a fair, buxom young woman in the town that Snow wanted for a wife. He made love to her with all his powers, went to parties where she was, visited her at her home, and proposed to make her his wife. She thanked him for the honor offered, but told him she was then engaged to a young man, a member of the Church, and consequently could not marry the old priest. This was no sufficient reason to Snow. He told her it was the will of God that she should marry him, and she must do so; that the young man could be got rid of, sent on a mission or dealt with in some way so as to release her from her engagement that, in fact, a promise made to the young man was not binding, when she was informed that it was contrary to the wishes of the authorities.

The girl continued obstinate. The “teachers” of the town visited her and advised her to marry Bishop Snow. Her parents, under the orders of the Counselors of the Bishop, also insisted that their daughter must marry the old man. She still refused. Then the authorities called on the young man and directed him to give up the young woman. This he steadfastly refused to do. He was promised Church preferment, celestial rewards, and everything that could be thought of—all to no purpose. He remained true to his intended, and said he would die before he would surrender his intended wife to the embraces of another.

This unusual resistance of authority by the young people made Snow more anxious than ever to capture the girl. The young man was ordered to go on a mission to some distant locality, so that the authorities would have no trouble in effecting their purpose of forcing the girl to marry as they desired. But the mission was refused by the still contrary and unfaithful young man.

It was then determined that the rebellious young man must be forced by harsh treatment to respect the advice and orders of the Priesthood. His fate was left to Bishop Snow for his decision. He decided that the young man should be castrated; Snow saying, “When that is done, he will not be liable to want the girl badly, and she will listen to reason when she knows that her lover is no longer a man.”

It was then decided to call a meeting of the people who lived true to counsel, which was to be held in the school-house in Manti, at which place the young man should be present, and dealt with according to Snow’s will. The meeting was called. The young man was there, and was again requested, ordered and threatened, to get him to surrender the young woman to Snow, but true to his plighted troth, he refused to consent to give up the girl. The lights were then put out. An attack was made on the young man. He was severely beaten, and then tied with his back down on a bench, when Bishop Snow took a bowie-knife, and performed the operation in a most brutal manner, and then took the portion severed from his victim and hung it up in the school-house on a nail, so that it could be seen by all who visited the house afterwards.

The party then left the young man weltering in his blood, and in a lifeless condition. During the night he succeeded in releasing himself from his confinement, and dragged himself to some haystacks, where he lay until the next day, when he was discovered by his friends. The young man regained his health, but has been an idiot or quiet lunatic ever since, and is well known by hundreds of both Mormons and Gentiles in Utah.

After this outrage old Bishop Snow took occasion to get up a meeting at the school-house, so as to get the people of Manti, and the young woman that he wanted to marry, to attend the meeting. When all were assembled, the old man talked to the people about their duty to the Church, and their duty to obey counsel, and the dangers of refusal, and then publicly called attention to the mangled parts of the young man, that had been severed from his person, and stated that the deed had been done to teach the people that the counsel of the Priesthood must be obeyed. To make a long story short, I will say, the young woman was soon after forced into being sealed to Bishop Snow.

Brigham Young, when he heard of this treatment of the young man, was very mad, but did nothing against Snow. He left him in charge as Bishop at Manti, and ordered the matter to be hushed up. This is only one instance of many that I might give to show the danger of refusing to obey counsel in Utah. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 284-286)

On April 26, 1859, *Valley Tan*—a non-Mormon newspaper which was published in Salt Lake City—printed this statement:

As the church by its vauntings and boastings has almost challenged the record, in addition to the Mountain Meadow massacre already referred to, and which they thought of not sufficient importance to notice, we would, in addition to what we have heretofore published, ask in relation to the following, because we have received several letters from friends of the slaughtered, . . . We ask, then, for information if nothing else, as follows:

The murder in the fall of 1857 of John and Thomas Aiken, Honesty Jones, Mr. Eichard and another gentleman. . . .

The murder of two Irishmen, . . . 4 miles below Fillmore City.

The murder by a bishop of one of his wives last spring, because she had apostatized. . . .

The murder of Jacob Lance, . . . having apostatized. . . .

The murder of ____ Yates, . . .

Also the castration of ____ Lewis by a party, including a bishop of one of the southern settlements, who were bringing him up towards this city as a prisoner, and of ____ who was castrated in ____ the same season.

These two latter are still living in a condition, in comparison, to which death would have been a blessing. One of these was lately at Camp Floyd. The other lives in a hole in the ground near one of the settlements [in] San Pete Valley, and is perfectly crazy. (*Valley Tan*, April 26, 1859)

The reader will note that the incident which John D. Lee related occurred in “San Pete County,” and that the man was “an idiot or quiet lunatic ever since.” Since the *Valley Tan* stated that the man lived in “a hole in the ground near one of the settlements [in] San Pete Valley and is perfectly crazy,” we cannot help but believe this is referring to the same incident.

In his book, *The Rocky Mountain Saints*, T. B. H. Stenhouse reproduces a letter in which we find the following:

“Dear Stenhouse: . . . If you want to travel wider and show the effect in the country of the inflammatory speeches delivered in Salt Lake City at that time, you can mention the Potter and Parrish murders at Springville, the barbarous castration of a young man in San Pete, and, to cap the climax, the Mountain-Meadows massacre; . . . Threats of personal violence or death were common in the settlements against all who dared to speak against the priesthood, or in any way protest against this ‘reign of terror.’

“I was at a Sunday meeting in the spring of 1857, in Provo, when the news of the San Pete castration was referred to by the presiding bishop—Blackburn. Some men in Provo had rebelled against authority in some trivial matter, and Blackburn shouted in his Sunday meeting—a mixed congregation of all ages and both sexes—‘I want the people of Provo to understand that the boys in Provo can use the knife as well as the boys in San Pete. Boys, get your knives ready, there is work for you! We must not be behind San Pete in good works.’ The result of this was that two citizens, named Hooper and Beauvere, both having families at Provo, left the following night for Fort Bridger, and returned only after Johnston’s army came into the valley the following year. Their only offence was rebellion against the priesthood.” (*Rocky Mountain Saints*, by T. B. H. Stenhouse, New York, 1873, pages 301-302)

In a number of cases members of the Mormon Church were actually put to death for their transgressions. John D. Lee wrote the following in his “Confessions”:

. . . the sinful member was to be slain for the remission of his sins, it being taught by the leaders and believed by the people that the right thing to do with a sinner who did not repent and obey the Council, was to take the life of the offending party, and thus save his everlasting soul. This was called “Blood Atonement.” . . .

The most deadly sin among the people was adultery, and **many men were killed in Utah for that crime.**

Rosmos Anderson was a Danish man who had come to Utah with his family to receive the benefits arising from an association with the “Latter-Day Saints.” He had married a widow lady somewhat older than himself, and she had a daughter that was fully grown at the time of the reformation. The girl was very anxious to be sealed to her step-father, and Anderson was equally anxious to take her for a second wife, but as she was a fine-looking girl, Klingensmith desired her to marry him, and she refused. At one of the meetings during the reformation Anderson and his step-daughter confessed that they had committed adultery, believing when they did so that Brigham Young would allow them to marry when he learned the facts. Their confession being full, they were rebaptized and received into full membership. They were then placed under covenant that if they again committed adultery Anderson should **suffer death**. Soon after this a charge was laid against Anderson before the Council accusing him of adultery with his step-daughter. This Council was composed of Klingensmith and his two counselors; it was **the bishop’s council**. Without giving Anderson any chance to defend himself or make a statement, the Council voted that Anderson must **die** for violating his covenants. Klingensmith went to Anderson and notified him that the orders were that he must die by **having his throat cut, so that the running of his blood would atone for his sins**. Anderson, being a firm believer in the doctrines and teachings of the Mormon Church, made no objections, but asked for half a day to prepare for death. His request was granted. His wife was ordered to prepare a suit of clean clothing, in which to have her husband buried, and was informed that he was to be killed for his sins, she being directed to tell those who should enquire after her husband that he had gone to California.

Klingensmith, James Haslem, Daniel McFarland and John M. Higbee **dug a grave** in the field near Cedar City, and that night, about 12 o’clock, went to Anderson’s house and ordered him to make ready to obey the Council. Anderson got up, dressed himself, bid his family good-bye, and without a word of remonstrance accompanied those that he believed were carrying out the will of the “Almighty God.” They went to the place **where the grave was prepared; Anderson knelt down upon the side of the grave and prayed, Klingensmith and his company then cut Anderson’s throat from ear to ear and held him so that his blood ran into the grave.**

As soon as he was **dead** they dressed him in his clean clothes, threw him into the grave and buried him. They then carried his bloody clothing back to his family, and gave them to his wife to wash, when she was again instructed to say that her husband was in California. She obeyed their orders.

No move of that kind was made in Cedar City, unless it was done by order of the "Council" or of the "High Council." I was at once informed of Anderson's death, because at that time I possessed the confidence of all the people, who would talk to me confidentially, and give me the particulars of all crimes committed by order of the Church. Anderson was killed just before the Mountain Meadows massacre. The killing of Anderson was then considered **a religious duty and a just act**. It was justified by all the people, for they were bound by the same covenants, and the least word of objection to thus treating the man who had broken his covenant would have brought the same fate upon the person who was so foolish as to raise his voice against any act committed by order of the Church authorities. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, Photo-reprint of 1880 edition, pages 282-283)

Gustive O. Larson, Professor of Church History at the Brigham Young University, admits that blood atonement was actually practiced. He relates an incident very similar to what John D. Lee told:

To whatever extent the preaching on **blood atonement** may have influenced action, it would have been in relation to Mormon disciplinary action among its own members. In point would be a verbally reported case of a Mr. Johnson in Cedar City who was found guilty of adultery with his stepdaughter by a **bishop's court and sentenced to death for atonement of his sin**. According to the report of reputable **eyewitnesses**, judgment was executed with consent of the offender who went to his **unconsecrated grave in full confidence of salvation through the shedding of his blood**. Such a case, however primitive, is understandable within the meaning of the doctrine and the emotional extremes of the Reformation. (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, January, 1958, page 62, footnote 39)

John D. Lee claimed that some enemies of the church were killed in Nauvoo by orders from the church leaders:

I never took part in any killing that was desired or ordered by the Church, except the part I took in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. I was well known by all the members of the Church as one that stood high in the confidence of Brigham Young, and that I was close-mouthed and reliable. By this means I was usually informed of the facts in every case where violence was used in the section of country where I resided. **I knew of many men being killed in Nauvoo by the Danites**. It was then the **rule** that all the enemies of Joseph Smith should be **killed**, and I know of many a man who was quietly **put out of the way by the orders of Joseph and his apostles** while the Church was there.

It has always been a well understood doctrine of the Church that it was right and praiseworthy to kill every person who spoke evil of the Prophet. This doctrine had been strictly lived up to in Utah, until the Gentiles arrived in such great numbers that it became unsafe to follow the practice, but the doctrine is still believed, and no year

passes without one or more of those who have spoken evil of Brigham Young being killed, in a secret manner.

Springfield, Utah, was one of the hot-beds of fanaticism, and I expect that more men were **killed** there, in proportion to population, than in any other part of Utah. In that settlement it was **certain death** to say a word against the **authorities**, high or low. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 edition, page 284)

According to John D. Lee, the police in Nauvoo were very similar to the Danite organization:

Whatever the police were ordered to do, they were to do and ask no questions. Whether it was right or wrong mattered not to them, they were responsible only to their leaders, and they were amenable only to God. I was a confidant among them, and they let me into the secret of all they did, and they looked to me to speak a good word for them with Brigham, as they were ambitious to please him and obtain his blessing. I knew that I was in their full confidence, and the captain of the police never asked me to do anything he knew I was averse to doing. Under Brigham Young, Hosea Stout was Chief of Police. They showed me where they buried a man in a lot near the Masonic Hall. They said they got him tight and were joking with him while some men were digging **his grave**. They asked him to go with them into a pit of corn, saying it was fully grown. They told him they had a jug of whiskey cached out there. They **led him to his grave**, and told him to get down there; and hand up the jug, and he should have the first drink. As he bent over to get down, Roswell Stevens struck him with his police cane on the back of the head and dropped him. They then **tightened a cord around his neck** to shut off his wind, and then they covered him up, and set the hill of corn back on his grave to cover up any tracks that might lead to his discovery.

Another man they took in a boat, about two o'clock at night, for a ride. When out in the channel of the river, the man who sat behind him struck him upon the head and stunned him. They then tied a rope around his neck and a stone to the other end of the rope, and sent him to the bottom of Mississippi River. There was another man whose name I have forgotten, who was a great annoyance to the Saints at Nauvoo. He generally brought a party with him when he came to the city, and could threaten them with the law, but he always managed to get away safely. They (the Saints) finally concluded to entrust his case to Howard Egan, a policeman, who was thought to be pretty long headed. He took a party of chosen men, or "destroying angels," and went to La Harp, a town near the residence of this man, and watched an opportunity when he would pass along. **They "saved" him, and buried him** in a wash-out at night. In a short time afterwards a thunder storm washed the earth away and exposed the remains. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, page 159)

Notice that John D. Lee stated that the Mormon police committed murders for the Church and that "Under Brigham Young, Hosea Stout was Chief of Police." The Mormon paper, *Deseret Weekly*, contained this statement concerning Hosea Stout:

He . . . was intimately associated with the Prophet Joseph Smith for a number of years, prior to his death and for some time acted as his body guard, as well as being an officer of the Nauvoo Legion and chief of police. (*Deseret Weekly*, March 9, 1889, as quoted in *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 740)

Fortunately, Hosea Stout's diary has survived, and it is certainly one of the most revealing documents that we have ever encountered. The fact that it was written by a faithful Mormon makes it even more significant. In his diary Hosea Stout frankly tells of some of the violent methods used by the Mormon leaders. For instance, under the date of April 3, 1845, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary:

In the morning I went to the Temple and was roughly accosted by Brs Cahoon & Cutler about a circumstance which took place last night at the Temple. They said that the Old Police had **beat a man almost to death** in the Temple. To which I replied I was **glad of it** and that I had given orders to that effect in case anyone should be found in the temple after night and they had only done as they were told, or ordered, . . . we concluded to lay the matter before President Brigham Young and get his advice, as we went we met Brother H. C. Kimball and while relating the matter to him Brother **Brigham** came to us and we related the matter to him and **he approved** of the proceedings of the Police and said he wanted us to still guard the Temple after which he & Br. Kimball went to the Temple to regulate the matters there which was done to our satisfaction and justification. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 32)

Under the date of January 9, 1846, Hosea Stout recorded:

When we came to the Temple somewhat a considerable number of the guard were assembled and among them was William Hibbard son of the old man Hibbard. He was evidently come as a spy. When I saw him I told Scott that we must "bounce a stone off of his head," to which he agreed we prepared accordingly & I got an opportunity & **hit him on the back of his head which came very near taking his life**. But few knew anything about what was the matter he left the group out of his senses when he came to himself he could not tell what had happened to him &c (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 103)

Hosea Stout's diary shows that he was a very brutal man. Under the date of August 7, 1846, he recorded:

This morning Henry Phelps son of W. W. Phelps attempted to wrest their horse out of the stray pen & I gave him a severe caining & broke a good fancy hickory cain, given me by Br Stewart, all to pieces He ran through the lot and cried so loud that he excited the whole neighbourhood which caused much to be said for & against us a police.

. . . I reported the affair to Presidents Cutler & Harris who approved of it & thought it would do him good. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, pages 268-269)

We find the following recorded for the date of March 17, 1848:

. . . Hill continued his abusive language towards me. I claimed to be heard thro but he continued. I had resolved to put a stop to the course things were taking at the risk of my life & being highly inflamed or rather enraged at the mean course of Hill I "Lit upon him" determined to stop or **kill** him. We had a short scuffle when I got him across the counter and had him secured choked untill he could not breath intending to hold on peaceably as I was, but was parted by John Lyttle which put an end to the matter now

After this "flare up" was over the police came together & we told Dalton & those who wer concerned that we would put an end to their course or end their lives. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 306)

The people of Illinois were well aware of the fact that the Mormon leaders used violent methods in dealing with their enemies. In the *Warsaw Signal* for January 7, 1846, we find the following reprinted from the *Springfield Journal*:

Some other disclosures are talked of as having been made: the manner in which persons are disposed who are supposed to be enemies of the leading Mormons. They are seized by some members of the Danite or other band, a leather strap placed around the neck, so that if the least resistance is made, they are choked; and in this condition they are taken to a skiff, carried to the middle of the river, their bowels ripped open, and their bodies sunk. This is what is termed making "catfish bait" of their enemies. It is said that quite a number of persons were disposed of in this manner. (*Warsaw Signal*, January 7, 1846)

On April 24, 1844, the *Warsaw Signal* contained this statement:

It is a fact, that can be substantiated by the most unimpeachable testimony, that the discontented spirits in Nauvoo, dare not speak or write one word against the Prophet without risking their lives. And even those who have left the Church will hint at iniquities, which they dare not proclaim.

It can be proven that there are men in Nauvoo, who have publicly said that should Jo. Smith command them to commit murder, they would do it without compunction believing that the command of Smith, is the will of Heaven. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 24, 1844)

C. L. Higbee claimed that Joseph Smith had men killed in Missouri. In Joseph Smith's *History* we find this statement recorded under the date of March 24, 1844:

And the lies that C. L. Higbee has hatched up as a foundation to work upon are—he says that I had men’s heads cut off in Missouri and that I had a sword run through the hearts of the people that I wanted to kill and put out of the way. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 272)

Under the date of April 27, 1844, we find this statement in Joseph Smith’s *History*:

I had a conversation with Foster in which he charged me with many crimes, and said that Daniteism was in Nauvoo; and he used a great variety of vile and false epithets and charges. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 345)

In the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 53-65, we showed that in Missouri there was a secret band among the Mormons called the Danites. On pages 96-100 of the same volume, we showed that Joseph Smith formed a secret “Council of Fifty” in Nauvoo. The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen states that several Danites were initiated into the “Council of 50”:

Proven loyalty in one secret organization could be advantageous to another. As a result, several important Danites were among those initiated into the Council of Fifty in 1844. . . . Rumors circulating in Nauvoo during 1844 that Smith had revived the Danite band cannot be substantiated and are most likely a result of the suspected purposes and activities attributed to the Council of Fifty by the uninitiated. (*Quest for Empire*, page 58)

Mr. Hansen admits that the “Council of Fifty” may have been involved in the practice of “blood atonement”:

The law of blood atonement was still another law revealed from heaven which was difficult to enforce even in the kingdom of God. If, according to this doctrine, a member of the kingdom committed the crimes of murder and adultery, or if he betrayed one of his fellow Mormons to the enemies of the church, or revealed the secrets of the kingdom, he could save his soul only if he expiated for the crime by the shedding of his blood. Blood atonement was, of course, a form of capital punishment. Yet because of its theological implications, and because the Council of Fifty was to administer it, the doctrine was surrounded with an aura of mystery, terror, and holy murder. The Council of Fifty heightened the atmosphere of fear and secrecy associated with this practice by conducting cases involving the possibility of blood atonement in utmost secrecy for fear of public repercussions. (*Quest for Empire*, page 69)

Robert B. Flanders made this comment concerning the “Council of Fifty”:

So secret was the Council of Fifty that few people even knew of its existence before Smith’s death. Its records remain hidden, and it is therefore possible to construct only a general picture of its purpose and function from

scattered references in the journals and reminiscences of some of the members. Smith intended apparently that it be a shadow government for the Church and for the city of Nauvoo, ready to assume direct control in case of any emergency. In addition, it prepared memorials to Congress, planned political strategy, decided various economic questions, established businesses, secured building materials, provided bodyguards for the leaders, and dealt with apostates and “enemies.” (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, by Robert Bruce Flanders, University of Illinois Press, 1966 ed., page 292)

Juanita Brooks gives us this information concerning a man who was almost put to death by the “Council of Fifty”:

The most surprising case before the YTFIF [fifty spelled backwards] was that of Ira West, one of the first captains in the organization as they left Nauvoo. No specific charges are entered in the record of amounts owed, girls seduced, or transactions of a doubtful nature, but it is very clear that he was no longer in good fellowship and that action against him was to be drastic. In the first appeal against him, made on March 3, it was declared:

Then can the members of this council suffer their sympathy to arrise to that extent that mercy will Rob Justice of its claims, Suffering infernal thieves, Murderers, Whoremongers & every other wicked curse to through mercy to live among us, adding sin to sin, crime to crime, corrupting the morals of the People when their Blood ought to flow to atone for their crimes. **I want their cursed heads to be cut off** that they may atone for their sins, that mercy may have her claims upon them in the day of redemption.

The case was held over until the next day, when it was clear that “The Council all agreed that he had **forfeited his head**, but the difficulty was how he should be disposed of.” Some suggested that he should be executed publicly, others thought that he should just disappear, then the people would know he was gone, and other offenders would take warning. Still others put up a strong argument for a case in open court before a judge and jury.

Finally, Brigham Young said to the marshal, “Take Ira E. West & Thomas Byrns into custody & put them in chains, & on the day of the Election, there offer them for sale to the highest bidder.” . . .

One might assume that perhaps this man did lose his life, but the diary of Hosea Stout, at that time not a member of the Council of Fifty, tells what happened. Writing under date of Monday, March 12, 1849, he says:

Today was our first political election which commenced at 10 o’clock A. M. A large assemblage of men convened where many subjects were discussed and among the rest the subject of Ira E. West who had been tried by the H. C. & cut off from the church & fined 100 dollars for lying, stealing & swindling &c—and afterward had attempted to run away & was now in chains. He was

here offered for sale to anyone who would pay his debts & take him until he could work it out. No one however took him & for a while the prospect was fair for him to loose his head—His brother C. West took him at last, I believe.

(*John D. Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, pages 143-144)

In footnote 142 on page 128 of *A Mormon Chronicle*, vol. 1, the Council of Fifty is called “the dread Council of Fifty.” In the same footnote the following is stated: “The organization is never mentioned today and few Mormons know that it ever existed.”

Since the records of the Council of Fifty were kept secret, there is no way of knowing how many people could have been sentenced to death by this secret organization.

As we indicated earlier, Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, was very prone to the use of violent methods in dealing with his enemies. Even his dreams were sometimes filled with violence. Under the date of September 10, 1845, he related the following:

Wednesday, 10.—I dreamed last night that I was chased by a mob to a place like a barn full of corn or grain, one chased me so close that he got into the same room with me and it was Thomas Ford, who appeared only two and one-half feet high, I took his wrist between my fingers and stepped to the door and knocked down one after another of the mob with him till I discovered he was dead.

On March 27, 1853, Brigham Young told of a dream he had in which he cut the throats of some “mobbers” and “murderers.” He stated:

I dreamed . . . I took my large bowie knife, that I used to wear as a bosom pin in Nauvoo, and **cut one of their throats from ear to ear**, saying “Go to hell across lots.” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 83)

On one occasion Brigham Young stated:

I have never yet talked as rough in these mountains as I did in the United States when they killed Joseph. I there said boldly and aloud, “If ever a man should lay his hands on me and say, on account of my religion, ‘Thou art my prisoner,’ the Lord Almighty helping me, I would **send that man to hell across lots**.” I feel so now. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 317)

Speaking of the trouble the Mormons had with the people of Illinois, Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency of the Church in Brigham Young’s time, stated:

I felt pretty well in Nauvoo, at the time brother Brigham was speaking of; though I did regret—perhaps I did wrong—but I did regret that peace was proclaimed so quick; for I tell you there were about one or two score of men I wanted to see under the sod; then I was willing to make peace: . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 338)

Brigham Young stated:

I do not know that anybody complained in Nauvoo, except brother Kimball; and he was only sorry that the war closed so soon, for **we** had our eyes upon a good many of those infernal scoundrels, and we wanted **to sod them**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 338)

On another occasion Brigham Young stated:

I have sometimes had feelings of this kind—“Draw your swords, ye Elders of Israel, and never sheathe them so long as you have an enemy upon the earth.” I sometimes felt, before the move, like taking the sword and **slaying my enemies**, until they were wasted away. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, page 150)

USING THE MEAN DEVILS

Edward Bonney, who became famous for his work of bringing murderers to justice in the Mississippi Valley, made these comments concerning the Mormons in Nauvoo:

While the Mormons were rapidly increasing in numbers and daily increasing their power and wealth, the country around was suffering severely from a succession of robberies almost without parallel in the annals of crime. Stock of every description and goods of all kinds were constantly taken, and all in the vicinity trembled lest they, like their neighbors, might be stripped of their all without a hope of restoration or revenge.

The offenders were frequently tracked in the direction of Nauvoo, and sometimes, though rarely, the property was recovered, but in no case could the perpetrators of the crime be arrested and brought to justice. In case of an arrest at Nauvoo the accused were immediately released by the city authorities, and the cry of “Persecution against the Saints” raised, effectually drowning the pleas for justice of the injured, and the officer forced to return and tell the tale of defeat. This done, the fugitive found a safe shelter under the widespread wings of the Mormon leaders and laughed at pursuit. (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, by Edward Bonney, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, pages 15-16)

Sarah S. Scott, writing from Nauvoo on February 6, 1845, made this statement:

Stealing has been carried on to an alarming extent in and about Nauvoo last fall and this winter. They first began to steal from the dissenters and raised the cry that the dissenters did it themselves to bring persecution on the Church, but after a while a few of the good Mormon souls were caught in it; three have been taken to Carthage Jail, and more will likely follow. (Letter from Sarah S. Scott, February 6, 1845, as quoted in *Among the Mormons*, New York, 1958, page 154)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart admits that some Mormons were stealing, but he claims that the leaders of the Church did not approve of this course:

By late 1841 the reputation of the Church, and particularly the reputation of its leaders, was suffering from the thievery, and lies of several Mormon converts who, like Sampson Avard in Missouri, had begun stealing from both Mormons and non-Mormons, and falsely claiming that the Church leaders condoned their actions. Joseph, Hyrum, and the Quorum of Twelve each in turn issued public statements denouncing the actions and lies of these people. (*Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet*, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 155)

While it is true that the Mormon leaders denied the charge of stealing, we must remember that they also denied polygamy at the very time they were practicing it! Therefore, we cannot put any more stock in their denials of stealing than we can in their denials of polygamy, especially in light of the evidence we presented in the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1.

Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church once stated:

And if the Gentiles wish to see a few tricks, we have "Mormons" that can perform them. **We have the meanest devils on the earth** in our midst, and **we intend to keep them, for we have use for them**; and if the Devil does not look sharp, we will cheat him out of them at the last, for they will reform and go to heaven with us. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 176)

On another occasion Brigham Young remarked:

Do not be shocked at that, any of you, whether you are strangers or not, for we have some of the **meanest men** that ever disgraced God's footstool right in the midst of the Latter-day Saints. Do not be startled at that, because it is **true**. I have told the people many a time, if they want anything done, **no matter how mean**, they can find men here who can do it, if they are to be found on the earth. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 15, page 226)

On still another occasion Brigham Young remarked:

... do you say there are are people here who are **wicked**? So we say. Could I wish things to be otherwise? **No**, I would **not** have them different if I could. ...

There are many of the men and women now before me who have looked for a pure people, and have supposed that that was a proof of the truth of our doctrines, but they will never find such a people until Satan is bound, and Jesus comes to reign with his Saints. ...

Some of the Elders seem to be tripped up in a moment, if the wicked can find any fault with the members of this Church; but bless your souls, I would not yet have this people faultless, for the day of separation has not yet arrived. I have many a time, in this stand, **dared the world to produce as mean devils as we can; we can beat them at anything**. We have the greatest and smoothest **liars in the world**, the cunningest and most adroit **thieves**, and any other shade of character that you can mention.

We can pick out **Elders** in Israel right here who can beat the world at gambling, who can handle the cards, cut and shuffle them with the smartest rogue on the face of God's foot-stool. I can produce **Elders** here who can shave their smartest shavers, and take their money from them. **We can beat the world at any game**.

We are the best looking and finest set of people on the face of the earth, and they may begin any game they please, and we are on hand, and can beat them at anything they have a mind to begin. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 77)

On January 19, 1862, Brigham Young made these interesting statements:

The best people in the world are in this Territory, and yet there is **not** another community, according to our numbers, so infested by thieves as we are. Their depredations are perpetrated with such impunity and barefaced effrontery that it is almost impossible for me to keep a decent handkerchief. Some women, when they come into my house to work, if they can steal a few handkerchiefs or pillow-cases, or this or that, and make up a small bundle, they sack it and go. ...

I have always said to the thieves, Wait until I tell you to steal. The first thing I mean to take is the State of Missouri, and then I shall not be satisfied. Next, I shall want the State of Illinois. All this Territory, Missouri, and Illinois are not going to be sufficient territory for Heber and me, to say nothing of brothers Wells, Taylor, Woodruff, and all the faithful brethren. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, pages 154 and 156)

On still another occasion Brigham Young remarked:

Many of you know that you cannot get your endowment without the devil's being present; indeed we cannot make rapid progress without the devils. I know that it frightens the righteous sectarian world to think that we have **so many devils with us**, so many poor, miserable curses.

Bless your souls, we could not prosper in the kingdom of God without them. We must have those amongst us who will steal our fence poles, who will go and steal hay from their neighbor's hay stack, or go into his corn field to steal corn, and leave the fence down; nearly every ax that is dropped in the kanyon must be picked up by them, and the scores of lost watches, gold rings, breast pins, &c., must get into their hands though they will not wear them in your sight. It is essentially necessary to have such characters here. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 50)

Jedediah M. Grant, who was a member of the First Presidency, made this statement:

. . . you must not be alarmed if you find in Zion some curiosities. If I wished to find the best men in the world, I should go to Zion to find them; if I wished to find the biggest devil, I would look in Zion for him, among the people of God; there I can find the **greatest scamps**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 67)

BILL HICKMAN

When Brigham Young said that “we have the meanest devils on the earth . . . and we intend to keep them, for we have **use for them**,” he may have had Bill Hickman in mind, for he was considered a man that would do anything that was mean. Under the date of October 28, 1871, in the *Church Chronology*, Bill Hickman was called a “notorious outlaw.” The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts called Hickman “a typical western desperado” (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 133).

The interesting thing concerning Bill Hickman is that toward the end of his life he wrote a book in which he stated that he had committed his crimes with the approval of the Mormon Church leaders. He claimed that he had committed murders by the orders of Brigham Young and the Apostle Orson Hyde. J. H. Beadle, who wrote the preface to *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, made this observation:

. . . while all the Mormon people spoke of Bill Hickman as a desperately bad man, and guilty of untold murders, I was struck by two curious and then unexplainable facts:—

1. The first was, that while everybody, from Brigham Young down, united in calling Hickman a murderer, and while evidence could easily be collected of several of his crimes, not a single attempt had been made by priest or people to bring him to justice. For twenty years the Mormons had the courts and juries exclusively in their own hands. During that time many persons had been executed for crime; they could do as they pleased in judicial matters, and abundant evidence was before them against Hickman; but no grand jury ever moved, there was no indictment, and not even a complaint before an examining magistrate. This indicated something—but what? Until I obtained Hickman's manuscript, I never

fully knew. When Hickman was arrested all the Mormon speakers and papers united in denouncing him as “a notorious criminal, who had long been able to evade justice.” If this was known, as they admit it was, why was not Hickman arrested and punished during that long period in which the Mormons arrested and punished whomsoever they pleased? (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, Salt Lake City, 1904, Preface)

Dr. Hugh Nibley, of the Brigham Young University, claims that the Mormon Church was not aware of Bill Hickman's crimes:

To Beadle's mind the significant thing about Hickman was that the Mormons knew he was bad, and yet did not prosecute him. Prosecute him for what? The West was full of bad and dangerous men who couldn't be prosecuted until they were caught in a crime. Hickman's early crimes were **all most secret, known only to himself**, until he confessed to Beadle. (*Sounding Brass*, page 258)

Actually, many of Bill Hickman's crimes were publicly known. As early as December 25, 1859, the Mormon Apostle Amass Layman admitted that Hickman had a bad reputation:

The spirit of thieving stalks abroad in our land, . . . say some, “we hear that there is stealing done over yonder (pointing towards the west), and that it is **Bill Hickman** and his gang that do it.” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 307)

The truth of the matter is that the Mormon leaders were well aware of Bill Hickman's crimes and they actually shielded him from justice. This fact is made very plain in the journal of John Bennion. In 1860 Bennion felt that Hickman should be punished for his evil deeds, but he soon learned that Bishop Gardiner “had been bound & could not act” against Bill Hickman and that Orson Hyde (President of the Twelve Apostles) taught that a man should not be punished for stealing from the “gentiles” The following is from Bennion's journal:

Sat 13 went to the city met Bp Gardiner had a talk with him about **W. A. Hickmans wicked course** for some time past he said that up till now he had been **bound & could not act** I told him I was not bound neither was I afraid to expose the whickedness of any man that it was my duty to expose we got home about sun down in the evening I met with Bp & councillors & parties concerned [to] try George Hickman for stealing mules when about to commence trial **Elder Hyde** come in and by Bp Gardners solicitation he preached and the trial was postponed after meeting Bp council & **Elder Hyde** had a long talk in my house br Hyde said **speaking of stealing** that a man may **steal & be influenced by the spirit of the Lord to do it** that **Hickman had done it years past** said that he **never would institute a trial against a brother for stealing from the Gentiles** but stealing from his brethren he was down on it he laid down much teaching on the subject

S 14th went to meeting at the mill to hear br Hyde . . . he give much good instruction spoke on last nights intention to try Hickman give it as **the word of the Lord to set him free** for the past, bid him go & sin no more. (“John Bennion Journal,” October 13 and 14, 1860, original journal located at Utah State Historical Society)

The reader will note that in the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, page 62, we quoted Mary Ettie V. Smith as stating that the Apostle Orson Hyde received stolen goods at Kaneshville and that Bill Hickman was involved in this stealing. There is good reason to believe that Hickman was involved in crime in Nauvoo. The *Warsaw Signal*, March 26, 1845, printed a letter which contained this statement:

Wm. A. Hickman stole some bacon, was put in jail, in a few days was bailed out by two brother Mormons . . .

The *Bloomington Herald*, November 22, 1845, published this statement by Edward Bonney concerning Bill Hickman:

. . . Haight left, went immediately to Fort Madison, . . . thence to Nauvoo and procured some witnesses headed by Wm. A. Hickman, a fugitive from justice, from Iowa, who has served one term, in the Alton penitentiary and has twice been chased from Missouri into Nauvoo, with stolen horses, within the last two months. (*Bloomington Herald*, November 22, 1845, typed copy)

In his autobiography Bill Hickman claimed that he was never in prison before the war with the anti-Mormons in Illinois. However this may be, Hickman was undoubtedly engaged in criminal activities around Nauvoo. Philip D. Jordan states:

. . . one fact seems certain: Hickman was in and out of Nauvoo during the time Bonney resided there. Hickman also was indicted in Lee County, Iowa Territory, for stealing meat from a settler’s smokehouse. The cunning Hickman, some frontiersmen believed, sent Danites as spies through the countryside “dressed in the homespun garb of farmers, or disguised as mechanics or laborers, carrying tools of their trade, so as to delude unsuspecting people, who like all people on the frontier are free to give information about themselves and their neighbors.” (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, University of Oklahoma Press, Introduction, page x)

After the trouble in Nauvoo, Hickman was arrested and put in prison. In his autobiography Bill Hickman states:

I stayed a few days, and when the jailer came in one afternoon, I knocked him down, took his bowie-knife and cut the chain off my leg, took his pistols and left, and have not been back since, which was about twenty-five years ago. This was the only time I was ever in prison. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, page 46)

Bill Hickman came west to make his home among the Mormons. In Utah the Mormon leaders not only protected him from justice, but they also encouraged him in his crimes. J. H. Beadle stated:

. . . long after Hickman was known as a murderer he was successively promoted to a number of offices; he was Sheriff and Representative of one county, Assessor and Collector of Taxes, and Marshal; and during all this time he was on terms of personal intimacy with Brigham Young. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, Preface, page vi)

Under the date of May 9, 1854, Hosea Stout recorded this statement in his journal:

Judge Appleby organized the County of Green River by appointing Robert Alexander Clerk of Probate Court, W. A. Hickman Sheriff also assessor and Collector as well as prosecuting attorney. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 516)

The Mormon leaders not only allowed this “notorious outlaw” to be Sheriff, but they also gave him a position in the Church. In 1858 Bill Hickman “was chosen as Counselor to Acting Bishop Harker” (*Historical Record*, by Andrew Jenson, vol. VI, page 343, as quoted in *On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 2, page 668, footnote 36).

In his book, *Desert Saints*, page 149, Nels Anderson gives this interesting information:

On August 30, 1856, General Burr wrote to his chief, Thomas A. Hendricks, Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, that one of his deputies, a Mr. Troskolowski, had been “assaulted and severely beaten by three men under the direction of one Hickman, a noted member of the so-called ‘Danite band.’” The beating had been administered, it was alleged, by order of higher-ups in the church.

Burr tried without effect to get the Utah civil authorities to take action against the offenders. He was told that the beating was probably deserved because the men of Burr’s party had been “talking and railing against their religion.” He concluded: “We Gentiles feel that we cannot rely upon the laws for protection and are permitted to live here at the pleasure of the rulers.”

On page 137 of the same book, Nels Anderson states that “It is hard to believe that he [Hickman] had not been a killer for the Mormon cause; . . .”

Mark Twain made this statement concerning Bill Hickman’s reputation:

It is a luscious country for thrilling evening stories about assassinations of intractable Gentiles. I cannot easily conceive of anything more cozy than the night in Salt Lake which we spent in a Gentile den, smoking pipes

and listening to tales of how Burton galloped in among the pleading and defenseless “Morrissites” and shot them down, men and women, like so many dogs. And how Bill Hickman, a Destroying Angel, shot Drown and Arnold dead for bringing suit against him for a debt. (*Roughing It*, vol. 1, page 102)

Mary Ettie V. Smith stated:

The darkest annals of the world can scarcely furnish a more terrible record, than would the simple biography of a few of these Danite leaders. When that record is written, the names of Porter Rockwell, Wm. Hickman, Hiram Clawson, Captain James Brown, John and Wiley Norton, James Furguson, Robert Burton, and others, whose names I do not recollect, will be found linked with the most cruel and bloody acts, that have ever disgraced humanity.

Rockwell was the leader of this band at Nauvoo; but Wm. Hickman is now supposed to fill that post; having won this distinction, by his daring and success. It is said, that his soul knows no pity; and he fears no law but the Prophet’s will. It was this man who won for his band the title now proudly borne by them; viz., “Destroying Angels.” (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, Hartford, 1870, pages 343-344)

On pages 308-311 of the same book, Mrs. Smith stated:

About the time referred to in the last chapter, Jesse T. Hartly came to Great Salt Lake City. He was a man of education and intelligence, and a lawyer by profession. I never knew where he was from, but he was a Gentile when he came, and soon after married a Mormon girl by the name of Bullock, which involved a profession, at least, of Mormonism. It was afterwards supposed by some that his aim was to learn the mysteries of the Church, in order to make an exposé of them afterwards. At all events, the eye of the Prophet was upon him from the first, . . . the Prophet regarded him with suspicion, as a fit person to be appointed missionary preacher among the Gentiles. As is customary in such cases, he was proposed in open convention, when all the Heads of the Church were on the stand; and the Prophet rose at once with that air of judicial authority, from which those who know him best understand there is no appeal, and said: “This man, Hartly, is guilty of heresy. He has been writing to his friends in Oregon against the Church, and has attempted to expose us to the world, and he should be sent to hell cross lots.” This was the end of the matter as to Hartly.

His friends after this avoided him, and it was understood that his fate was sealed. He knew that to remain was death; he therefore left his wife and child, and attempted to effect an escape.

Not many days after he had gone, Wiley Norton told us, with a feeling of exultation, that they had made sure of another enemy of the Church. That the bones of Jesse Hartly were in the canons, and that he was afraid they would be overlooked at the Resurrection, unless he had better success in “pleading” in the next world than in this, referring to his practice as a lawyer.

Nearly a year and a half after this, when on my way to the States, I saw the widow of Jesse Hartly at Green

River. She had been a very pretty woman, and was at that time but twenty-two years old. I think she was the most heart-broken human being I have ever seen. . . . she commenced by saying:

“You may have suffered; and if you have been a Mormon wife, you must have known sorrow. But the cruelty of my own fate, I am sure, is without a parallel—even in this land of cruelty.”

“I married Jesse Hartly, knowing he was a ‘Gentile’ in fact, but he passed for a Mormon, but that made no difference with me, although I was a Mormon, because he was a noble man, and sought only the right. By being my husband, he was brought into closer contact with the members of the Church, and was thus soon enabled to learn many things about us, and about the Heads of the Church, that he did not approve, and of which I was ignorant, although I had been brought up among the Saints; and which, if known among the Gentiles, would have greatly damaged us. I do not understand all he discovered, or all he did; but they found he had written against the Church, and he was cut off, and the Prophet required as an atonement for his sins, that he should lay down his life. That he should be sacrificed in the endowment rooms; where human sacrifices are sometimes made in this way. This I never knew until my husband told me, but it is true. They kill those there who have committed sins too great to be atoned for in any other way. The Prophet says, if they submit to this he can save them; otherwise they are lost. Oh! that is horrible. But my husband refused to be sacrificed, and so set out alone for the United States: thinking there might be at least a hope of success. I told him when he left me, and left his child, that he would be killed, and so he was. William Hickman and another Danite, shot him in the canons; and I have often since been obliged to cook for this man, when he passed this way, knowing all the while, he had killed my husband. My child soon followed after its father, and I hope to die also; for why should I live? They have brought me here, where I wish to remain, rather than to return to Salt Lake, where the murderers of my husband curse the earth, and roll in affluence unpunished.”

In his confessions Bill Hickman admitted that he had killed Hartley by orders of Orson Hyde and Brigham Young:

When we had got across what was known as the Big Mountain, and into East Canon, some three or four miles, one Mr. Hartley came to us from Provo City. This Hartley was a young lawyer who had come to Salt Lake from Oregon the fall before, and had married a Miss Bullock, of Provo, a respectable lady of a good family. But word had come to Salt Lake (so said, I never knew whether it did or not), that he had been engaged in some counterfeiting affair. He was a fine-looking, intelligent young man. He told me he had never worked any in his life, and was going to Fort Bridger or Green River to see if he could not get a job of clerking, or something that he could do. But previous to this, at the April Conference, Brigham Young, before the congregation, gave him a tremendous blowing up, calling him all sorts of bad names, and saying he ought to have his throat cut, which made him feel very bad. He declared he was not guilty of the charges.

I saw Orson Hyde looking very sour at him, and after he had been in camp an hour or two, Hyde told me that he had orders from Brigham Young, if he came to Fort Supply to have him used up. "Now," said he, "I want you and George Boyd to do it." I saw him and Boyd talking together; then Boyd came to me and said: "It's all right, Bill; I will help you to kill that fellow." One of our teams was two or three miles behind, and Orson Hyde wished me to go back and see if anything had happened to it. Boyd saddled his horse to go with me, but Hartley stepped up and said he would go if Boyd would let him have his horse. Orson Hyde said: "Let him have your horse," which Boyd did. Orson Hyde then whispered to me: "Now is your time; don't let him come back." We started, and about half a mile on had to cross the canon stream, which was mid-sides to our horses. While crossing, Hartley got a shot and fell dead in the creek. His horse took fright and ran back to camp.

I went on and met Hosea Stout, who told me the team was coming close by. I turned back, Stout with me, for our camp. Stout asked me if I had seen that fellow, meaning Hartley. I told him he had come to our camp, and he said from what he had heard he ought to be killed. I then told him all that had happened, and he said that was good. When I returned to camp Boyd told me that his horse came into camp with blood on the saddle, and he and some of the boys took it to the creek and washed it off. Orson Hyde told me that was well done; that he and some others had gone on the side of the mountain, and seen the whole performance. We hitched up and went to Weber River that day. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, pages 97-98)

It is interesting to note that Hosea Stout's diary confirms the fact that Hartly was in trouble with the church. Under the date of April 9, 1854, he stated:

I was not present much of the time but the same subject was continued and lectures were delivered against girls marrying gentiles & winter Saints & one Mr Hartley cut off from the Church who had been appointed a mission to Texas. He is said to be a runaway horse thief from Oregon came here & married joined the church & had sent up his name to get his endowment. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 512)

Hickman claimed that Hosea Stout was in the company going to Green River, and that he told him of the murder. Hickman stated that this trip took place "about the first of May" in 1854 (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, page 96). Hosea Stout's diary confirms the fact that he was in the party with Hickman. Under the date of May 1, 1854, he stated:

About noon I started for Green River G. W. Boyd hauling my provision and luggage. I took Henry Allen along with me and left my children with Anna We crossed over the first mountain & encamped on the creek changing my loading in the mean time into W. A. Hickman's waggon. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 2, page 514)

Notice that Hosea Stout mentions "G. W. Boyd" as being in the party. Bill Hickman stated that a man by the name of "George Boyd" was supposed to help with the murder. Hickman claimed that Apostle Hyde helped cover up the fact that Hartley had been murdered:

When supper was over, Orson Hyde called all the camp together, and said he wanted a strong guard on that night, for that fellow that had come to us in the forenoon had left the company; he was a bad man, and it was his opinion that he intended stealing horses that night. This was about as good a take-off as he could get up, it was all nonsense; it would do well enough to tell; as everyone that did not know what had happened believed it. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, page 98)

Hosea Stout also mentioned Orson Hyde's speech to the company:

This evening Elder Hyde informed the company that Mr J ___ Hartley who did not make his appearance to day with us had most likely had some dishonest intentions by his leaving & wished the guard to renew their diligence lest their horses might be stolen. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 2, page 514)

J. H. Beadle makes this observation concerning Hickman's confession of the murder of Hartley:

In a few brief words Hickman narrates one of the most cruel, causeless, and cold-blooded murders ever perpetrated. Hartley's case is the one most generally known in Utah of all mentioned in this book, and there is scarcely a question of his innocence of any serious fault. Of all the crimes committed by Hickman this one seems to rest most heavy on his conscience. In conversation he strove to avoid it, and at this point his manuscript is heavily blurred and blotted, with frequent erasures, and every evidence of an uncertain hand and hesitating mind, impelled to, yet dreading the narration. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, page 201)

Dr. Hugh Nibley, of the Brigham Young University, claims that "The Hickman stories were not true." Dr. Nibley accuses J. H. Beadle of inventing these stories. He stated:

... we believe that those tales are Beadle's invention, ... (*Sounding Brass*, page 264)

Although J. H. Beadle was very opposed to the Mormon Church, there is evidence that Mr. Beadle did not invent the stories. R. N. Baskin, who was mayor of Salt Lake City and a member of the Supreme Court of the State of Utah, made this statement in his book, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*:

One evening in 1872, Samuel Gilson, who discovered the gilsonite deposits in eastern Utah, came to my office and informed me that the United States

marshal held a warrant for the arrest of Bill Hickman, and that he was hiding to avoid arrest by the marshal and escape assassination by members of the Danite organization of which he had formerly been an active member. That having piloted General Connor's soldiers into Utah, and having severed his connection with that organization, his former Danite associates had become suspicious of him, and were seeking his life, and that he wanted to employ me as his attorney. I most positively refused to become Hickman's attorney. Mr. Gilson then stated that Hickman had expressed a desire to make a confession, and that even if I did not accept the offer of employment, that if I would agree to meet him he thought Hickman was in such a state of mind that he would tell me what he knew regarding the numerous murders which had been committed in the Territory. As I was desirous of ascertaining whether such an organization as the Danites or "Destroying Angels"—which was so much talked about and feared, especially by apostate Mormons—actually existed, and as Hickman—if it did exist—would know, I consented to meet him and instructed Mr. Gilson to inform him of that fact. In a short time afterward Mr. Gilson returned to my office and said that Hickman was ready to meet me if I would promise not to have him arrested. This I promised. Hickman, about eleven o'clock at night, in company with Mr. Gilson, came to my office. I had never seen Hickman before. After we had been formally introduced by Gilson, I stated to Hickman what Gilson had told me respecting his inclination to tell what he knew about the matters before mentioned. He hesitated, and I said to him that if, as generally asserted, he was or had been a member of such an organization, and had participated in the numerous murders which had been committed in the Territory, that the only atonement now within his power was to reveal the facts, as it might aid in preventing the commission of other like crimes. After deliberating for about a minute, he said that during his seclusion his mind had been greatly disturbed by the matter, and that he had finally concluded to reveal the facts to me, although in doing so he would acknowledge his own guilt. Procuring a pad and pencil I took down all that he said and also cross-examined him closely. We were together several hours. At that meeting he revealed most of the numerous crimes contained in his published confession, but in more minute detail. I told him that I wanted him to meet me again and repeat his statements. This he consented to do. Within two or three weeks thereafter I met him a second time and, as before, took down what he said and cross-examined him. My purpose in doing this was to test the truth of his confession, because if not true, his several statements would in all probability be inconsistent. At various times when I had leisure I critically examined and compared the statements, and while in the second one he mentioned two cases of murder which he had omitted in the first one, and in the second added some details which were not contained in the first, I failed to detect any contradictory statements. The statements of other persons made to me tended to corroborate his confessions. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, pages 36-37)

On pages 150 and 152 of the same book, Mr. Baskin stated:

The Danites were an organization in the Mormon church. Its existence was stated by Bill Hickman in his confession made to me. He gave me the names of more than a score of its active members, among whom were a number of reputed notorious Danite assassins. He stated that the members were bound by their covenants to execute the orders of the priesthood, and that when a direct order or intimation was given to "use up" anyone, it was always executed by one or more of the members, according to the circumstances of the case. That such an organization existed is conclusively shown by the numerous mysterious murders which were never investigated by the executive officers of the Territory, or any attempt made to prosecute the guilty parties. The Mormon sermons, the confessions of Hickman and Lee, and numerous other circumstances made plain its existence. Hickman confessed to me that he personally knew of thirteen persons having been murdered, some of them by him, and others by various Danites; that at one time he murdered a man by the name of Buck at the personal request of Brigham Young. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, page 150)

On page 264 of his book, *Sounding Brass*, Dr. Hugh Nibley makes the following statement:

The patent absurdity of the "Confessions" becomes apparent on the most superficial investigation and grows with every monotonous episode.

... how could Beadle and everybody else back East know all about Hickman and his Danites for years before Hickman ever divulged his deep secrets? (*Sounding Brass*, page 264)

R. N. Baskin shows, however, that Hickman's crimes were well known at least 13 years before Hickman made his confession:

Among the many heartless murders committed by the Danites was that of Jesse P. Hartley, published in Hickman's confession . . .

In the early days of my experience in Utah, I frequently had cases which required me to go to the city of Provo, and when attending court there I lodged at Mr. Bullock's hotel. Having heard of the murder of Hartley, and that his wife was a sister of Mr. Bullock, I asked him on one occasion, while stopping at his hotel, whether what I had heard respecting the murder of Hartley, was true. He stated that Hartley had incurred the displeasure of Brigham Young, who at a public meeting had used strong language against Hartley, and had ordered him to leave the speakers stand; that on account of the charges made by Brigham, which Bullock said were not true, Hartley was put under the ban of the church, and decided to change his residence. He joined the company of Judge Appleby, and while leaving the Territory was **murdered by Hickman**. I asked Mr. Bullock if the matter had ever been investigated by the executive authorities, and he said it had not been, although it was generally known that Hickman had committed the crime. I also asked him why he had not instituted proceedings against Hickman.

He shook his head significantly and replied, “Don’t press me for an answer to that question.”

The following account of the murder of Hartley, given by his wife **thirteen years before the confession of Hickman**, is contained in Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith’s book entitled *Fifteen Years Residence with the Mormons*, pages 309-310, . . . (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 152-153)

The fact that Mrs. Hartley told of the murder of her husband years before Hickman made his confession, and that Hosea Stout’s diary confirms many of the details found in Hickman’s confession, seems to prove that Hartley was murdered by orders of the Mormon leaders. We must agree with J. H. Beadle when he stated:

But those accustomed to judging the weight of evidence can come to but one conclusion: Jesse Hartley was murdered for apostasy, and the charge of counterfeiting was cooked up to furnish some sort of excuse to those of the Mormons who could not “swallow the strong doctrine of blood-atonement.” (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, Appendix C, pages 204-205)

ORRIN PORTER ROCKWELL

When Brigham Young said, “We have the meanest devils on the earth in our midst, and we intend to keep them; for we have use for them . . . ,” he might also have had Orrin Porter Rockwell in mind. On June 11, 1878, the *Salt Lake Tribune* stated that it was estimated Orrin Porter Rockwell had “participated in at least a hundred murders for the Church, none of which he ever divulged” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1878, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 9).

The Mormon writer Nicholas Van Alfen admitted that Rockwell had killed many men, but he stated that Rockwell had only killed when it was necessary for the sake of law and order:

He killed many men. But these cases were always in the performance of his duty as an officer. Notwithstanding the many attempts of Porter’s critics to slander him, there is not a single proof of his ever having taken a life wantonly. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshal*, 1964, page 93)

In studying the life of Orrin Porter Rockwell we are very indebted to Harold Schindler, a Mormon writer who has had the courage to examine Rockwell’s life in a scholarly and objective manner.

Just how many men Orrin Porter Rockwell actually put to death may never be known; there is no doubt, however, that he did not hesitate to kill when he felt that it was necessary. Harold Schindler relates the following:

After consulting with several other elders in the posse, Rockwell decided to end the chase and return to Tooele, but first he intended to deal with the prisoners. Deeming it unwise to turn the four loose “to commit more depredations and perhaps shed the blood of some useful citizen . . . they were sacrificed to the natural instincts of self-defence.” At a signal from Rockwell, the four Utes were shot to death, their bodies dumped into shallow graves scooped from the desert sand. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, University of Utah Press, 1966, page 201)

Mormon apologist Nicholas Van Alfen makes these statements concerning Rockwell:

Turning the other cheek had not gone into Porter’s mental and emotional make up. The suffering, tears and cries of his people left him barren of any compassion for the rogue and the lawless. This affected him the rest of his life as a law man in Utah. . . .

Rockwell learned how to shoot with an unexcelled accuracy, . . . In his mind every target was a formidable foe who was trying to beat him to the draw. He prepared himself well for Port lived to be an old man through a gunfighting career that was second to none. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshal*, pages 17-18)

Nicholas Van Alfen even has to admit that Orrin Porter Rockwell sometimes took the law into his own hands:

One cannot resist the conclusion that Porter nourished a growing hatred and an attitude of revenge against the type of men that characterized lawlessness and brutality. He became a peril to them because at times he was **his own court, judge and executioner**. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshal*, pages 47-48)

On page 65 of the same book, we find the following:

John F. Everet, an old timer of Springville, Utah, knew Rockwell . . . Mr. Everet praised Porter highly but criticized him because too often he did not bother with the courts. If a man stole a horse and had to be chased a hundred miles, it was **not** likely that the thief would be brought in alive.

On page 96 of the same book, Nicholas Van Alfen stated that “Porter always said that he never killed a man unless he deserved it.”

According to Mr. Schindler’s research, Orrin Porter Rockwell was born on June 28, 1813. He was one of the first to join the Mormon Church. In Missouri Rockwell joined the dreaded Danite band. The Mormon writer William E. Berrett states that the Danites were organized for the “purpose of **plundering and murdering** the enemies of the Saints” (*The Restored Church*, 1956, page 198). He is, however, unwilling to admit that Joseph Smith had anything to do with the Danites. Harold Schindler, on the other hand, feels that “the prophet probably encouraged the concept, . . .” (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 44).

After the Mormons had been driven from Missouri, they were filled with hatred and ideas of revenge. On June 27, 1842, Joseph Smith told of a dream which his son had:

This morning little Frederick G. W. Smith told his dream to all the house, that “the Missourians had **got their heads knocked off.**” (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 45)

Joseph Smith felt that “Lieutenant Governor Boggs” was chiefly responsible for driving the Mormons out of Missouri and that he was worthy of death:

All earth and hell cannot deny that a baser knave, a greater traitor, and a more wholesale butcher, or murderer of mankind ever went untried, unpunished, and unhung—since hanging is the popular method of execution among the Gentiles in all countries professing Christianity, instead of **blood for blood**, according to the law of heaven. (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 435)

On January 1, 1841, the *Times and Seasons*, a Mormon publication, called Boggs “a demon” and carried this statement concerning him:

Painful and awful Death!!!
Died, (politically,) at the city of Jefferson, of **Mormon mania**, on the 17th of Nov., the notorious Lilburn W. Boggs, in the fourth year of his reign. **Died** Lilburn as a fool dieth, yea he gathered up his feet and slept with his fathers; and all the people rejoiced exceedingly. Thus has passed from the political arena one of [t]he proudest, most cruel, and feeble despots, that ever swayed a princely sceptre—his life, despised; his death, unlamented.—[Communicated.] (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, page 271)

On May 6, 1842, an attempt was made on the life of Lilburn W. Boggs. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart stated:

Unfortunately for Joseph, the Mormons and mankind generally, Bogg’s **recovered** despite three bullet wounds in the head and neck. (*Joseph Smith—The Mormon Prophet*, 1966, page 171)

Many people believed that Joseph Smith had predicted Boggs’ death. Harold Schindler stated:

About this time Joseph angrily prophesied that Lilburn Boggs would “die by violent hands within a year.” And in a fit of pique he added that Governor Carlin would die in a ditch. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 72)

The *Quincy Wig*, May 21, 1842, carried this statement:

There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrid affair; one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons, . . . the Mormon Prophet, as we understand, prophesied, a year or so ago, his death by violent means. Hence there is plenty of foundation for rumor. (*Quincy Whig*, May 21, 1842, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 77)

Joseph Smith denied that he had prophesied concerning Boggs and Carlin. Thomas Carlin, however, made these statements in a letter to Joseph Smith:

In reply, I can in truth say that I do not entertain or cherish hostile or revengeful feelings towards any man or set of men on earth; but that I may have used strong expressions in reference to yourself, at times when my indignation has been somewhat aroused by repeated admonitions of my friends (both before and since the attempt to assassinate Ex-Governor Boggs) to be upon my guard; that you had prophesied that Boggs should die a violent death, and that I should die in a ditch, all this, however, if true, looked upon as idle boasting until since the assassination of Boggs, and even since then, in reference to myself, . . .

I have seen your denial in the *Wasp*, of the prediction, attributed to you, of the death (or assassination) of Governor Boggs; be that true or false, nothing has contributed more towards fixing the belief upon the public mind, that you had made such prediction, than the repeated statements of a portion of your followers, that the manner of his death had been revealed to you, and their exultation that it needs must be fulfilled. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 50)

Although Harold Schindler does not definitely state that Orrin Porter Rockwell was guilty of the attempted assassination, he does bring out the fact that Rockwell was in the area and that he was using an assumed name:

Therefore, in February of 1842 when Orrin Porter Rockwell gathered up his family to visit Independence so that Luana, eight months pregnant with their fourth child, could be with her parents, Bennett, so he says, was not surprised at Joseph’s explanation that Rockwell had gone to “fulfill prophecy.” Once in Independence Rockwell set out to find work . . . Since Jackson County settlers still harbored a hatred for Mormons, Rockwell used an assumed name while in the area; he called himself Brown. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 73)

On pages 75 and 76 of the same book, Harold Schindler states:

Outside the house a crowd had quickly gathered at first report of the murder attempt, and now numbered nearly two hundred persons; one of the spectators searching the spot where the gunman had stood found traces of footprints in the mud, and in a partially-filled puddle he discovered a gun. Sheriff Reynolds studied the firearm carefully, . . . Reynolds surmised the recoil of such a heavy charge had kicked the pistol from the gunman's grasp, and failing to find it in the rain, the assassin had fled. While the sheriff mulled these thoughts in his mind, a storekeeper named Uhlinger recognized the weapon as one stolen from his shop.

"I thought the niggers had taken it, but that hired man of Ward's—the one who used to work with the stallion—he came in to look at it just before it turned up missing!" the storekeeper said.

Grateful for a genuine lead, Reynolds began looking for the hired hand, "to ask some questions," but the man was nowhere to be found. It was not long before the sheriff determined that Mr. Brown, the suspect, was Orrin Porter Rockwell.

On page 80 of the same book, Mr. Schindler states:

If Rockwell did fire the fateful shot, it would appear the decision was of his own making; he had no love for Boggs, and in Rockwell's eyes the man had sinned against the church in ordering the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri. It also is possible Rockwell felt he was performing a religious duty as a member of the priesthood in fulfilling Joseph's prophecy.

In footnote 27 on page 82, Mr. Schindler states:

Much has been written of Bogg's true feelings in regard to the attempt on his life. Mormon writers suggest the former governor had made a number of Gentile enemies, so many in fact, that to insinuate the church was to blame was typical of his bigotry. Even though the controversy over the near assassination will never be resolved, one thing can be stated as a certainty—Boggs sincerely believed his attacker was a Mormon. In 1846 when he journeyed west, he confided to his traveling companions that he understood the Saints were headed in the same direction and confessed he feared for his life because they had made an earlier attempt to kill him.

Lilburn W. Boggs evidently did fear the Mormons. The Mormon Apostle Willard Richards recorded the following in his journal:

A lady from Ft. Leavenworth told Bro. Lewis that Boggs started with a co. of emigrants for Oregon, heard that 4,000 Mormons were on their way, and for fear they would find him and kill him he had returned home to Independence, Mo. (*Willard Richards' Journal*, June 20, 1846, typed copy)

Mr. Boggs did go west, however. The Mormons were very disturbed when they heard that Boggs might be Governor of California. Brigham Young wrote the following in a letter to President Polk:

4. Resolved, that we have heard . . . that the friends of Ex. Gov. Boggs are endeavoring to make him Governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that peace and Mormonism which are always undivided and Lilburn W. Boggs, cannot dwell together, and we solicit the attention of President Polk, to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious republic. ("Manuscript History of Brigham Young," August 9, 1846, typed copy)

Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

On December 9, 1848, the Council of Fifty met at the house of Heber C. Kimball to deliberate on the advisability of petitioning Congress for a territorial government. It was agreed upon that such a government should only be requested with the understanding that the Mormons could choose their own officers. "Should they send such men as Lilburn Boggs, Neal, Gilliam Benton, King, William & others" . . . recorded John D. Lee, "we should send them Cross Lotts to Hell, that dark & dreary Road where no traveler ever returns." Not surprisingly, all the officers of the proposed government were members of the Council of Fifty, with Brigham Young as governor. (*Quest for Empire*, page 126)

Although the Mormons publicly denied that they were guilty of the attempt on Boggs' life, many of them rejoiced to hear that he had been shot. Under the date of August 10, 1842, Oliver Olney wrote the following:

City of Nauvoo August 10th 1842.
As I spend my time in and about the place I get the daily news that is a going As a story arose that Gov Boggs of Missouri was shot By some villin or Assassin in the knight It went threw our City like electricity Many spoke of the deed as a **noble act** That who ever did it Was entitled to the P—hood After the order of the Son of God Many continued talking about matters and things That I became satisfied That many knew Who shot Governor Bogs ("The Olney Papers," unpublished handwritten manuscript in Yale University Library)

On May 28, 1842, the Mormon newspaper, *The Wasp*, published a communications signed by "Vortex." In this article we find the following:

Boggs is undoubtedly killed, according to report, but who did the **noble deed** remains to be found out. (*The Wasp*, May 28, 1842)

Mary Ettie V. Smith made this statement concerning the shooting of Boggs:

It was about this time that Governor Boggs, of Missouri, was shot at St. Louis. It appears that the Governor had offended the Mormons very much when the latter were driven from that State in 1838, and I recollect hearing the Prophet say on the stand, that the man who had shot Governor Boggs would have a crown immortal, and it was understood at the time, that O. Porter Rockwell was the person referred to by Joseph. (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, page 29)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft made this statement concerning the Boggs affair:

An attempt made to assassinate Governor Boggs was, of course, charged to the Mormons, and probably with truth. (*History of Utah*, page 156)

It is interesting to note that even John Whitmer, one of the eight witnesses to the Book of Mormon, felt that Joseph Smith was responsible for the attempted murder of Boggs:

As soon as the Lord gave Smith and the church favor in the eyes of the people among whom they lived, and began to prosper them and many began to gather to Nauvoo, Smith and the leaders began to exercise their hatred to those whom he called his enemies. He hired a man by the name of Porter Orin Rockwell (who was one of the Gadianton band of whom I heretofore spoke) to go and murder a man by name of L. W. Boggs who had been elected governor by the people of the state of Missouri; but was not governor at the time Smith sent him to commit this crime. Boggs resided at Independence, the place appointed for the land of Zion, yea, the New Jerusalem; so Rockwell went to Independence, and at night he went to the house of Boggs and shot him through the window; but he did not kill him, only wounded him severely, but he recovered. Rockwell was caught and put to jail, and I believe he was tried by a jury of inquest, but was not sufficient testimony to condemn him, though it is a well-known fact that he was hired by Smith to kill Boggs. (*John Whitmer's History*, Chapter 21)

When the Mormon Apostle John Taylor was in France in 1851, the shooting of Boggs was mentioned. In reply the Apostle Taylor stated:

... I proved Mr. Caswell to have told one lie, and a man that will tell one falsehood to injure an innocent people, will tell five hundred. ... We have had a terrible account about the murder of Governor Boggs, I suppose given by the Rev. Mr. Caswell. Ex-governor Boggs is now living in California, at the gold mines. (Laughter.) But I suppose he must be dead, because a reverend gentleman said so. (*Orson Pratt's Works*, "Public Discussion," page 8)

While it was true that Boggs had gone to California, we feel that the Apostle Taylor should have explained that Boggs was shot and almost died and that it was only after his recovery that he went to California.

General Connor claimed that toward the end of his life Orrin Porter Rockwell confessed to him that he had shot Boggs:

"Bill Hickman," say General Connor, "told me half an hour after it occurred, that Brigham had promised him a thousand dollars if he would send a ball through my brain and lay the murder to the Indians. I don't believe that those men were butchers by nature: they were fanatics in their belief that they could not be saved if they would not obey any order of the prophet, right or wrong. As to Rockwell, he considered me his only friend in the last years of his life, and wrote to me, while I was in California, that I should come and help him in a law-suit. I employed him during one winter to guard my stock. He discharged this task with scrupulous honesty. He used, like Hickman, to tell me many of the horrible deeds he had committed for the church. Among other things he told me once that **he had shot Boggs**. "I shot through the window," said he "and thought I had killed him, but I had only wounded him; I was damned sorry that I had not killed the son of a b_____!" (*Mormon Portraits*, by Dr. Wyl, Salt Lake City, 1886, page 255)

William Hall, who had been a member of the Mormon Church, claimed that he heard Rockwell boast concerning the attempted assassination:

The attempt to assassinate Governor Boggs must not be omitted. . . . Porter Rockwell . . . shot him through the window, in the face. . . . I heard him afterward boast of his exploits in shooting Boggs. I also heard Brigham Young boast of the same thing. He said, "We'll send Porter Rockwell to them, he'll do them up." (*The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*, Cincinnati, 1852, page 30)

Joseph Smith held Orrin Porter Rockwell in full fellowship. On one occasion he stated:

But there is one man I would mention, namely Orrin Porter Rockwell, . . . He is an innocent and noble boy. May God Almighty deliver him from the hands of his pursuers. He was an innocent and a noble child and my soul loves him. Let this be recorded for ever and ever. Let the blessings of salvation and honor be his portion. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 125)

Nicholas VanAlfen gives this interesting information:

Rockwell claimed throughout his life that Joseph Smith promised him if he would never cut his hair he would never die at the hands of his enemies. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshal*, page 41)

Under the date of December 25, 1843, we find this statement recorded in Joseph Smith's *History*:

A large party supped at my house, and spent the evening in music, dancing, &c., in a most cheerful and friendly manner. During the festivities, a man with his hair long and falling over his shoulders, and apparently drunk, came in and acted like a Missourian. I requested the captain of the police to put him out of doors. A scuffle ensued, and I had an opportunity to look him full in the face, when, to my great surprise and joy untold, I discovered it was my long-tried, warm, but cruelly persecuted friend, Orrin Porter Rockwell, just arrived from nearly a year's imprisonment, without conviction, in Missouri. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 134-135)

Less than two years after this Orrin Porter Rockwell found himself in trouble for the shooting of Frank Worrell. The Mormon version of the shooting appears in the *History of the Church* under the date of September 16, 1845:

Sheriff Backenstos . . . was pursued by a party of the mob on horseback, . . . they had gained on him considerably.

Orrin P. Rockwell and John Redding were refreshing themselves near the crossing as they had been out to bring in some of the burnt-out families who were sick, and on looking up saw Backenstos coming down the hill at full speed, and asked what was the matter. Backenstos replied the mob were after and determined to kill him and commanded them in the name of the people of the state to protect him. Rockwell replied, fear not, we have 50 rounds (two fifteen-shooter rifles besides revolvers).

Sheriff Backenstos then turned to the mob and commanded them to stop, and as they continued to advance raising their guns, he ordered Rockwell to fire; he did so aiming at the clasp of the belt on one of the mob, which proved to be Frank Worrell, who fell from his horse and the rest turned back and soon brought up a wagon and put his body into it. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 446-447)

Harold Schindler gives this interesting information regarding the shooting of Worrell:

A Mormon farmer, Jacob Baum, on whose property Rockwell and Redden had halted for water, came running to see what the shooting was about. Rockwell was slipping the rifle into his saddle boot as Baum approached.

"What happened?" Baum asked.

"I got him," Rockwell explained.

"Got who?"

"Worrell. I was afraid my rifle couldn't reach him, but it did, thank God." (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 146)

In footnote 20 on the same page Mr. Schindler states: "Baum's conversation with Rockwell here is exactly as the farmer repeated it to his son-in-law, George W. Bean."

The anti-Mormon version of the shooting is that it was a deliberate ambush on the part of the Mormons. The *Warsaw Signal* reported:

It has become our painful duty to announce the death of one of our most estimable citizens, by the hands of assassins. Franklin A. Worrel, of Carthage is no more. While riding across the prairie, in company with some friends, . . . some Mormons concealed in the hazel rough, nine miles from this place, fired upon him. . . .

Further Particulars.—We learn from Mr. Reynolds, with whom Mr. Worrel was riding, that Backenstos was seen by him and Mr. Worrel . . . They rode towards him slowly, to enquire the news. When about 300 yards off, they saw a man enter the brush and presently the shot was fired from the spot where he entered. The place w[h]ere the murder took place was at the point Backenstos had ordered a rendezvous, so that, it appears to have been the work of the Sheriff's Mormon posse. (*Warsaw Signal*, September 17, 1845, page 2)

William Hall made this statement concerning the shooting:

The death of Frank Worrell, about this time caused a deep sensation. He was riding on the highway, . . . The sheriff, . . . had been elected by Mormon influence. M'Intosh [Backenstos] and Porter Rockwell, the man who shot Gov. Boggs, were riding along the road together when they espied Mr. Worrell coming up the road, . . . They immediately got behind a copse of hazel, and as he came up, Rockwell fired and Worrell fell instantly, mortally wounded. . . . The reward given by Brigham Young to Rockwell for this service was punctually paid. It was no less than the wife of a Mr. Davis, a merchant of Nauvoo, whom he obtained through Young, and brought her into the temple, and according to the spiritual wife system, she was sealed up to him for time and eternity. Thus Rockwell perpetrated the double crime of murder and adultery. (*The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*, page 28)

While it would be difficult to prove that Mrs. Davis was given to Orrin Porter Rockwell as a reward for killing Worrell, it is a fact that Rockwell took her from her husband. Harold Schindler states:

Prior to his arrest in 1843 on charges of assault on Governor Boggs, Rockwell had taken up residence in a tavern operated by Amos Davis, A Nauvoo Legion captain. It was this officer's wife of whom Rockwell had become enamored. How long the affair had been blooming is not a matter of record, but he did acknowledge the lady publicly early in 1845. Because of his notoriety the matter did not pass unnoticed. Said the *Warsaw Signal* of December 10:

O. P. ROCKWELL—This delectable specimen of humanity, . . . the assassin of Governor Boggs, has taken to himself a wife—not his own wife, for be it remembered that he cast off the woman that law regarded as his wife long since; but he has appropriated to himself the wife of Amos Davis. It is generally the case that when a wife leave her husband to live with a seducer, they elope and settle in a place where they are not known; but there is no necessity for such a step in the Holy Nauvoo. So fashionable is it for the Heads of the church to appropriate the wives of other men to their own purposes, that it is regarded as no crime for one man to steal the companion of his neighbor and live with her in open unconcealed adultery. What a beautiful moral code is Mormonism!

. . . Davis did not depart from Nauvoo, a display of courage which placed him in a delicate and dangerous position, for one morning there appeared at his door the person of Mrs. Davis—in company with Rockwell. The astonished tavern-keeper gawked in disbelief as his wife casually gathered together her belongings; Rockwell stood to one side and conspicuously inspected the trigger mechanism on his pistol. Scarcely had the couple closed the door on the hapless husband than word of the incident flashed through the streets of the city. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, pages 148-149)

On page 151 of the same book, Mr. Schindler states:

When Orrin Porter Rockwell received his endowments in temple ceremonies January 5, 1846, he may have been accompanied by the former Mrs. Davis as William Hall suggests, but Luana Beebe Rockwell was not at his side. That is a certainty. She had been endowed three days before.

However this may be, the non-Mormons were very disturbed with Orrin Porter Rockwell. The following appears in the *History of the Church* under the date of October 9, 1845:

General Hardin has pledged himself to the mob that he will come to Nauvoo with his troops and either arrest Orrin P. Rockwell and some others of the brethren or he “will unroof every house in Nauvoo.” (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 481)

This statement concerning Rockwell appeared in the *Quincy Whig*:

Rockwell’s career of crime is familiar to those who have heard or read of Mormon proceedings in Hancock. He was Joe Smith’s right hand man, and stood ready to execute any order of Joe’s however criminal. . . .

Rockwell has been a perfect desperado—reckless and ruffianly to the last extreme. A few days since one of the Higbees had occasion to visit Nauvoo on business. . . . Rockwell, hearing of his presence in the city, followed him about, threatening his life, firing pistols over his head, etc., . . .

The day or two previous to his arrest, he was roaming about the streets of Nauvoo, with his weapons belted around him, swearing that the troops were now disbanded—that he intended to regulate the county, and openly boasted that he had killed Worrell, and that there were more in the county that he intended to serve in the same way. The fact is, the fellow had so long been suffered to run at large in violation of the law, that he began to think he could continue his career with impunity. (*Quincy Whig*, May 6, 1846, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 153)

The Mormon writer Nicholas Van Alfen stated:

Porter became a marked man on the list of the anti-Mormon crusaders. Newspapers began to refer to him as the “notorious O. P. Rockwell.” . . .

One day a posse was sent to arrest Rockwell. During the day some of these men were having dinner at the Nauvoo Mansion while some were keeping a vigil for Porter. The news had spread that another hunt was on for Porter and a large crowd had gathered. Presently a carriage was driven rapidly up to the Mansion House. The driver climbed down and opened the door, and a woman stepped out. She was dressed in a black dress with a bonnet on her head and a veil covering her face. She went through the crowd and up the stairway into the house. After a few minutes she returned and entered the carriage again and was hurriedly driven away. The word was soon circulated among the people that the lady in black was none other than Porter. He did love antics of this kind. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshall*, pages 52-53)

Orrin Porter Rockwell was finally captured, however. Under the date of May 8, 1846, we find this statement in Hosea Stout’s diary:

The mail came in to day from Nauvoo bringing news that O. P. Rockwell had been taken prisoner in Nauvoo and taken to Carthage but have not learned the particulars I suspect that there has been some treachery used by some or he could not have been taken as it seems to me. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 160)

The *Warsaw Signal* gave the following statements concerning Rockwell’s arrest:

We learn that this notorious cut throat was arrested . . . on the charge of murdering F. A. Worrel.

A correspondent furnishes us with the following particulars of the arrest.

The troops . . . waited and consulted about three hours as to the best means of getting him. . . . Rockwell had with him 2 fifteen shooters, 2 six shooters, a brace of single shooters and a bowie knife. . . .

It appears that Rockwell after his last return to the Holy city, hearing that Governor Ford had disbanded the Guard, charged around more violently than he had ever

done before. He yelled about the city a la Indian—swore the Governor had dismissed Major Warren and given him command in Hancock, and he intended now to go it on the loud. . . .

After his arrest on the charge of murder he was taken on the charge of counterfeiting and passing counterfeit money. (*Warsaw Signal*, May 6, 1846, page 2)

On pages 154-155 of his book, Harold Schindler shows that with the help of the “church’s attorney” Orrin Porter Rockwell was able to gain his freedom:

Because Backenstos was prepared to testify he ordered Rockwell to shoot Worrell, church authorities were of the opinion an impartial jury would not return a guilty verdict. Rockwell had willingly agreed to face trial on first-degree murder charges, but the risk involved obtaining a change of venue to a court more favorable to the Saints. If he were tried in Hancock County his fate was sealed. As soon as the jailer turned the cell key behind Rockwell, wheels were put in motion to change jurisdiction in the case; this was done through the church’s attorney Almon W. Babbitt. . . . Ultimately the request for a change of venue to Galena, one hundred and fifty miles to the north of Daviess County, was granted and not a moment too soon. A grand jury handed down an indictment against Rockwell by the first of June and ordered him to appear for trial the following month. Babbitt, after relieving his client of a gold watch as a fee for his services, subpoenaed his star witness, Sheriff Backenstos, and Rockwell was promptly freed. The counterfeiting charges apparently were dismissed at the same time.

While it was obvious to the “Gentiles” that Rockwell was a murderer, the Mormons honored him and even initiated him into the secret “Council of Fifty” (*Quest for Empire*, pages 223-225).

One of the cruelest deeds the Mormons engaged in was the Aiken massacre. Evidence shows that Rockwell was involved in this massacre. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives the following information concerning this massacre:

Among other atrocities laid to the charge of the Mormons was one known as the Aiken massacre, which also occurred during the year 1857. Two brothers of that name, with four others, returning from California to the eastern states, were arrested in southern Utah as spies, and, as was alleged, four of the party were escorted to Nephi, where it was arranged that Porter Rockwell and Sylvanus Collett should assassinate them. While encamped on the Sevier River they were attacked by night, two of them being killed and two wounded, the latter escaping to Nephi, whence they started for Salt Lake City, but were murdered on their way at Willow Springs. Although the guilty parties were well known, it was not until many years later that one of them, named Collett, was arrested, and in October 1878 was tried and acquitted at Provo. All the efforts of Judge Cradlebaugh availed nothing, and soon afterward he discharged the prisoners and adjourned his court sine die, entering on his docket the following minute: “The whole community

presents a united and organized opposition to the proper administration of justice.” (*History of Utah*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, pages 562-563)

J. H. Beadle gave the following information concerning the Aiken massacre:

Of all the cowardly and cold-blooded acts which have made the Mormon Priesthood infamous, this wholesale murder of the Aikin party stands pre-eminent. Second to that of Mountain Meadow only in extent, it even excels it in wanton cruelty, treachery, and violation of every principle of hospitality. . . . Fourteen years had the blood of these victims cried from the ground before the whole truth was known, and now, with the establishment of national power in Utah, a cloud of witnesses rise, and every incident in the tragedy is fully proved. From the evidence before the grand jury and in possession of the officers, I condense the history of the Aikin party, and their treacherous murder. The party consisted of six men: . . . They left Sacramento early in May, 1857, going eastward to meet Johnston’s army, as was supposed. On reaching the Humboldt River they found the Indians very bad, and waited for a train of the Mormons from Carson, who were ordered home about that time. With them they completed the journey. John Pendleton, one of that Mormon party, in his testimony on the case says: “A better lot of boys I never saw. They were kind, polite, and brave; always ready to do anything needed on the road.”

The train traveled slowly, so the Aikin party left it a hundred miles out and came ahead, and on reaching Kaysville, twenty-five miles north of Salt Lake City, they were all arrested on the charge of being spies for the Government! . . . The Aikin party had stock, property, and money estimated at \$25,000.

They were taken to the city and confined in a house at the corner of Main and First South Streets. Nothing being proved against them they were told they should be “sent out of the Territory by the Southern route.” Four of them started, leaving Buck and one of the unknown men in the city. The party had for an escort, O. P. Rockwell, John Lot, ___ Miles, and one other. When they reached Nephi, one hundred miles south, Rockwell informed the Bishop, Bryant, that his orders were to “**have the men used up there.**” Bishop Bryant called a council at once, and the following men were selected to assist: J. Bigler (now a Bishop), P. Pitchforth, his “first councillor,” John Kink, and ___ Pickton.

The doomed men were stopping at T. B. Foote’s, and some persons in the family afterwards testified to having heard the council that condemned them. The selected murderers, at 11 p.m., started from the Tithing House and got ahead of the Aikins, who did not start till daylight. The latter reached the Sevier River, when Rockwell informed them they could find no other camp that day; they halted, when the other party approached and asked to camp with them, for which permission was granted. The weary men removed their arms and heavy clothing, and were soon lost in sleep—that sleep which for two of them was to have no waking on earth. All seemed fit for their damnable purpose, and yet the murderers hesitated. As near as can be determined, they still feared that all could not be done with perfect secrecy, and determined to use no firearms. With this view the

escort and the party from Nephi attacked the sleeping men with clubs and the kingbolts of the wagons. Two died without a struggle. But John Aiken bounded to his feet, but slightly wounded, and sprang into the brush. A shot from the pistol of John Kink laid him senseless. "Colonel" also reached the brush, receiving a shot in the shoulder from Port Rockwell, and believing the whole party had been attacked by banditti, he made his way back to Nephi. With almost superhuman strength he held out during the twenty-five miles, and the first bright rays of a Utah sun showed the man, who twenty-four hours before had left them handsome and vigorous in the pride of manhood, now ghastly pale and drenched with his own blood, staggering feebly along the streets of Nephi. He reached Bishop Foote's, and his story elicited a well-feigned horror.

Meanwhile the murderers had gathered up the other three and thrown them into the river, supposing all to be dead. But John Aiken revived and crawled out on the same side, and hiding in the brush, heard these terrible words:

"Are the damned Gentiles all dead, Port?"

"All but one—the son of a b____ran."

Supposing himself to be meant, Aikin lay still till the Danites left, then, without hat, coat, or boots, on a November night, the ground covered with snow, he set out for Nephi. Who can imagine the feelings of the man? Unlike "Colonel" he knew too well who the murderers were, and believed himself the only survivor. To return to Nephi offered but slight hope, but it was the only hope, and incredible as it may appear he reached it next day. He sank helpless at the door of the first house he reached, but the words he heard infused new life into him. The woman, afterwards a witness, said to him, "Why, another of you ones got away from the robbers, and is at Brother Foote's."

"Thank God; it is my brother," he said, and started on. The citizens tell with wonder that he ran the whole distance, his hair clotted with blood, reeling like a drunken man all the way. It was not his brother, but "Colonel". . .

Bishop Bryant came, extracted the balls, dressed the wounds, and advised the men to return, as soon as they were able, to Salt Lake City. . . .

The murderers had returned, and a new plan was concocted. "Colonel" had saved his pistol and Aiken his watch, a gold one, worth at least \$250. When ready to leave they asked the bill, and were informed it was \$30. They promised to send it from the city, and were told that "would not do." Aiken then said, "Here is my watch and my partner's pistol—take your choice." Foote took the pistol. When he handed it to him, Aikin said, "There, take my best friend. But God knows it will do us no good." Then to his partner, with tears streaming from his eyes, "Prepare for death, Colonel, we will never get out of this valley alive."

According to the main witness, a woman of Nephi, all regarded them as doomed. They had got four miles on the road, when their driver, a Mormon named Wolff, stopped the wagon near an old cabin; informed them he must water his horses; unhitched them, and moved away. Two men then stepped from the cabin, and fired with double-barreled guns; Aikin and "Colonel" were both shot through the head, and fell dead from the wagon.

Their bodies were then loaded with stone and put in one of those "bottomless springs"—so called—common in that part of Utah. . . .

Meanwhile Rockwell and party had reached the city, taken Buck and the other man, and started southward, plying them with liquor. It is probable that Buck only feigned drunkenness; but the other man was insensible by the time they reached the Point of the Mountain. There it was decided to "use them up," and they were attacked with slung-shots and billies. The other man was instantly killed. Buck leaped from the wagon, outran his pursuers, their shots missing him, swam the Jordan, and came down it on the west side. He reached the city and related all that occurred, which created quite a stir. Hickman was then sent for to "finish the job," which he did, as related in the text. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, Appendix F, pages 206-210)

There can be no doubt that the Mormons did take the Aiken party as prisoners, for under the date of November 3, 1857, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary:

Cal mail came and **six Cal prisoners taken** at Box Elder supposed **spies**. (*On The Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 644)

On November 9, 1857, Hosea Stout recorded that he was "guarding the prisoners from Cal." On November 20, 1857, Hosea Stout made this very revealing entry in his diary:

O. P. ROCKWELL with 3 or four others started with 4 of the **prisoners**, which we had been guarding for some days, South to escort them through the settlements to Cal via South route. The other two are going to be permitted to go at large and remain till spring and the guard dismissed. (*On The Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 645)

Harold Schindler has done a great deal of research concerning the Aiken massacre. On pages 272-278 of his book Mr. Schindler gives this information:

All Six men of the Aiken Party rode with Rockwell's escort as far as Lehi, where Chapman and Jones, who preferred to remain behind, took their leave. . . . Escorting the two Aikens, Tuck Wright, and Colonel Eichard were Rockwell, Sylvanus Collett, and two others, witnesses said. . . .

Twenty years later, when Sylvanus Collett was on trial for his life (charged with the murder of John Aiken), two Mormons, Joseph Skeen and his son, William, both took the witness stand and testified that Collett had told them the whole story of the Aiken Party. . . . Troubled by the gossip, Skeen asked Collett about it and was told "that he [Collett] had been an escort to the Aiken party from the north, they having been delivered over to Rockwell . . . and himself, with the order to make away with them."

The Skeens, father and son, agreed in substance that Collett gave this account of what transpired after the eight-man party left Nephi:

Because the Californians were large and strong, a second group of men had been sent from Nephi south to the Sevier River while the four Gentiles still were asleep at the settlement. When the gamblers and their escort arrived at the river that evening, they camped with the men who had preceded them the night before; the meeting was made to appear accidental. Owing to considerable Indian activity in the vicinity, the gamblers had no objection to teaming up with a few extra hands.

After dinner the party sat around the campfire singing, when someone shouted that Indians were attacking. The four men who had been sent in advance to act as reinforcements created a confusion to distract the Californians, and at a signal (here the Skeens were in conflict, the father testifying Collett gave the sign, the son saying it was Rockwell) each of the four men in the escort, having selected a victim in advance, slipped a bar of iron from his sleeve and struck his man on the head. “. . . Collett missed (his) man,” William Skeen told the court. In fact, he said, Collett was being badly beaten until Rockwell pulled a revolver and, firing across the campfire, shot Collett’s man in the back. The wounded Californian lurched, fell into the brush, and escaped in the darkness. The bodies of the two Aikens and the colonel were thrown into the river; Tom Aiken and Eichard were dead, but the icy water apparently revived John Aiken, who crawled to shore and made his way to Nephi. . . . after the two wounded men were patched up and put to bed in Foote’s hotel, Mrs. Frances Cazier, who had watched the drama with interest, noticed Rockwell and three others enter town after dark. Next morning she was standing in the doorway of her home adjacent to the Tithing Office and saw Rockwell sitting inside with several other men. At Collett’s trial she testified she heard a voice say: “Boys, you’ve made a bad job of it; two got away. Nephi won’t be trusted with another job.”

Fourteen-year-old Alice Lamb listened to a conversation between several Nephi residents in which the return of Aiken and Wright was discussed and a decision made to lure the two men to another spot and “there to make away with them.” Meanwhile, other people in Nephi were hearing and seeing things they would be asked about twenty years later. Guy Foote and Reuben Down had occasion to pass the Tithing Office corral; there they saw horses and pack animals belonging to the Aiken Party.

Four or five days after the two survivors had made their surprise appearance in Nephi, they felt able to travel . . . Shortly before they rode out of the settlement, Rockwell and several men were seen heading north.

The events of the next few hours remain much of a mystery, but William Skeen swore that Collett had boasted of ambushing Wright and Aiken at a place called Willow Creek, eight miles from Nephi. The buggy had stopped for water when the door to a nearby herder’s shack flew open and a couple of double-barreled shotguns poked out and fired, killing the two men instantly. The bodies were weighted with rocks and thrown in the deep springs bubbling four miles away.

Before long, Aiken Party property was turning up everywhere. Guy Foote saw one of his friends walking around in John Aiken’s coat, with what appeared to be a mended bullet hole in the back. A fancy Mexican saddle

had been seen near the Foote home. As Rockwell and his men rode back to Great Salt Lake City, they did not go unnoticed. In Provo, Richard Ivie marked the iron grey mule now in possession of the four Mormons as the same animal he had admired in the Aiken Party. George Murdock in Lehi recognized an iron grey mule and a roan pony in the Rockwell outfit as Aiken stock.

The rest of the story is a puzzle, but the known facts would indicate that as Rockwell and his companions continued toward Great Salt Lake City, they were joined, for one reason or another, by A. J. “Honesty” Jones. Perhaps he, too, recognized the mule or some other Aiken gear. Near Point of the Mountain an attempt was made on his life, but Jones was able to escape with only bruises. He made it across the Jordan River and back to Great Salt Lake City, where he began “telling all that happened, which is making a big stink!”

Bill Hickman, fresh from a murder himself, enters the picture at this point. Told that “the boys have made a bad job of trying to put a man away,” Hickman says he was ordered to find Jones and “use him up.” (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, pages 272-278)

In his confession Bill Hickman wrote:

After being at home some time, word was sent to me to have my boys look for a man that had got away from a party at what was called the Point of the Mountain, twenty-five miles south of Salt Lake City. Two boys who were living with me went up the river and returned about noon, and two hours later a messenger came from the city and told me I was wanted at Brigham Young’s office immediately. I mounted my horse and was in town in an hour, and went to Young’s office. He asked me if I “had seen the boys?” I asked him what boys? and he answered, “Geo. Grant and William Kimball.” I told him I had not. I then told him I had got word to come to his office, and wished to know what was wanting. He answered: “The boys have made a bad job of trying to put a man out of the way. They all got drunk, bruised up a fellow, and he got away from them at the Point of the Mountain, came back to this city, and is telling all that happened, which is making a big stink.” He said I must get him out of the way and use him up. He told me to go and find the boys, meaning Generals Grant and Kimball, they both being acting generals in the Utah militia at that time, and arrange things with them, so as to have him taken care of.

I found them, and they told me O. P. Rockwell, with a party, had made a bad job and wanted help, and **I had been sent for to wind it up**. Said they: “Did Brigham tell you what was up?” I told them he did, and had sent me to arrange things. They told me they had things fixed; that when the party, to which this man belonged, first came into the Territory, they had all stopped twelve miles north of the city, and remained several weeks in the neighborhood where George Dalton lived; that Dalton was in town, and they had got him to see this man (whose name I never heard, only he was called Buck), and take him home with him, for he had confidence in Dalton. They said Dalton understood it, and they were waiting for me to come and meet him on the road. They then hunted up Dalton, and told him they had things all right now. Dalton was to leave town a little before sundown, and pass the Hot Springs three miles north of the city, and take the lower road on

which there was not much travel, and I was to meet him. I was to know his team because both of his horses were white, and he was to drive very fast.

All being arranged, and the sun about an hour high. I got my horse, and the question was then asked how many men I wanted to go with me. I told them I did not want anyone. They said I must have somebody, and I told them then I would take a man that was standing by, by the name of Meacham. They got him a horse, and we went to the place appointed, and just at dark the wagon came. We called to it to halt. The man, Buck, got a shot through the head, and was put across the fence in a ditch. A rag was hung on a brush to know the place.

We returned to the city to Gen. Grant's, as per agreement, and found him at home with Gen. Kimball, O. P. Rockwell, and somebody else whose name I do not recollect now. They asked if all was right, and I told them it was. They got spades, and we all went back, deepened the ditch, put him in and buried him, returned to Grant's, took some whisky, and separated for the night. The next day Kimball and I went to **Brigham Young's**, told him that Buck was taken care of, and there would be no more stink about his stories. He said **he was glad of it**. Buck was the last one of the Aiken's party, of whom there has been considerable said. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, pages 127-130)

R. N. Baskin, a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah, made this statement concerning Hickman's confession of this murder:

Hickman's statement of this affair in his published confession is substantially the same as given to me, . . .

I remember distinctly that Hickman in relating that occurrence to me, said that Buck, when he was shot, sprang out of the wagon, and while he was struggling on the ground, Meacham dismounted and drove his bowie knife twice into his body. He was up to this event the sole survivor of the Aiken party, who were murdered by Porter Rockwell and his ever-ready assistants at the "point of the mountain" on the road to Lehi. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 150-151)

Less than two years after the Aiken massacre the U. S. marshal P. K. Dotson held a warrant for Orrin Porter Rockwell's arrest. Dotson found it impossible to make the arrest, and Orrin Porter Rockwell retained his freedom for many years. He was in full fellowship with the Church during this period, and on June 1, 1873, he was called on a mission to Grass Valley (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 356). Finally, on September 29, 1877, he was arrested for his part in the Aiken massacre. Under the date of September 29, 1877, we find this statement in Jensen's *Church Chronology*:

O. Porter Rockwell was arrested and imprisoned in Salt Lake City, being charged with murder, said to have been committed about twenty years before. Oct. 5th, he was admitted to bail in the sum of \$15,000. (*Church Chronology*, page 100)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for September 30, 1877, reported:

Another one of "our best society," O. P. Rockwell, was jugged yesterday. This man has been one of the chief murderers of the Mormon Church, opening his career of blood in Nauvoo, under the regime of the Prophet. He was indicted a day or two ago by the grand jury of the First District Court, for participation in the horribly atrocious murder of the Aiken party, in 1858, on the Sevier. He was arrested, yesterday, by the United States marshal, in this city, and sent to the penitentiary for safekeeping. . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, September 30, 1877, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 360)

Rockwell was 64 years old at the time he was arrested for his part in the Aiken massacre. On June 9, 1878, Orrin Porter Rockwell died, and therefore he was never brought to trial. Harold Schindler states:

Meanwhile the *Tribune* was having a field day. . . . In his obituary, the newspaper commented: "Thus the gallows was cheated of one of the fittest candidates that ever cut a throat or plundered a traveler." (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 362)

On June 11, 1878, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, carried these statements concerning Rockwell:

Porter Rockwell is another of the long list of Mormon criminals whose deeds of treachery and blood have reddened the soil of Utah, and who has paid no forfeit to offended law. . . . Brutal in his instincts, lawless in his habits, and a fanatical devotee of the Prophet, the commands of this gloomy despot he received as the will of the Lord, and with the ferocity borne of mistaken zeal, he grew to believe that the most acceptable service he could render the Almighty, was, as Lear expresses it, to "kill, kill, kill, kill, kill!" He killed unsuspecting travelers, whose booty was coveted by his prophet-master. He killed fellow Saints who held secrets that menaced the safety of their fellow criminals in the priesthood. He killed Apostates who dared to wag their tongues about the wrongs they had endured. . . . The Danite Rockwell retired from the avenging business, and for some years past has been extensively engaged in raising horses and cattle. But the recollection of his evil deeds haunted him, and conscience preyed upon his soul like the undying worm. To gain escape from this fiery torment he sought the intoxicating bowl, and whenever he appeared in the streets of Salt Lake, it was generally in the character of a vociferating maniac.

He died in time to escape the hand of the law. Being indicted in the First District for participating in the Aiken murder, District Attorney [Philip T.] Van Zile was gathering together a mass of evidence which must have convicted him of the crime charged, and brought him to the same fate as was visited upon the "butcher Lee." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1878, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, pages 363-364)

From the evidence that Harold Schindler has furnished there can be little doubt that Orrin Porter Rockwell was a murderer. Even Thomas G. Alexander, of the Brigham Young University, had to admit that Schindler's "evidence that Rockwell may have been responsible for the murders for which he stood indicted at the time of his death (pages 273-79) appears fairly reliable" (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Autumn 1967, page 101).

The fact that Orrin Porter Rockwell also had a drinking problem as the *Salt Lake Tribune* indicated can be established from a number of references. For instance, Elijah Averett recorded the following in his journal:

Porter Rockwell was along for a bodyguard to Brigham, and while at Pipe [Springs] on the way back Port got rather drunk, and as they left Pipe Brigham and the driver of the team were sitting in the front seat looking solemnly ahead and Port was shouting and waving his hat . . . (Journal of Elijah Averett, page 21, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 356)

The Mormon apologist Nicholas Van Alfen had this to say about Rockwell's drinking:

It seems that he engaged in social drinking early in his life and more excessively so in later years. (*Porter Rockwell—The Mormon Frontier Marshal*, page 62)

On page 72 of the same book, we find the following:

John Bennion used to say that aside from his fondness for whiskey, "Old Port is, was, and always will be loyal to the kingdom."

On pages 153 and 154 of the same book, Nicholas Van Alfen gives this information:

The extent of Porter's drinking in later years and all that accompanies it must have been frowned upon by Brigham Young and the Church people as a whole. . . . It seems that Porter was given special leniency. Old timers could still remember Rockwell riding up and down Main Street in Salt Lake City yelling like a wild Comanche as he lasoed the signs on the store fronts. Only Porter could get away with it.

Although Orrin Porter Rockwell was guilty of murder, adultery and drunkenness, the Mormon leaders held him in full fellowship. Just three months before Rockwell was arrested for the Aiken massacre, Brigham Young honored him in a public discourse:

Or[r]in P. Rockwell . . . I would believe just as quickly as any man that lives. When he tells a thing he understands, he will tell it just as he knows it; he is a man that **does not lie**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19, page 37)

Harold Schindler shows that the Mormon Apostle Joseph F. Smith stated that Rockwell's life was worthy of example:

Nearly a thousand persons filled the Fourteenth Ward assembly rooms on June 12 for Rockwell's funeral. Joseph F. Smith, a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles, delivered the eulogy. Elder Smith said: "He had his little faults, but Porter's life on earth, taken altogether, was one **worthy of example**, and reflected honor upon the Church. Through all his trials he had never once forgotten his obligations to his brethren and his God." (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 364)

THE HODGES

If it had not been for the work of men like Edward Bonney a few other "mean devils" might have lived to go west with the Mormons. In his book, *The Banditti of the Prairies*, Edward Bonney gave the following information:

On the night of the 10th of May, 1845, a most barbarous and bloody murder was committed in Lee County, Iowa, about twelve miles from Nauvoo, . . .

About twelve or one o'clock on the night of the tenth of May, three men entered the house of Miller, armed with pistols, bowie knives, and clubs. In the room there were three beds spread upon the floor.

The one in the northeast corner was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Liecy, the one in the northwest corner by Mr. and Mrs. Miller, and the third, at the north side of the room, by a man and his wife, whose name is not recollected. Upon entering the room, one of the ruffians opened a dark lantern, the light from which reflected upon the two beds occupied by Miller and Liecy, and immediately jumped upon the table, while the other two advanced to their bedsides. Each with a heavy club aimed a deadly blow at his victim, injuring them severely. . . .

For several minutes the struggle continued amid the cries and shrieks of the terrified women and the groans of their husbands as they were stabbed and cut by the deadly bowie knives of their assassins, while they, unarmed, sought to repel them and struggled almost hopelessly for life.

It was a fearful struggle, against fearful odds, but bravely and well were the murderers met. At length Mr. Miller, by a desperate effort, succeeded in pushing his antagonist from the house, and hope sprang up in his breast. Vain, however, was its cherishing power, for as he passed the door, the knife of the remorseless robber

pierced his side, and entered his heart! With a single groan he reeled, staggered, and fell to the ground never to rise again, another victim to the Banditti of the Prairies.

Liecy succeeded in throwing over one of the ruffians upon the floor, and while in the act of choking him, the knife of the other was inflicting deep gashes upon his head and piercing frightfully his back. Desperately he battled, but maddened by pain and becoming very weak from the loss of blood, he with one effort freed himself from their hold and gained his feet. One effort more, and he forced them through the open door and strove to close it. Already it was closing, and in another moment he would be safe! Oh! the happiness of that thought! But see, a flash glances on the air of midnight, the whizzing of a bullet is heard, and pierced by a ball, when on the very verge of safety, he sinks helpless upon the floor.

...
The assassins, becoming alarmed at the manner in which they had been met and fearing that the shrieks of the women and the report of the pistols might alarm the neighborhood, left without securing their booty. Blood-stained and branded like Cain were they, and fled under the cover of night to find safety from all but the terrors of a goading conscience.

... a large number of citizens together with the sheriff repaired at once to the scene of the murder, when a horrid spectacle was presented to their shuddering vision.

In searching the premises, a cloth cap was found, trimmed with fur and without a frontispiece, being the only clue that might lead to the identify of the villains. This was carefully preserved as a silent witness in case of need. Tracks were found leading from the house across a plowed field into a road, in the direction of Nauvoo. These were followed by Sheriff Estes to within a few miles of the said city, when all traces were lost.

...
Having heard of the cap that had been found at the house, with a full description of it, I at once recollected having seen a young man in Nauvoo some three weeks previous by the name of Hodges, with a cap of the same description. I communicated this information immediately to Sheriff Estes, and learned from him that the Hodges were known as men of suspicious characters.

...
I immediately left for Nauvoo on the afternoon of the 12th, and commenced such inquiries as would tend to remove or confirm the suspicions against the Hodges, and found that three of the Hodges, Amos, William, and Stephen, were living together in a retired part of the city. Amos being married, the others were boarding with him, and all were without any visible means of subsistence.

... I determined, if possible, to arrest them and investigate the subject. Acting upon this determination, I called upon S. Markham, captain of the City Watch, and made known to him my business and asked his assistance. He cheerfully consented to aid me, said he had men who would do anything he told them, and that he would follow my direction in making the arrest.

He immediately called to his assistance eighteen or twenty men, armed for the purpose, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we proceeded to the residence

of Hodges and surrounded the house. . . . I saw three men in the house, each armed with a gun, and one of them put a bowie knife into his breast, . . . (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 27-34)

Edward Bonney goes on to relate that the Hodges refused to surrender until morning. Hosea Stout confirmed this in his diary:

... I went home with Br Brigham, and while there Br C. Daniels and some other police men came there who was on the hunt of some men by the name of Hodges who were suspected of being guilty of murdering a man in the Iowa. after some conversation with them I went with them We found some men from Iowa who had come over after them and did not know what to do so we all went on the hunt. We first went to see Col. Markham, who had been in pursuit of them, and he came with us. We then went and raised some more men and went where it was said they were and found them. They refused to be taken until daylight, so we guarded the house until day, when they gave themselves up and has conducted away by Col Markham. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, pages 38-39)

The *Warsaw Signal* for May 14, 1845, gave this information:

On Saturday night last a most horrible murder was committed, . . . the inhabitant/s/ of Lee Co., turned out almost en masse, and instituted the strictest search for the murderers. They were tracked towards the river by the blood, . . . The party of pursuers at length discovered that they had crossed the river to Nauvoo, and followed after them. In Nauvoo they were ferreted out, and two of the murderers by the name of Hodges, brothers, . . . were arrested on yesterday morning. The third has so far eluded the vigilance of the pursuers.

Hodges resided in Nauvoo, and is a fair specimen of the Holy Brotherhood; and had he been pursued for any other less offence, than that of murder, would have been shielded and protected by the Mormons; but under the circumstances, it would have been their destruction, as they well knew, to have given him countenance; they therefore made a great ado, and after the murderers had been traced out aided in the arrest.

This is the third midnight robbery that has been attempted in Lee County within a few months, under circumstances which proved that Mormons were concerned. While such a band of outlaws are suffered to remain in our midst neither life or property is safe.

The historian Juanita Brooks gives this information:

An interesting comment was written by James M. Monroe, schoolteacher in Nauvoo, under the date of May 12, 1845: "I have heard today that two men had been murdered by our people a short distance from here and whether it is the fact or not it will be so reported and we shall have to suffer for it; indeed the course pursued in this city of late seems to have invited persecution. . . ." (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 44, footnote 1)

Edward Bonney gives the following information concerning the indictment of the Hodges:

The arrest of the Hodges had become public, and much excitement prevailed in the surrounding country, as well as in Nauvoo. Being Mormons, but little hopes were entertained by the community at large of detaining them in custody sufficient time to collect testimony and put them upon trial. Strong efforts were being constantly made in Nauvoo to insure their acquittal on the examination or effect their escape, and a large number of witnesses were collected for this purpose, ready to swear that they were in Nauvoo at the time the murder was committed.

With this strong array of testimony in their favor, and the Mormon influence before a Mormon magistrate, against the circumstantial evidence in our possession, there was little hope of our success. . . .

On the following morning at the hour set for the trial, the courtroom was filled with witnesses for the prisoners, and dark indeed was the prospect of their being committed. Under pretense of procuring more testimony from Iowa, I applied for a continuance until the following day, which after considerable opposition was granted, and the time fixed at 10 o'clock, A. M.

I immediately determined to take all our witnesses that were in attendance and proceed to West Point, where the Lee County grand jury was in session, and procure a bill of indictment. This having been accomplished, my purpose was to return to Nauvoo with a certified copy, which would hold the prisoners, and await the requisition of the Governor, in despite the testimony of their friends.

. . . .
This being the case, we left at once for West Point, in direct opposition to the solicitation of our friends, where we arrived the same evening, and found the grand jury in session waiting our arrival, in compliance with the request of a messenger who had been previously dispatched.

The witnesses were at once examined and a Bill of Indictment found against Stephen and William Hodges and Thomas Brown for the murder of Miller (Lickey being yet alive). A certified copy having been procured, we set out on our return, and arrived in Nauvoo in time to meet the court of examination at the appointed hour.

. . . Then, the copy of the Indictment was produced, effectually placing them beyond the reach of false witnesses, bribed for the purpose. The courtroom was at once a scene of confusion such as the eye but seldom rests upon. The cheers of the friends of justice, and the loud curses of the others arose commingled in one overwhelming din, and riot and bloodshed seemed the inevitable consequence. Wild indeed was the storm, and who could say whether it would subside or bust in fury? Completely disheartened, however, by this unlooked-for proceeding, baffled and outwitted, the friends of the Hodges quietly submitted, and the prisoners were held to await a requisition from Iowa.

All now seemed quiet, and yet the slightest cause would have resulted in the complete destruction of Nauvoo and the expulsion of the Mormons, and great

fears were entertained; the excited populace could not be restrained from acts of violence. (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 36-39)

Under the date of May 15, 1845, Hosea Stout made the following statements concerning this matter:

May 15th 1845, Thursday. . . . the trial of the Hodges came off to day before Esqurs. Johnson & Higbee. Just as the parties were ready to examine the witnesses the Shiriff from Lee County Iowa, presented an endictment against them from the Lee County Circuit Court, which after considerable debate by the Lawyers, the Court decided to be valid and the prisoners were committed and after taking Council with their lawyers they consented to go immediately to Iowa and went accordingly

There was a great excitement about this murder in Iowa and our enemies taking the advantage of us endeavoured to lay this thing to the Mormons and when they found that those men were in Nauvoo, raised a hue & cry that we were harboring the murderers . . . but when the Court decided against them and they being conveyed by the police to Madison the same evening, they saw we were willing to do justice by all . . . (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, pages 43-44)

Edward Bonney gives this information concerning the trial:

Mr. Liccy who was still alive, though rapidly sinking from the effects of his wounds, was confident that he could identify his murderers if he was permitted to see them. . . . he singled out Stephen Hodges, saying, "That is the man who stabbed me with the bowie knife!"

Another look round the circle and he pointed to William Hodges: "That is the man who shot me!"

. . . .
Other evidence also came to light by which the Hodges were tracked from Nauvoo to the scene of the daring murder and back again to that city, and a pistol was found in their possession, the ball of which corresponded in size and weight with the one extracted from the body of Liccy. . . .

The anxiously looked-for day of trial came, . . . A vigorous defense was made, but the witnesses for the prisoners could not tell a consistent story, and frequently gave the lie one to the other, though all agreed that they were in Nauvoo at the time the murder was committed. . . .

Lydia Hodges, wife of Amos Hodges, who was in attendance as a witness, feigned sickness, and was absent from the courtroom and sent for one of the counsel for the prisoners. As he entered the room, she burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Must I go to court?"

"If you can swear the boys were at home on the night of the murder, your testimony will be very material and cannot be dispensed with. Can you swear that?"

"They were out that night."

. . . .
"They said that they had a desperate fight, and were afraid that they had killed somebody."

"What is their business?"

"Robbery is the only one I know of."

“Who are engaged with them?”

“All their father’s family and leaders in the Mormon church encourage them in it, and share the spoils.”

“You know all this, or is it merely a rumor?”

“I know it, and am now brought here to swear them clear. They have always been kind to me, and yet I cannot swear my soul to eternal perdition and destroy all my hopes of happiness both here and hereafter, to save them. Must I go to court?”

“I don’t know yet.”

“I cannot, will not, do it! I cannot swear for them, and I will not swear against them.”

Other conversation was had, and the lawyer returned again to court, more than ever convinced of the hopelessness of his case, though he still struggled hard to the very end. It was vain, however, for after much time had been consumed in the trial, it was brought to a close by the fearful word that fell from the lips of the foreman of the jury—the end at once of their hopes, and the consummation of their fears, the knell of the tocsin of death—the dreadful word—Guilty! (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 46-50)

Both William and Steven Hodges were hung for their part in the murders. Just before his death Stephen Hodges claimed that he and his brother were being persecuted because they were Mormons. The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* reported:

He asked why the jury did not believe the witnesses who swore that they were in Nauvoo at the time of the murder, and answered that it was because they were Mormons. . . . He then referred to the manner in which they were taken in Lee county said that every body wanted to hang them up without Judge or Jury . . . repeating that there was no evidence to convict them and that it was because they were Mormons they were convicted . . . he became almost frantic and came near, we thought, of bursting assunder the ropes . . . The froth issued from his mouth and he gave other signs of extreme rage and madness. . . . While the rope was being put around the neck of Stephen we could see that William was apparently engaged in prayer . . . the drop fell and both were launched into eternity. . . . there must be some horrid secrets and oaths binding these secret societies at Nauvoo, which sets human life and common human allegiance at defiance. (*Burlington Hawk-Eye*, as quoted in the *Warsaw Signal*, July 23, 1845, page 2)

After the hanging the Hodges were brought back to Nauvoo and buried in the graveyard of the “Saints.” On July 20, 1845, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his journal:

Sunday 20th. Went to meeting in the fore noon Elder Orson Pratt spoke and was followed by B. Young’s and others after which Elder Taylor Spoke and mentioned about the dissatisfaction which was caused by the two Hodges who were hung at Burlington being buried here that he had been requested to mention it there was

remarks made for & against them remaining the vote being put to the congregation it was almost unanimously decided that they should not remain in our burying ground. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 53)

The Mormon paper *Nauvoo Neighbor* for July 23, 1845, carried this statement: “Removal of the Hodges.—By a un[a]nymous vote of the citizens of Nauvoo, the Hodges are to be removed from the graveyard of the saints to a place to be specially purchased for that purpose.”

There is even more to this gruesome story. The Hodges had another brother named Irvine. Irvine evidently became very disturbed because his brothers were about to be hung. Edward Bonney stated:

Strong efforts were made by their brother, Erwin Hodges, to arouse the Mormons and urge them to attempt their rescue. Loudly he threatened and swore that if Brigham Young did not send men to break open the jail and save them, he would denounce them to the proper authorities and confess all he knew. Little time, however, was given him for the execution of his threats, for on the same night, at the early hour of nine, he was basely murdered in the streets of Nauvoo. Knocked down with clubs and stabbed with his own bowie knife; he lay reeking in blood another victim to the vengeance of the Mormons!

No effort was made by the authorities of Nauvoo to ferret out and arrest the murderers, and soon after Brigham Young told his followers, in a public discourse, that “they had no business to inquire who killed Irvine Hodges—that no man, who was a man, would do it, and that every Member of the Church must mind his own business.” (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 50-51)

Joseph Smith’s brother, William, made this statement concerning this murder:

I ought to have mentioned in a former place, that on one occasion, I heard Brigham Young say, on the stand, that he was glad that Alvine Hodge was killed, . . . And he said further that it was far better for Alvine Hodge to die, than to live any longer in sin, for that he might now possibly be redeemed in the eternal world. That his murderers had done even a deed of charity for that such a man deserved to die. (*Warsaw Signal*, October 29, 1845)

Juanita Brooks gives this information:

The enmity between William Smith and Brigham Young reached a new climax . . . Smith and others had inferred that Irvin Hodge had been killed by order of the police or the Council of Fifty. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 147, footnote 26)

On July 2, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* carried these statements concerning the murder of Irvine Hodges:

The name of the murdered man was Irvine Hodges. It appears . . . he had been to Burlington to witness the trial

of his brothers; . . . The *Neighbor* also says that although the blows and shrieks were heard at a little distance, yet no trace could be found of the assassin or assassins.

It is further added, that Hodges was asked if he knew who murdered him, to which he replied, "it was, as I supposed, my best friend;" but would not give the name of the murderer. This is rather an improbable story.

There is a mystery about this transaction and we believe it will never be unfolded. It is a chapter in the secret history of the Holy City, which can only be read by the initiated. That a man mortally wounded should refuse to give the name of his assailant, having it in his power to do so, is incredible. We believe that he did give the name, but it has been suppressed by those who heard it. (*Warsaw Signal*, July 2, 1845)

The following was printed in the same newspaper on July 16, 1845:

IRVINE HODGES — A citizen residing at Mechanicsville, stated to us last week, that he accompanied Irvine Hodges from Mechanicsville to Carthage, when on his way to Nauvoo soon after the arrest of his brothers for the murder of Miller. He then stated that if the Mormons suffered his brothers to be hanged he would expose the whole band of robbers that were collected about Nauvoo. This fact makes it still more probable that it was the fear of his putting a like threat made to the Saints into execution, that caused them to murder him. (*Warsaw Signal*, July 16, 1845)

Allen J. Stout, Hosea Stout's brother, made this statement concerning the murder of Irvine Hodges:

Monday the 23rd I was detailed on guard at President Brigham Young's; on the first watch of the night and J. Scott on the latter part But before John went to bed we heard a few blows struck as if some one was beating an ox with a club, which was followed by shrieks; so Scott ran towards the noise and met Irvine Hodge coming towards us who cried out "don't kill me." Scott said, "Who are you? I am John Scott." "I know you are my friend," said Hodge, and caught hold of Scott's arm, and they came opposite for Young's door, and said he, "I am a butchered man," and immediately he fell. As soon as a light could be got, we found that the blood was running from his side, and there was a crowd of men on the ground, but he soon expired. And there was a jury called and body examined, which was stabbed three or four times and cut several of his ribs from his back bone; but the assassin escaped, for it was so dark that a man could not be seen. (Allen Joseph Stout Journal, June 23, 1845, typed copy at the Utah State Historical Society)

According to William Hall, Hosea Stout was the man who actually committed the murder:

Shortly after this, Brig. Young declared from the stand that he had had a revelation, that brother Irvine Hodge would bite the ground with pain

In consequence of this, five men received their orders. They were Hosea Stout, clerk of the High Council, John Scott, a leading character, John Reading, Wilbert Earls, and Charles Allen. These men were to keep watch for Hodge in different parts of the city. This was their own language, as we shall see hereafter. At length a few nights after the revelation had gone forth, Hodge was beset by these men a few paces distant from Young's house.

They were placed at the four corners of the street where he was about to pass. As he approached, Hosea Stout and John Scott were the nearest to him, and Stout made the attack. Scott took no active part, neither did any of the others, as it was unnecessary. Stout struck him five blows with a bowie knife, each blow cutting off a rib. He fell near B. Young's house, and died instantly. . . .

This assassination of Hodge was fully explained to me in camp as we were traveling from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, in the winter of 1846. There they boasted of their exploits, each one vieing with the other. They said these matters had to be kept still when they were within the reach of the law; but now, when there was no law, they could say what they pleased. Wilber Earls boasted of his participancy in Hodge's murder, and intimated that it was done by the order of Brigham Young. . . . They all agreed what a good thing it was that Hodge was killed, for if he had left them he would have exposed them. Earls, rejoicing over the deed, said that Stout did it, that each blow severed a rib, and, taking from his tent a bowie knife, he drew it from its scabbard, saying "This is the knife that did it. It now belongs to me." He placed the knife in my hands, that I might look at it. (*The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*, pages 31-34)

In his diary Hosea Stout claimed that he did not come on the scene until after the murder had been committed. Although Stout tells how he almost killed men in his diary, it seems very unlikely that he would be so foolish as to record that he actually committed murder, when this could be used against him if he was ever arrested. However this may be, the Mormon police were probably guilty of this murder.

The Hodges had still another brother named Amos. Juanita Brooks gives this information:

The Hodge family were evidently members of the Mormon Church. The father, Abraham C. Hodge, is listed as a "Pioneer" among the Old Police; and it would seem that, in spite of all the misfortune which befell his sons, he remained with the church. On June 18, 1848, he was made a lieutenant colonel in Brigham Young's company.

Amos C. Hodge is listed second on the roll of the bodyguards for Joseph Smith. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 39, footnote 71)

On April 15, 1844, Amos Hodge was listed as one of the Elders appointed to Vermont to "preach the truth in righteousness . . . and seek diligently to get up electors who will go for him [Joseph Smith] for the Presidency" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 336 and 340).

According to the diary of Hosea Stout, Brigham Young claimed that Amos Hodge was also an accessory to the murder for which his two brothers were hung:

President Young said in talking about him that he had become satisfied that William [Smith] was in the murder with the Hodges in Iowa for which two were hung as before mentioned That Amos Hodge was also accessory. (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 147)

In the *Warsaw Signal* for July 23, 1845, we find this statement concerning Amos Hodge: "In addition to this, it appears that Amos Hodge who was under arrest in Nauvoo was permitted to escape or held as a hostage, for he has not been publicly heard of since the murder of his brothers." Joseph Smith's brother, William, claimed that Amos Hodge had also been murdered:

These Twelve men have chosen three men of their own stamp as their secret agents—spiritual wife believers, Law of Moses believers, consecration believers, and believers in the doctrine of secret murder to save the souls of men; as for instance, the death of Irvin and Amos Hodge, . . . Amos Hodge was murdered, it is said, between Montrose & Nashway, in Iowa, by Brigham Young's guard, who pretended at the time to escort him out of Nauvoo, for his safety, under cover of women's clothes, who then pretended that he had run away. (*Warsaw Signal*, November 14, 1846, page 3)

Tom Brown was another member of the gang who was involved with the Hodges in the murder of Miller and Lieza in Iowa. Juanita Brooks gives this information:

. . . the descriptions given by the wounded Lieza would seem to identify the one who killed Miller as Tom Brown, and the one who struggled with him as William Hodge.

Friends of the Hodges insisted that the younger man, Stephen, was only an accessory as he stood watch guarding the boat, that the knife embedded in Miller's chest belonged to Brown, and that **Brown was responsible for the whole expedition.** (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 44, footnote 1)

Tom Brown was indicted for the murder of Miller, but Edward Bonney was unable to capture him. It is very interesting to note that this fugitive from justice found refuge among the Mormons. Juanita Brooks states:

Tom Brown was the outlaw who had reportedly killed the man for whose death William and Stephen Hodge were hanged. Edward Bonney wrote at some length in his *Banditti of the Prairies* of Brown's feats of open robbery. Bonney was the sheriff who after several years brought three others to justice and had them hanged, but Tom Brown had eluded him.

This is the only mention by Stout of his being among the Mormons until after the pioneer group was on its way. On April 19, 1847, Norton Jacob wrote: "Here Porter Rockwell, Redden, Little, Thomas Brown and another

young man overtook us, having left Winter Quarters yesterday morning." . . .

On the same day Erastus Snow noted that: ". . . while Baiteing our teams . . . O. P. Rockwell and Elder J. C. Little and the notorious Tom Brown came up with us; . . ." (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 236)

Harold Schindler gives this information concerning Tom Brown:

Tom Brown's appearance with the Mormons is indeed a surprise. He was suspected of complicity in the murder of one John Miller in Montrose, Iowa, and was sought by bounty hunter Edward Bonney, . . . Brown later was included in Mormon records as Nathaniel Thomas Brown. He was killed by an unidentified man at Winter Quarters in 1848. Not only was he a baptized Mormon, but he was apparently a church member in **good standing** until his death. See Andrew Jenson: *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1901-1936) . . . (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 159)

Under the date of February 12, 1847, Hosea Stout made this comment in his diary:

Friday Feb 12th 1847. Around as usual today, regulated the guard as before

Today I learned and reported to Brigham that "Tom Brown was threatening the lives of the 12" (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 236)

The Assistant LDS Church Historian Andrew Jenson stated that Brown was killed in February, 1848:

February.—Nathaniel Thos. Brown, one of Pres. Brigham Young's Pioneer corps, was shot and killed at Council Bluffs, Ia. (*Church Chronology*, by Andrew Jenson, Salt Lake City, 1899, page 35)

In the same issue of the *Warsaw Signal* which reported the trial of the Hodges we read of another murder:

. . . Col. Davenport was murdered at his residence on Rock Island, . . . About one o'clock, three men entered the house and the first intimation, which the Colonel received of their intentions, was a shot from the pistol of one of the ruffians, which inflicted a mortal wound. . . . The murderers . . . fled; taking with them however the Colonel's gold watch, \$500 in paper money, and \$100 in specie. . . .

Murders are becoming alarmingly numerous in this region, . . . The murder of Colonel Davenport is the fifth that has transpired within one hundred miles of this place in the last six weeks. Four of these murders may be directly traced to Mormonism, and the authors of the fifth are yet to be ascertained. (*Warsaw Signal*, July 9, 1845, page 2)

It was later shown that at least some Mormons were accessories to this crime, although they were not present at the time of the murder. The *Warsaw Signal* for October 5, 1845, contained this statement:

Officer Bonny arrived here this morning . . . having in custody Birch and Long, two of the supposed murderers of Col. Davenport . . . we learn that Birch has confessed, and in his confession implicates the two Mormons, by the name of Redman [Redden], whose arrest we noted two weeks since. It was at Redman's [Redden's] house that they took refuge after the murder, and near there they buried the money watch &c.

According to Edward Bonney's book, Birch made some interesting confessions:

The October term of the Rock Island Circuit Court being already in session, John Baxter, William Fox, John Long, Aaron Long, Robert H. Birch, Granville Young, Grant Redden, and Wm. H. Redden were severally indicted as principals, and accessories in the murder of Col. Davenport, of Rock Island County.

Further confessions of Birch, were in substance as follows:

"The first council for arranging the robbery of Col. Davenport was held in Joseph Smith's old council chamber in Nauvoo.

"Fox, John and Aaron Long, Jack Redden, and Hodges, O. P. Rockwell, John Ray. Wm. Louthier, myself, and several others whose names I don't now recollect were present. . . .

"Rockwell remarked that it was best for us to monopolize the business, as there was enough of us to raise all the good sights we could find. . . . Tom Brown and Artemus Johnson were both concerned with Stephen and William Hodges in the murder of Miller and Liecy.

"Fox and John Baker robbed the peddler at Troy Grove—the most of the goods were taken to Nauvoo and secreted with Doct. A. B. Williams, and afterwards taken to Packard's Grove, where Baker remained to sell the goods, and Fox went south to spend the winter. Williams received a share of the goods for his trouble in secreting them."

. . . .
The disclosures of Birch led to an attempt to arrest Jack Redden as accessory to the murder of Col. Davenport. L. E. Johnson was deputed to make the arrest, under authority of a warrant issued by Miles W. Conway. Esq., justice of the peace.

Johnson repaired to Nauvoo, accompanied by Mr. Bradley of Burlington, Iowa. In attempting to make this arrest, these gentlemen were attacked by a large number of the Mormon gang friendly to Redden, and after being severely beaten and wounded, were compelled to abandon the attempt. Mob law was triumphant, and the arm of the law of the land utterly powerless. (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 214-217)

According to Harold Schindler, Jack Redden was actually named Return Jackson Redden. Brigham Young made this statement concerning the attempt to capture Redden:

The steamer Sarah Ann passed up the river, Doctor Foster and Lyman E. Johnson were on board. When the boat landed Jackson Redden was standing by and L. E. Johnson stepped up to him to counsel concerning his father and brother's case. R. D. Foster got a number of men from the boat and undertook to haul Redden on board and take him off with them. Redden knocked the first man down that undertook to lay hands on him; a few of the brethren who were not far off ran to Redden's assistance and with sticks and stones soon drove the whole crew on board; . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 486-487)

The *Warsaw Signal*, October 29, 1845, carried this account of the attempt to arrest Redden:

We learn from the most unquestionable authority, that an outrage of a most aggravated character has been committed in Nauvoo, on the persons of the Sheriff of Rock Island County and his aids, who went into the City on Saturday last to arrest one of the men in the Davenport murder. The circumstances are briefly these.

On the trial of Long, Fox and others at Rock Island, for the murder of Col. Davenport, a Mormon by the name of Jack Redding, was implicated by some of the witnesses. A writ was immediately got out and the Sheriff or his deputy sent to make the arrest. He procured the assistance of Mr. Bradley, of Burlington, and of Lyman Johnson, Esq., of Keokuk, to aid him in the search for Redding. When the boat, on which they were, landed, Mr. Johnson, went up into the City, and decoyed Redding to the landing and endeavored to get him on board the boat; but he would not go. The Sheriff then arrested him on shore; he however resisted him and would not go on the boat. He was then seized by the Officer and his aids, and while they were in the act of forcing him on the boat, they were attacked, by a mob, who assailed them with brick-bats and other missiles, which soon disabled them so they were compelled to let their prisoner go. Mr. Bradley was severely wounded on the head and also on the knee. Mr. Johnson was struck with great violence with a brick-bat on the side of the face. . . . the Sheriff of Rock Island County, . . . is badly bruised having been struck in five different places, during the melee, by brick-bats . . .

It is interesting to note that Return Jackson Redden was with Orrin Porter Rockwell when Frank Worrell was shot and killed. Redden came to Utah with the Mormons and died in Hoytsville, Summit Co., on August 30, 1891 (*Church Chronology*, page 193).

From the information we have presented in this chapter it is plain to see that the early Mormon leaders encouraged the practice of crime as long as it was committed against the non-Mormons. Is it any wonder that they had so much trouble with the "Gentiles"?

2. DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH

The importance of Joseph Smith in Mormon theology cannot be overemphasized. Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made these statements concerning Joseph Smith:

Well, now, examine the character of **the Savior**, and examine the characters of those who have written the Old and New Testament; and **then compare them with the character of Joseph Smith**, the founder of this work—the man whom God called and to whom he gave the keys of Priesthood, and through whom he has established his Church and kingdom for the last time, and you will find that **his character stands as fair as that of any man’s mentioned in the Bible. We can find no person who presents a better character to the world** when the facts are known than **Joseph Smith, Jun.**, the prophet, and his brother, Hyrum Smith, who was murdered with him. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, page 203)

From the first day I knew brother Joseph to the day of his death, **a better man never lived upon the face of this earth.** (Ibid., vol. 1, page 41)

Who are your leaders? The First Presidency. Who was the **master spirit**? Joseph. (Ibid., vol. 7, page 64)

I shall **bow** to Jesus, my Governor, and under him, to brother Joseph. Though he has gone behind the veil, and I cannot see him, he is my **head**, under Jesus Christ . . . (Ibid., vol. 4, page 41)

. . . no man or woman in this dispensation will **ever** enter into the celestial kingdom of God without the consent of **Joseph Smith**. From the day that the Priesthood was taken from the earth to the winding-up scene of all things, **every** man and woman **must** have **the certificate of Joseph Smith**, junior, as a passport to their entrance into the mansion where God and Christ are— . . . **I cannot go there with his consent.** . . . He reigns there as supreme a being in his sphere, capacity, and calling, as God does in heaven. (Ibid., vol. 7, page 289)

As I have frequently told them, no man in this dispensation will enter the courts of heaven, without the approbation of the Prophet **Joseph Smith**, jun. . . . If I ever pass into

the heavenly courts, it will be by the **consent of Joseph Smith**. If you ever pass through the gates into the Holy City, **you will do so upon his certificate** that you are worthy to pass. Can you pass without his inspection? No; . . . (Ibid., vol. 8, page 224)

He is the man through whom God has spoken and revealed some of the most glorious principles that ever were revealed to the children of men; yet I would not like to call him a saviour, though in a certain capacity **he was a God to us**, and is to the nations of the earth, and will continue to be. (Ibid., vol. 8, page 321)

What an uproar it would make in the Christian world to say, I am an Apostle of Joseph. Write it down, and write it back to your friends in the east, that **I am an apostle of Joseph Smith.** . . .

I am a witness that those are the revelations of the Lord through Joseph Smith, in this the last dispensation for the gathering of the people; and all who reject my testimony will go to hell, so sure as there is one, no matter whether it be hot or cold; they will incur the displeasure of the Father and of the Son. (Ibid., vol. 3, page 212)

For unbelievers we will quote from the Scriptures — . . . “Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God.” I will now give my scripture — “Whosoever confesseth that **Joseph Smith** was sent of God . . . that spirit is of God; and every spirit that does not confess that God has sent Joseph Smith, and revealed the everlasting Gospel to and through him, is of Antichrist, . . .” (Ibid., vol. 8, page 176)

Heber C. Kimball, who was a member of the First Presidency under Brigham Young, made these statements concerning Joseph Smith:

Brother Joseph Smith many a time said to brother Brigham and myself, and to others, that he was a representative of God to us, to teach and direct us and reprove the wrong doers. He has past behind the veil, but there never will a person in this dispensation enter into the celestial glory without his approbation. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 119)

You call us fools; but the day will be, gentlemen and ladies, whether you belong to this Church or not, when you will prize brother Joseph Smith as the Prophet of the Living God, **and look upon him as a God**, and also upon Brigham Young, our Governor in the Territory of Deseret. (Ibid., vol. 5, page 88)

In the Bible we read that when Stephen was stoned, he died “calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit” (Acts 7:59). When Brigham Young died, however, his last words were “Joseph, Joseph, Joseph!” The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts states:

“The last words he uttered, that were distinctly understood,” says the bedside chronicle, were—“Joseph, Joseph, Joseph!”

Other remarks relating to “Joseph” were expressed, but in a manner that was not comprehended. They gave evidence, however, that his mind was occupied with thoughts of his predecessor, the Prophet Joseph Smith. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 509)

In a letter to us, dated April 14, 1961, Levi Edgar Young, one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventies, made this statement: “The grandeur of Joseph Smith’s life must become known to the people of the world, and I am praying daily that people by the thousands may turn to him” (Letter photographically reprinted in *The Case Against Mormonism*, vol. 1, page 75).

Mormons today tend to elevate Joseph Smith almost to the same level as Jesus Christ. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart stated that Joseph Smith was “perhaps the most Christ-like man to live upon the earth since Jesus himself” (*Joseph Smith—The Mormon Prophet*, page 1). It is interesting to compare this with Joseph Smith’s own statement in the *History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 335: “I am **not** so much a ‘Christian’ as many suppose I am. When a man undertakes to ride me for a horse, I feel disposed to kick up and throw him off, and ride him.”

The following appeared in *Tiffany’s Monthly*, 1859:

People sometimes wonder that the Mormon can revere Joseph Smith. That they can by any means make a Saint of him. But they must remember, that the Joseph Smith preached in England, and the one shot at Carthage, Ill., are not the same. The ideal prophet differs widely from the real person. To one, ignorant of his character, he may be idealized and be made the impersonation of every virtue. He may be associated in the mind with all that is pure, true, lovely and divine. Art may make him, indeed, an object of religious veneration. But remember, the Joseph Smith thus venerated, is not the real, actual Joseph Smith . . . but one that art has created. (*Tiffany’s Monthly*, 1859, page 170)

THE WRESTLING PROPHET

Joseph Smith was a man of great physical strength. He enjoyed wrestling and other sports where he could display his strength. Under the date of March 11, 1843, we find this entry in Joseph Smith’s *History*:

In the evening, when pulling sticks, I pulled up Justus A. Morse, the strongest man in Ramus, with one hand. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 302)

Two days later Joseph Smith recorded:

Monday, 13. — I wrestled with William Wall, the most expert wrestler in Ramus, and threw him. (Ibid., page 302)

On June 30, 1843, Joseph Smith gave a speech in Nauvoo in which he stated:

I feel as strong as a giant. I pulled sticks with the men coming along, and I pulled up with one hand the strongest man that could be found. Then two men tried, but they could not pull me up, . . . (Ibid., page 466)

Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith gives this information in her book *Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress and Present Condition*, page 52:

It appears the Prophet Joseph had one day broken the leg of my brother Howard, while wrestling. They were always together, and were both fond of that sport, and on this occasion they had wrestled with uncommon enthusiasm, when, by an unlucky pass, Howard fell with a broken leg. It was immediately set by the “Prophet,” . . . Howard to this day claims he experienced no pain of any amount, and believes yet that Joseph healed it.

John D. Lee related the following:

In the sports of the day, such as wrestling, etc., he was over an average. Very few of the Saints had the strength needed to throw the Prophet in a fair tussel; . . . During the time that we were camping at Adam-on-Diamond, . . . the men were shivering over a few fire-brands, feeling out of sorts and quite cast down. The Prophet came up while the brethren were moping around, and caught first one and then another and shook them up, and said, “Get out of here, and wrestle, jump, run, do anything but mope around; warm yourselves up; this inactivity will not do for soldiers.” The words of the Prophet put life and energy into the men. A ring was soon formed, according to the custom of the people. The Prophet stepped into the ring, ready for a tussel with any comer. Several went into the ring to try their strength, but each one was thrown by the Prophet, until he had thrown several of the stoutest of the men present. Then he stepped out of the ring and took a man by the arm and led him in to take his place, . . .

While the sport was at its height Sidney Rigdon, the mouthpiece of the Prophet, rushed into the ring, sword in hand, and said that he would not suffer a lot of men to break the Sabbath day in that manner. For a moment all were silent, then one of the brethren, with more presence of mind than the others, said to the Prophet, “Brother Joseph, we want you to clear us from blame, for we formed the ring by your request. You told us to wrestle, and now Brother Rigdon is bringing us to account for it.”

The Prophet walked into the ring and said, as he made a motion with his hand: “Brother Sidney, you had better go out of here and let the boys alone; they are amusing themselves according to my orders. You are an old man. You go and get ready for meeting and let the boys alone.” Just then catching Rigdon off his guard, as quick as a flash he knocked the sword from Rigdon’s hand, then caught him by the shoulder, and said: “Now, old man, you must go out, or I will throw you down.” Rigdon was as large a man as the Prophet, but not so tall. The prospect of a tussel between the Prophet and the mouthpiece of the Prophet, was fun for all but Rigdon, who pulled back like a craw-fish, but the resistance was useless, the Prophet dragged him from the ring, bareheaded, and tore Rigdon’s fine pulpit coat from the collar to the waist; then he turned to the men and said: “Go in, boys, and have your fun. You shall never have it to say that I got you into any trouble that I did not get you out of.” (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 76-78)

In his book, *Mormon Portraits*, page 24, Dr. Wyl quoted the following:

He liked foot races and would have his boots off in a moment, to the great grief of old bigots. I remember the visit of a U. S. A. major, who came as a guest to the Nauvoo House. The major was of higher build than Joseph, but not so strong as the prophet. Joseph wanted to wrestle with him. He threw off his coat and cried: “I bet you five dollars that I will throw you, come on!” The major declined. Joseph laughed and said: “Now you see the benefit of one’s being a prophet; I knew you wouldn’t wrestle.” One of the Saints felt so scandalized by this joke of the prophet that he left the Church.

Two reverends came one day to Nauvoo. They wanted to see the Prophet and to hear the principles he was teaching. Joseph took them to his study, and talked to them about repentance, baptism, remission of sins, etc. The two reverends interrupted Joseph frequently. After half-an-hour or so, getting impatient the Prophet said to the two holy men, while he stood up in his full height: “Gentlemen, I am not much of a theologian, but I bet you five dollars, that I will throw you one after the other.” The reverends ran away and Joseph laughed himself nearly to death.

Jedediah M. Grant, a member of the First Presidency under Brigham Young, related this humorous incident:

I am aware that a great many have so much piety in them, that they are like the Baptist priest who came to see Joseph Smith. . . . After he got through chatting, the Baptist stood before him, and folding his arms said, “Is it possible that I now flash my optics upon a Prophet, upon a man who has conversed with my Savior?” “Yes,” says the Prophet, “I don’t know but you do; would not you like to **wrestle with me**?” That, you see, brought the priest right on to the thrashing floor, and he turned a summerset right straight. After he had whirled round a few times, like a duck shot in the head, he concluded that his piety had been awfully shocked, even to the centre, and went to the Prophet to learn why he had so shocked his piety. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, pages 66-67)

Joseph Smith sometimes lost his temper and resorted to physical violence. In *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, page 29, we quoted Benjamin F. Johnson as saying:

And yet, although so social and even convivial at times, he would allow no arrogance or undue liberties. Criticisms, even by his associates, were rarely acceptable. Contradictions would arouse in him the lion at once. By no one of his fellows would he be superceded. In the early days at Kirtland, and elsewhere, one or another of his associates were more than once, for their impudence, helped from the congregation by **his foot**.

One time at a meeting in Kirtland, for insolence to him, **he soundly thrashed his brother William**, who boasted himself as invincible. While with him in such fraternal, social and sometimes convivial moods, we could not then so fully realize the greatness and majesty of his calling. But since his martyrdom, it has continued to magnify in our view as the glories of this last dispensation have more fully unfolded to our comprehension. (A Letter by Benjamin F. Johnson written to Elder George S. Gibbs, 1903, as printed in *The Testimony of Joseph Smith’s Best Friend*, pages 4-5)

Calvin Stoddard once testified that “Smith then came up and knocked him in the forehead with his flat hand—the blow knocked him down, when Smith repeated the blow four or five times, very hard—made him blind—that Smith afterwards came to him and asked his forgiveness . . .” (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 132). The Mormon writer Max Parkin quotes Luke Johnson as saying that when a minister insulted Joseph Smith at Kirtland, Ohio, Smith “boxed his ears with both hands, and turning his face towards the door, kicked him into the street, . . .” (*Ibid.*, page 268).

In Joseph Smith’s *History* for the year 1843, he tells of two fights which he had in Nauvoo:

Josiah Butterfield came to my house and insulted me so outrageously that **I kicked him** out of the house, across the yard, and into the street. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 316)

Bagby called me a liar, and picked up a stone to throw at me, which so enraged me that I followed him a few steps, and struck him two or three times. Esquire Daniel H. Wells stepped between us and succeeded in separating us. I told the Esquire to assess the fine for the assault, and I was willing to pay it. He not doing it, I rode down to Alderman Whitney, stated the circumstances, and he imposed a fine which I paid, and then returned to the political meeting. (*Ibid.*, page 524)

On August 13, 1843, Joseph Smith admitted that he had tried to choke Walter Bagby: “I met him, and he gave me some abusive language, taking up a stone to throw at me: I seized him by the throat to choke him off” (*Ibid.*, page 531).

Brigham Young once made this statement concerning Joseph Smith: “Some may think that I am rather too severe; but if you had the Prophet Joseph to deal with, you would think that I am quite mild. There are many here that are acquainted with brother Joseph’s manner. He

would not bear the usage I have borne, and would appear as though he would **tear down all the houses in the city, and tear up trees by the roots**, if men conducted to him in the way they have to me” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, pages 317-318).

GENERAL SMITH

Joseph Smith was very interested in military matters. This is reflected in the Book of Mormon, for it is filled with accounts of wars and bloodshed. Dr. Hugh Nibley stated:

Readers of the Book of Mormon often express disgust or at least weariness and impatience at having to wade through 170 pages of wars and alarms in a religious book. This writer must confess to having suffered from the same prejudice . . . In twenty years of writing about the Book of Mormon we have studiously ignored the war stories. But that is where we were wrong. (*Since Cumorah*, Salt Lake City, 1967, page 328)

Only four years after Joseph Smith published the Book of Mormon, he organized an army and marched “to Missouri to ‘redeem Zion.’” This project was a complete failure (see *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 3-4). In 1838 Joseph Smith had the Mormons organized into an army at Far West, Missouri, but he ended up by surrendering to the Militia. At Nauvoo, Illinois, the Mormons organized the Nauvoo Legion. Robert Bruce Flanders gives this information concerning the Legion:

The crowning provision of the charter gave the city its own little army, the famous Nauvoo Legion . . . The Legion was therefore independent of and not subject to the military laws of Illinois. (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, page 100)

Andrew Jackson was called “General” rather than “President.” The Nauvoo Legionnaires were no exception to the rule, and “Colonel,” “Captain,” or “General” came to replace “Brother,” “Elder,” or “President” in the address of the Saints. Military trappings were for them a particular symbol of status, prestige, and reassurance in a life so beset with insecurities and deprivations. The record clearly reveals that Lieutenant General (he preferred the full title) Smith set great store by his military role. . . .

As the city grew, so did the Legion, exciting apprehension among gentiles in the vicinity concerning the nature and intent of the Mormon kingdom. (*Ibid.*, pages 112-113)

Fawn Brodie made these interesting observations concerning this matter:

Few visitors to Nauvoo . . . had any idea of the potentialities of the Mormon movement. But many of them were troubled by the unmistakable military atmosphere that pervaded the city. . . . Every able-bodied man between eighteen and forty-five was compelled to join [the Legion], and heavy fines were imposed for failure to appear at parade. By January 1842 the Legion had a complement of 2,000 men.

Joseph requested—and received—from Governor Carlin the commission of lieutenant-general and thereafter frequently jested about this outranking every military officer in the United States. He came to prefer the title “General” even to “President” and used it in much of his correspondence. His uniform was smartly designed: a blue coat with a plentiful supply of gold braid, buff trousers, high military boots, and a handsome chapeau topped with ostrich feathers. On his hip he carried a sword and two big horse-pistols. Delighting in the pomp and splendor of parades, he called out the Legion on every possible occasion, marching at the head on his magnificent black stallion, Charlie.

The military spirit infected all the boys in Nauvoo, and Joseph, with his eye ever on the future, soon had them organized into a military corps of their own. (*No Man Knows My History*, pages 270-271)

The Mormon writer Hyrum L. Andrus stated:

Of the Prophet’s appearance as a Lieutenant General at the head of the Nauvoo Legion, Lyman L. Woods recalled, “I have seen him on a white horse wearing the uniform of a general. . . . He was leading a parade of the Legion and looked **like a God.**” (*Joseph Smith, The Man and The Seer*, Salt Lake City, 1965, page 5)

Joseph Smith was very proud of his position as head of the Nauvoo Legion and liked to be referred to as “Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith” (see *History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 382). The Mormon writer John J. Stewart stated: “Joseph also proposed organization of the Nauvoo Legion, and he was chosen as commanding officer with the rank of lieutenant-general. . . . These offices and ranks received the official endorsement of the state, and Joseph received his commission from Governor Carlin, thus becoming the highest ranked military officer in the United States, although limited to command of the Legion” (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 143). Actually, Joseph Smith’s title of “Lieutenant-General” did not really amount to anything outside of Nauvoo. When Ralph L. Foster wrote to the United States Military Academy at West Point regarding this matter, he received a letter from Joseph M. O’Donnell (Chief, Archives & History Division) in which the following appeared:

The Highest ranking officers in the United States Army in 1841 were Major General Alexander Macomb and Major General Winfield Scott. Major General Alexander Macomb was the Commanding General of the United States Army from 29 May 1828 to 25 June 1841, when he died. He was succeeded by Major General Winfield Scott, who assumed command of the United States Army 5 July 1841 and held that position until 1 November 1861, when he retired.

After an examination of several reference sources it may be said that although the Nauvoo Legion was chartered by the State of Illinois, it was not considered to be part of the state militia. This Nauvoo Legion was a military force at the disposal of the Major of Nauvoo in executing city laws and ordinances and the governor of the state for the public defense. Joseph Smith, Jr., was not a Lieutenant General in the state militia, but of a small Mormon Army established

to police Nauvoo, Illinois and to defend the state of Illinois. (Letter from Joseph M. O'Donnell, dated August 29, 1963, photographically reproduced in *The Book of Mormon on Trial*, by Ralph Leonard Foster, Klamath Falls, Oregon, 1963, facing page 20)

However this may be, Joseph Smith took his title very seriously. Josiah Quincy related the following:

As we rode back, there was more dispute between the minister and Smith. . . . the minister, soon after, having occasion to allude to some erroneous doctrine which I forget, suddenly exclaimed, "Why, I told my congregation the other Sunday that they might as well believe Joe Smith as such theology as that." "Did you say Joe Smith in a sermon?" inquired the person to whom the title had been applied. "Of course I did. Why not?" The prophet's reply was given with a quiet superiority that was overwhelming: "Considering only the day and the place, it would have been more respectful to have said **Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith**." Clearly, the worthy minister was no match for the head of the Mormon church. (*Figures of the Past*, as quoted in *Among the Mormons*, page 140)

While Joseph Smith wanted respect from others, he did not show respect for those opposed to him. Harold Schindler gives this information: "Joseph Duncan, governor of Illinois from 1836-1838, was the Whig candidate for that same office in 1842 on a bitterly anti-Mormon platform. He was defeated by Thomas Ford, prompting Joseph Smith to comment, 'God was asked not to let Joe Duncan be governor, and it was so.' Naming his horse after the one-time chief executive was the prophet's way of ridiculing his antagonist" (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 105, footnote 21). In his *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith frankly admitted that he "bought a horse of Harmon T. Wilson, which I named **Joe Duncan**" (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 60).

In Benjamin F. Johnson's letter to George S. Gibbs, written in 1903, he stated that the "Prophet Joseph laid the foundation of our Church in a military spirit." Ebenezer Robinson related the following:

Thus the corner stones of the house of the Lord, or what was claimed to be the house of the Lord, were laid amid the roar of cannon, and by the hands of men wearing the garments, and bearing the implements of war and of blood.

Lieut. General Joseph Smith, who superintended laying the chief corner stone and Brig. Gen'l. Don Carlos Smith, President of the High Priests' Quorum, who superintended laying the second corner stone, were both clothed in their military garments, and wearing their swords at the time. (*The Return*, vol. 2, pages 298-302, typed copy)

In Joseph Smith's *History* we find these statements concerning this matter:

April 6, 1841. —The first day of the twelfth year of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints! At an early hour the several companies comprising the "Nauvoo Legion," . . . making sixteen companies in all assembled at their

several places of rendezvous, . . . The appearance, order and movements of the Legion, were chaste, grand and imposing, and reflected great credit upon the taste, skill and tact of the men comprising said Legion. . . . At half-past seven o'clock a.m., the fire of artillery announced the arrival of Brigadier-Generals Law and Don Carlos Smith, . . .

At half-past nine o'clock a. m., Lieutenant-General Smith, with his guard, staff and field officers arrived at the ground, and were presented with a beautiful silk national flag by the ladies of Nauvoo, . . . after which the Lieutenant-General with his suite passed the lines in review.

At twelve m., the procession arrived upon the Temple ground, enclosing the same in a hollow square, with Lieutenant-General Smith, Major-General Bennett, Brigadier-Generals Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith. . . .

The architects then, by the direction of the First Presidency, lowered the first (the south-east corner) stone to its place, and President Joseph Smith pronounced the benediction . . .

The services were then declared closed, and the military retired to the parade ground and were dismissed with the approbation and thanks of the commanding officer. (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 326, 327, 329 and 330)

It is obvious that Joseph Smith loved this type of display. Under the date of May 7, 1842, we find this statement in the *History of the Church*:

The Nauvoo Legion was on parade . . . was reviewed by Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith, who commanded through the day. . . . At the close of the parade, Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith delivered a most animated and appropriate address, in which he remarked "that his soul **was never better satisfied than on this occasion.**" (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 3)

Joseph Smith seems to have desired to lead a large army, for he prepared a "Petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, dated 26th March, 1844, asking the privilege of raising 100,000 men to extend protection to persons wishing to settle Oregon and other portions of the territory of the United States, and extend protection to the people in Texas" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 282). In this document we find the following:

Section 1. Be it ordained by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, that Joseph Smith, of the city of Nauvoo, in the State of Illinois, is hereby authorized and empowered to raise a company of **one hundred thousand** armed volunteers in the United States and Territories, at such times, and places and in such numbers, as he shall find necessary and convenient for the purposes specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same.

Sec. 2. And be it further ordained that if any person or persons shall hinder or attempt to hinder or molest the said Joseph Smith from executing his designs in raising said volunteers, and marching and transporting the same to the borders of the United States and Territories, he, or they so hindering, molesting, or offending, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars

each for every offense, or by hard labor on some public work not exceeding two years, or both, at the discretion of the nearest District Court of the United States, where the hindrance or offense shall be committed, having jurisdiction.

See. 3. And be it further ordained, the more fully to remove all obstructions and hindrances to the raising, enlisting, and marching the volunteers as aforesaid, the said Joseph Smith is hereby constituted a member of the army of these United States, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 277)

There was, of course, hardly any chance that Joseph Smith's "Petition" would be accepted. On April 25, 1844, Orson Hyde wrote a letter from Washington in which he stated: "Mr. Semple said that Mr. Smith could not constitutionally be constituted a member of the army by law; and this, if nothing else, would prevent its passage" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 372).

Joseph Smith's military plans and maneuvers were very disturbing to the non-Mormons who lived around Nauvoo. The following statements appeared in the anti-Mormon paper, the *Warsaw Signal*:

How military these people are becoming! Everything they say or do seems to breathe the spirit of military tactics. Their prophet appears, on all great occasions, in his splendid regimental dress, signs his name Lieut. General, and more titles are to be found in the Nauvoo Legion, than any one book on military tactics can produce; . . . Truly fighting must, be a part of the creed of these Saints! (*Warsaw Signal*, July 21, 1841)

The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey made these observations concerning the Nauvoo Legion:

Americans were for the most part decidedly opposed to large standing armies. Thus, many citizens in Illinois viewed with abhorrence the growing might of the Nauvoo Legion. Each muster, parade, or mock battle caused speculation regarding the ultimate design of its leaders. Rumors accusing Joseph Smith of calculating an attack on Texas, Mexico, Missouri, and even the United States itself, were incessantly printed in newspapers and disseminated by word of mouth throughout the country. Some individuals believed the Nauvoo Legion would have to be destroyed before it had grown so strong that opposition to it would be unthinkable. Citizens living in Missouri were especially fearful that the Mormons would assault their homes and cities in retribution for the losses they had suffered in that state in 1837 and 1838. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, pages 206-207)

"THE GREATEST EGOTIST"?

In 1843 Charlotte Haven wrote some letters from Nauvoo, Illinois, which contain some very revealing statements:

Joseph Smith is a large, stout man, youthful in his appearance, with light complexion and hair, and blue eyes set far back in the head, . . . He is evidently a great egotist and boaster, for he frequently remarked that at every place he stopped going to and from Springfield people crowded around him, and expressed surprise that he was so "handsome and good looking." (*Overland Monthly*, December 1890, page 621)

We heard that Mrs. Joseph Smith wished to become acquainted with us, and had been expecting us to honor her with a call. . . . Sister Emma, for by that name Mrs. S. is known, is very plain in her personal appearance, though we hear she is very intelligent and benevolent, has great influence with her husband, and is generally beloved. She said very little to us, her whole attention being absorbed in what Joseph was saying. He talked incessantly about himself, what he had done and could do more than other mortals, and remarked that he was "a giant, physically and mentally." In fact, he seemed to forget that he was a man. I did not change my opinion about him, but suppose he has good traits. They say he is very kindhearted, and always ready to give shelter and help to the needy. (*Ibid.*, page 623)

I rushed out with the umbrella to shield Mrs. Smith, the others following. The driver being introduced, also came in and tarried. Mrs. Smith was pleasant and social, more so than we had ever seen her before, and we were quite pleased with her; while her husband is the **greatest egotist** I ever met.

In the course of the afternoon he touched as usual on his peculiar doctrines, and Brother asked him on what he founded his belief. He replied: "Upon the Bible."

"All denominations do the same," said Brother, very innocently.

At this Joseph became much excited; there was "no dubiety" about his religion, for he had more light directly from God, he said, and seemed to consider it an insult for any one to have the audacity to compare his doctrine with others. Finding him so dogmatical and so unable to reason, Brother let the Seer monopolize—as he always does—the conversation; or rather, glorify himself and his wonderful supernatural powers. (*Ibid.*, page 631)

Josiah Quincy related the following:

The Mormon Temple was not fully completed. It was a wonderful structure, altogether indescribable by me. Being, presumably, like something Smith had seen in vision, . . . In a tone half-way between jest and earnest, and which might have been taken for either at the option of the hearer, the prophet put this inquiry: "Is not here one greater than Solomon, who built a Temple with the treasures of his father David and with the assistance of Hiram, King of Tyre? Joseph Smith has built his Temple with no one to aid him in the work." (*Figures of the Past*, as quoted in *Among the Mormons*, page 138)

The editor of the *Pittsburg Gazette* visited Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, Illinois. His report was reprinted in the *New York Spectator*. We quote the following from that publication:

We spent about an hour conversing on various subjects, the prophet himself, with amazing volubility, occupying the most of the time, and his whole theme was himself. Let us give what turn we would to the conversation, he would adroitly bring it back to himself. . . . Running on in his voluble style, he said: “The world persecutes me, it has always persecuted me. . . .”

“When I went home and told the people that I had a revelation, and that all the churches were corrupt, they persecuted me, and they have persecuted me ever since. They thought to put me down, but they hav’nt succeeded, and they can’t do it. When I have proved that I am right, and get all the world subdued under me, I think I shall deserve something. . . .”

A good deal of conversation of a similar character took place, the prophet occupying nearly the whole time, and talking of himself incessantly. (*New York Spectator*, September 23, 1843)

Toward the end of his life Joseph Smith seems to have become obsessed with a desire for power and fame. In *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 96-104, we show that Joseph Smith ran as a candidate for President of the United States and was secretly ordained a king. Joseph Smith’s own *History of the Church* contains some statements which show that he felt that he was almost equal with God:

I am a lawyer; I am a big lawyer and comprehend heaven, earth and hell, to bring forth knowledge that shall cover up all lawyers, doctors and other big bodies. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 289)

I wish the lawyer who says we have no powers in Nauvoo may be choked to death with his own words. Don’t employ lawyers, or pay them money for their knowledge, for I have learned that they don’t know anything. I know more than they all. (*Ibid.*, page 467)

I combat the errors of ages; I meet the violence of mobs; I cope with illegal proceedings from executive authority; I cut the gordian knot of powers, and I solve mathematical problems of universities, with truth—diamond truth; and God is my “right hand man.” (*Ibid.*, vol. 6, page 78)

God made Aaron to be the mouth piece for the children of Israel, and He will make **me be God to you** in His stead, and the Elders to be mouth for me; and if you don’t like it, **you must lump it**. (*Ibid.*, pages 319-320)

If they want a beardless boy to whip all the world, I will get on the top of a mountain and crow like a rooster: I shall always beat them. . . . I have more to boast of than ever any man had. **I am the only man** that has ever been able to keep a whole church together since the days of Adam. A large majority of the whole have stood by me. Neither Paul, John, Peter, **nor Jesus ever did it. I boast that no man ever did such a work as I**. The followers of Jesus ran away from Him; but the Latter-day Saints never ran away from me yet. (*Ibid.*, vol. 6, pages 408-409)

In a speech delivered at Brigham Young University, April 14, 1905, Mary E. Lightner quoted Joseph Smith as saying the following:

Said he, “I am tired. I have been mobbed, I have suffered so much. . . . People little know who I am when they talk about me, and they never will know until they see me weighed in the balance in the Kingdom of God. Then they will know who I am and see me as I am. I dare not tell them and they do not know me.” These words were spoken with such power that they penetrated the heart of every soul that believed on him. (*The Life and Testimony of Mary Lightner*, Pioneer Press, pages 41-42)

In *The Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 1888 edition, pages 332-333, we find the following:

Had not Joseph said many times—are not men now living who heard him say: “Would to God, brethren, I could tell you who I am! Would to God I could tell you what I know! But you would call it **blasphemy**, and there are men upon this stand who would want to take my life.”

MIXING POLITICS AND REVELATION

One of the most important factors which led to Joseph Smith’s death was that he interfered in politics. On July 15, 1842, this statement appeared in the *Sangamo Journal*, published at Springfield, Illinois:

We received the Mormons into this state as we did every other sect. Disclosures have shown that the head of that church acts not under the influence of that pure religion which Jesus Christ established upon the earth; and that his vaulting ambition would secure to himself the control of our State elections. (*Sangamo Journal*, July 15, 1842)

The *Quincy Whig* printed an article in which the following appeared:

It is not so much the particular doctrines, which Smith upholds and practices, however abominable they may be in themselves, that our citizens care about—as it is the anti-republican nature of the organization, over which he has almost supreme control and which is trained and disciplined to act in accordance with his selfish will. The spectacle presented in Smith’s case of a civil, ecclesiastical and military leader, united in one and the same person, with power over life and liberty, can never find favor in the minds of sound and thinking Republicans. (*Quincy Whig*, as reprinted in *Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844)

Robert Bruce Flanders made these observations:

The Church exhibited power—power enough perhaps to establish social, economic, and political dominion wherever it was located by the Prophet. Such a sect invited persecution. (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, pages 3-4)

On June 19 a citizens' meeting was held at Warsaw to elect delegates to a county anti-Mormon convention; the meeting concluded that "there exists serious grounds of apprehension that the leaders of the Mormon body design, so soon as the numbers of their church constitute a majority of the votes, to control the offices of this county." (Ibid., pages 221-222)

Smith's candid avowal that the Mormons would vote as a bloc, that they had no party loyalties or interests, that they would vote for those whom they thought would serve them best, and that presently at least their favor rested upon the Democrats, set the Church upon a complex and hazardous political course. Such an avowal was bound to arouse jealousy and resentment; . . . Smith's assessment of the motives of politicians, both "friends" and "enemies," and of his own abilities to determine the true self-interests of his people and to guide and deliver their vote en bloc suggests that his political understanding was inadequate for the exacting game he had set himself to play. (Ibid., page 226)

Fawn Brodie made this statement:

Anti-Mormonism in Illinois was much more dangerous than it had been in Missouri, because it had a rock-bound moral foundation in the American fear of despotism. This, and not repugnance for polygamy—which, unlike the glorification of theocracy, was not yet preached openly—was the primary source of the venom in the now swiftly mobilizing opposition. (*No Man Knows My History*, page 381)

Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois from 1842-6, made these observations:

"But the great cause of popular fury was, that the Mormons at several preceding elections had cast their vote as a unit, thereby making the fact apparent that no one could aspire to the honors or offices of the country, within the sphere of their influence, without their approbation and votes. It appears to be one of the principles by which they insist upon being governed as a community, to act as a unit in all matters of government and religion. They express themselves to be fearful that if division should be encouraged in politics, it would soon extend to their religion, and rend their church with schism and into sects. . . . It is indeed unfortunate for their peace that they do not divide in elections, according to their individual preferences or political principles, like other people.

"This one principle and practice of theirs arrayed against them in deadly hostility all aspirants for office who were not sure of their support, all who have been unsuccessful in elections, and all who were too proud to court their influence, with all their friends and connections." (*History of Illinois*, as quoted in *History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 2-3)

The fact that the Mormons voted one way in Nauvoo is obvious from entries in Hosea Stout's diary:

Nov 4 M. Today was the Presidential election and the brethren all concluded to vote for Polk and Dallas for President and Vice President of the United States . . . (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 8)

February 3rd 1845 Monday. Today I attended the Municipal election as one of the Judges of the same as mentioned on the 11th of January last there was about 850 votes polled and the persons nominated by the Twelve on the 8th of January was unanimously elected without a dissenting voice the greatest union and peace prevailed that I ever knew before in the place at an election came home about dark. (Ibid., page 19)

Joseph Smith admitted that the Mormons were united in their politics, but claimed they "were driven to union in their elections by persecution . . ." (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 232). Although it is true that the Mormons were persecuted, evidence shows that much of this persecution was the result of Joseph Smith's intemperate speech and actions. Mormon historians have attempted to cover up this fact. For instance, in the *History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 40, 179 words have been omitted from a letter written by Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee which was originally printed in the *Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pages 452-453. In this letter the President of the United States is called a "fool." The words that have been deleted without any indication are as follows:

Now we shall endeavour to express our feelings and views concerning the President, as we have been eye-witnesses of his Majesty. He is a small man, sandy complexion, and ordinary features; with frowning brow, and considerable body, but not well proportioned as to his arms and legs; and to use his own words, is "quite fat." On the whole we think he is without body or parts, as no one part seems to be proportioned to another; therefore instead of saying body and parts, we say body and part, or partyism if you please to call it. And in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so **much a fop or a fool** (for he judged our cause before he knew it) we could find **no place to put truth into him**.

We do not say the Saints shall not vote for him, but we do say boldly, (though it need not be published in the streets of Nauvoo, neither among the daughters of the Gentiles,) that **we do not intend he shall have our votes**.

The following is taken from an interview with Joseph Smith which appeared in the *Quincy Whig*:

. . . the conversation turned upon his recent visit to Washington, and his talk with the President of the United States. He gave us distinctly to understand that his political views had undergone an entire change; and his description of the reception given him at the executive mansion was any thing but flattering to the distinguished individual who presides over its hospitalities.

"Before he had heard the story of our wrongs," said the indignant Prophet, "Mr. Van Buren gave us to understand that he could do nothing for the redress of our grievances lest it should interfere with his political prospects in Missouri. He is not fit," said he, "as my dog, for the chair of state; for my dog will make an effort to protect his abused and insulted master, while the present chief magistrate will not so much as lift his finger to relieve an oppressed and persecuted community of

freemen, whose glory it has been that they were citizens of the United States.”

“You hold in your hands,” I observed, “a large amount of political power, and your society must exert a tremendous influence, for weal or woe, in the coming elections.”

“Yes,” said he, “I know it; and our influence, as far as it goes, we intend to use. There are probably not far short of an hundred thousand souls in our society, and the votes to which we are entitled throughout the Union must doubtless be extensively lost to Mr. Van Buren.” (*Quincy Whig*, October 17, 1840, as cited in *Among the Mormons*, page 115)

Joseph Smith’s *History* for February 15, 1844, contains an article which was originally printed in the Mormon publication *Times and Seasons*. In this article we find the following statement:

And However much we might wish to sustain the Democratic nomination, we cannot—we will not vote for Van Buren. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 216)

In the *History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 531, we find this statement by Joseph Smith:

King took me by the collar and told me to go away. (All our wrongs have arisen under the power and authority of Democracy; and I have sworn that this arm shall fall from my shoulder, and this tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I will vote for them.) unless they make me satisfaction, and I feel it sensibly.

The *New York Spectator* for September 23, 1843, printed this statement by Joseph Smith:

. . . I have sworn by the eternal gods that I never will vote for a democrat again, and I intend to swear my children, putting their hands under the thigh, as Abraham swore Isaac, that they will never vote a democratic ticket in all their generations. It is the meanest, lowest party in all creation.

Francis M. Higbee wrote an article for the *Nauvoo Expositor* in which the following statements appeared:

It is well known to all of you that the August election is fast approaching, and with it comes the great and terrible conflict. . . . The present is portentous of the great effort that is to be made upon that occasion, by Joseph for power; Hiram Smith is already in the field as a candidate for the legislature, but will you support him, that same Hyrum Smith the devoted follower and brother of Joe, who **feigned a revelation from God**, directing the citizens of Hancock County to vote for J. P. Hoge, in preference to Cyrus Walker, and by so doing blaspheming the name of God? Will you, gentlemen of Hancock County, support a man like that who claims to move in a different sphere, a sphere entirely above you; one who will trifle with the things of God, and feign converse with the Divinity, for the sake of carrying an election? . . .

In supporting Hyrum Smith, you, Citizens of Hancock County, are supporting Joseph Smith, for whom he (Hyrum) goes teeth and toe nails, for President of the

United States. The question may arise here, in voting for Joseph Smith, for whom am I voting? You are voting for a man who contends all governments are to be put down and the one established upon its ruins. You are voting for an enemy to your government. . . . Is it not a shame and a disgrace, to think we have a man in our midst, who will defy the laws of our country; the laws which shed so gentle and nourishing an i[n]fluence upon our fathers, which fostered and protected them in their old age from insult and aggression; shall we their sons, lie still and suffer Joseph Smith to light up the lamp of tyranny and oppression in our midst? (*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844)

Francis Higbee’s charge concerning the purported revelation is confirmed by Joseph Smith’s own *History of the Church*. Under the date of August 6, 1843, these words are attributed to Joseph Smith:

Brother Hyrum tells me this morning that he has had a testimony to the effect it would be better for the people **to vote for Hoge**; and I never knew Hyrum to say he ever had a **revelation** and it failed. Let **God speak** and all men hold their peace. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 526)

The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey made this statement concerning the political problems in Illinois:

Leaders of the Church attempted to minimize the growing number of Mormon voters and even made serious efforts to camouflage the baptism of two county commissioners. When anti-Mormon candidates for the most part defeated their pro-Mormon opponents in 1841, some observers believed Mormon political power had been greatly exaggerated. Yet immigration by August of 1842 augmented the Mormon population in Hancock County so that by voting solidly for the same candidates the Saints were able to dominate the politics of that region. . . . Following the 1842 election the Anti-Mormon Party was formally revived, after suffering what was thought to be an untimely death subsequent to its success in the 1841 election. This party proved ultimately to be one of the most decisive forces in causing the death of the Mormon Prophet and the migration of large numbers of his followers to the Great Basin. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, page 211)

Harold Schindler gives this interesting information:

Bennett made his appearance in Nauvoo in August of 1840, was baptized, and within two months was appointed lobbyist to the Illinois Legislature where he urged the passage of a bill seeking incorporation of Nauvoo. By dangling the prize of a solid Mormon voting bloc (by now the Saints knew full well how to apply political pressure) before both Democrats and Whigs, the measure passed and was signed by Governor Thomas Carlin. . . . There was good reason to rejoice; the Nauvoo City Charter was an extraordinary document, indeed.

It permitted, among other things, a city council, including a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilmen, empowered to pass any ordinance not in conflict with state or federal constitutions. . . .

The Legislature, in its desire to curry Mormon favor, had placed in Joseph's hands the legal and military power with which to institute a secular dictatorship unmatched by any other city in the land. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, pages 70-71)

Robert Bruce Flanders gives the following information:

The charter had an unusual feature empowering the municipal court to grant writs of habeas corpus "in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council." The court was in the future to issue such writs to free arrested persons, in particular Joseph Smith, regardless of the jurisdiction under which they were arrested. . . . The habeas corpus provision was designed to make Nauvoo an island of legal safety in which Mormons arrested by "outside" civil officers could be freed by legal process. The net result was not only to help protect the Mormons from legal persecution, real or imagined, but also to make "outside" law enforceable in Nauvoo only if the city government concurred. The frequent inability of county and state law enforcement officers to arrest accused persons in Nauvoo aroused the opposition of the gentile citizens around the city. "I cannot describe to you the many iniquities they did commit," recalled a Carthage citizen. "They murdered many of our best citizens, and there was nothing (eight ox team [or] a diaper) that they would not steal. . . . The law could not reach them . . . our lives and property was at the mercy of the worst set of outlaws that ever congregated together. The result was war to the knife and knife to the hilt." The habeas corpus clause of the charter and the cavalier fashion in which the Mormons used it generated much popular fear and hatred, and were the points upon which legal attacks on the whole charter finally focused. (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, page 99)

On its face it was just another city charter with some novel clauses; in operation it was a charter to create a Mormon kingdom in the sovereign state of Illinois. (*Ibid.*, page 104)

In a speech delivered June 30, 1843, Joseph Smith stated:

Relative to our city charter, courts, right of habeas corpus, etc., I wish you to know and publish that **we have all power**; and if any man from this time forth says anything to the contrary, cast it into his teeth. . . . All the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo; and any man that says to the contrary is a fool. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 466)

The Nauvoo City Council passed some very unusual ordinances. For instance, the Nauvoo City Council "passed 'an extra ordinance for the extra case of Joseph Smith and others.'" In this ordinance we find the following:

Section 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, according to the intent and meaning of the Charter for the "benefit and convenience" of

Nauvoo, that hereafter, if any person or persons shall come with process, demand, or requisition, founded upon the aforesaid Missouri difficulties, to arrest said Joseph Smith, he or they so offending shall be subject to be arrested by any officer of the city, with or without process, and tried by the Municipal Court, upon testimony, and, if found guilty, sentenced to imprisonment in the city prison **for life**; which convict or convicts can only be pardoned by the Governor, with the consent of the Mayor of said city. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 105)

It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith himself was Mayor of Nauvoo at the time this ordinance was passed.

The unusual ordinances passed by the Nauvoo City Council and Joseph Smith's claim that he was not subject to the laws of Illinois caused serious problems with the non-Mormons in the vicinity of Nauvoo.

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen feels that Joseph Smith's attempt to build a political kingdom was the primary reason he was murdered:

The attempt to build a political kingdom of God was also the primary reason why the Mormons were forced to leave Illinois, and why Smith was murdered in 1844. When the Mormon prophet organized the Council of Fifty in Nauvoo under strictest secrecy, he must have been rather too optimistic a judge of human nature to expect all of the members to have sealed lips at a time when close associates were becoming enemies overnight. It was thus only to be expected that rumors of the secret council and its doings would soon circulate in Nauvoo and spread among friend and foe alike. These rumors and half-truths gave to the political kingdom of God, in the eyes of Gentiles and apostates, the aspect of the sinister and the subversive. The opposition that led directly to the assassination of the prophet was partly caused by rumors that the Mormons were planning to overthrow the government when they got strong enough, and to take possession of the country—rumors that seemed to confirm John C. Bennett's revelations that Smith planned to establish a Mormon empire in the Middle West. (*Quest for Empire*, page 154)

DESTRUCTION OF EXPOSITOR

The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey makes these interesting observations concerning the conflict in Illinois:

Antagonism toward the Mormon Prophet was further incited when it was **correctly** rumored, that he had been ordained "**King** over the Immediate House of Israel" by the Council of Fifty. This action was wrongly interpreted by non-Mormons to mean that he was going to attempt to overthrow the United States government by force. . . . Still newspapers and tracts repeatedly charged that the Prophet conducted himself like a dictator and that his actions were not only treasonable but a violation of the constitutional principle that church and state should

be disassociated. Thus, his **kingly ordination** only incensed the populace, and his untimely death became even more inevitable.

The Prophet's mayoral order, with the consent of the city council, to destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor* became the immediate excuse to stamp out his life. . . .

Perhaps in retrospect both Mormons and Gentiles were partly to blame for conflict which developed between them. The Mormons were sometimes boastful of their political and economic power. They frequently declared they were the chosen people of God, and tended to trade in a commercial way only with themselves, to promulgate a large army and to engage in a marriage system thought to be adulterous by the Gentiles. On the other side, the Gentiles blamed the Mormons for almost every crime committed in Hancock County, said Joseph Smith was a dictator, and believed themselves justified in opposing him without really waiting to determine the truth or falsity of the numerous accusations against him. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, pages 212-214)

The *Nauvoo Expositor*, spoken of by Kenneth Godfrey, was to be printed in Nauvoo by a number of people who were opposed to Joseph Smith's political ambitions and the practice of polygamy. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart states:

They attempted to set up their own church with William Law as President. They bought a press and published a newspaper entitled the *Nauvoo Expositor*, . . . Joseph Smith as mayor **ordered the *Expositor* press destroyed.** (*Brigham Young and His Wives*, page 34)

Edward Bonney made this statement concerning the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

In the month of May, A.D. 1844, the new press was put in operation, and the prospectus and first number of a newspaper published under the title of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It contained a series of charges against Joseph Smith and the leading men in the church, including bigamy, adultery, larceny, counterfeiting, &c. In reply to this, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, a newspaper printed under the direction and control of the Prophet, charged the dissenters from the Mormon faith with the same crimes and sustained many of the charges by the publication of numerous affidavits, made, without doubt, by the Prophet's standing witnesses. Each appeared determined to outdo the other in the promulgation of slander and abuse, with which, according to their own stories, each had long possessed a knowledge of. If either were guilty of half they were accused of, the gallows had been defrauded of its just dues, and earth was teeming with the base, the vile, and the blood-stained. . . .

Upon the issue of the first number of the *Expositor*, the Prophet and his adherents determined to at once silence them by the destruction of the press, . . . (*The Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 17-18)

Mormon writers often refer to the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a scandalous and vile publication, but in reality it advocated high morals and obedience to the law. In the first issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* we find the following:

Many of us have sought a reformation in the church, without a public exposition of the enormities of crimes practiced by its leaders, thinking that if they would hearken to counsel, and shew fruit meet for repentance, it would be as acceptable with God, as though they were exposed to public gaze, . . . but our petitions were treated with contempt; and in many cases the petitioner spurned from their presence, and particularly by Joseph, who would state that if he had sinned, and was guilty of the charges we would charge him with, he would not make acknowledgment, but would rather be damned; for it would detract from his dignity, and would consequently ruin and prove the overthrow of the Church. We would ask him on the other hand, if the overthrow of the Church was not inevitable, to which he often replied, that we would all go to Hell together, and convert it into a heaven, by casting the Devil out; and says he, Hell is by no means the place this world of fools suppose it to be, but on the contrary, it is quite an agreeable place: to which we would now reply, he can enjoy it if he is determined not to desist from his evil ways; but as for us, and ours, we will serve the Lord our God! (*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844)

The words attributed to Joseph Smith in the quotation above are similar to the following statement which appears in Joseph Smith's *History*:

I see no faults in the Church, and therefore let me be resurrected with the Saints, whether I ascend to heaven or descend to hell, or go to any other place. And if we go to hell, we will turn the devils out of doors and make a heaven of it. Where this people are, there is good society. What do we care where we are, if the society be good? (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 517)

We have already shown that Joseph Smith's own *History of the Church* confirmed the *Nauvoo Expositor's* charge that Hyrum Smith had given a revelation that the Mormons were to vote for Hoge. This newspaper was very opposed to Joseph Smith's "political schemes":

The next important item which presents itself for our consideration, is the attempt at Political power and influence, which we verily believe to be preposterous and absurd. We believe it is inconsistent, and not in accordance with the christian religion. We do not believe that God ever raised up a Prophet to christianize a world by political schemes and intrigue. (*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844)

One thing that really disturbed the Mormon leaders was that the *Nauvoo Expositor* exposed the fact that Joseph Smith was secretly advocating polygamy. In an affidavit published in the *Nauvoo Expositor*, Austin Cowles stated:

In the latter part of the summer, 1843, the Patriarch, Hyrum Smith, did in the High Council, of which I was a member, introduce what he said was a revelation given through the Prophet; that the said Hyrum Smith did essay to read the said revelation in the said Council, that according to his reading there was contained the following doctrines; 1st, the sealing up of persons to eternal life, against all sins, save that of shedding innocent blood or of consenting thereto; 2nd, the doctrine of a

plurality of wives, or marrying virgins; that David and Solomon had many wives, yet in this they sinned not save in the matter of Uriah. This revelation with other evidence, that the aforesaid heresies were taught and practiced in the Church; determined me to leave the office of first counsellor to the president of the Church at Nauvoo, inasmuch as I dared not teach or administer such laws. And further deponent saith not. AUSTIN COWLES. (*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844)

On June 8, 1844, the Nauvoo City Council met and declared the *Nauvoo Expositor*, a “public nuisance.” Both Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum denied that they were practicing polygamy. Hyrum Smith claimed that Austin Cowles statement was a “falsehood”:

Councillor H. Smith proceeded to show the **falsehood** of Austin Cowles in the “Expositor,” in relation to the revelation referred to, that it was in **reference to former days**, and **not the present time** as related by Cowles. (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, June 19, 1844)

When this statement was reprinted in the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 442, the last seventeen words were deleted without any indication to cover up the fact that Hyrum Smith had lied. Two other false statements concerning polygamy—one by Joseph Smith himself—were also changed in the *History of the Church* without any indication (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 109-111)

Eight years after Joseph Smith’s death, the Mormon leaders published the revelation on polygamy. It now appears as Section 132 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. This revelation proves beyond all doubt that the statements in Cowles’ affidavit are true. Thus it appears that the *Nauvoo Expositor* was condemned on the basis of false testimony given by Joseph and Hyrum Smith. In a synopsis of the proceedings of the Nauvoo City Council we find the following:

Mayor [Joseph Smith] said, if he had a City Council who felt as he did, the establishment (referring to the *Nauvoo Expositor*) would be declared a nuisance before night; . . .

Councilor Stiles said a nuisance was anything that disturbs the peace of a community, . . . It is right for this community to show a proper resentment; and he would go in for suppressing all further publications of the kind.

Councilor Hyrum Smith believed the best way was to **smash the press** and pi the type. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 441 and 445)

When Joseph Smith’s *History* was first published in the *Millennial Star*, Phineas Richards was quoted as saying:

He considered the publication of the *Expositor* as much murderous at heart as David was before the death of Uriah; **was for making a short work of it**; was prepared to take his stand by the Mayor, . . . (*Millennial Star*, vol. 23, page 828)

When this was reprinted in the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 447, eight words were deleted without any indication:

He considered the publication of the *Expositor* as much murderous at heart as David was before the death of Uriah; was prepared to take stand; by the Mayor, . . .

At any rate, the Nauvoo City Council ordered the press to be destroyed. The following is recorded in Joseph Smith’s *History* under the date of June 10, 1844:

The Council passed an ordinance declaring the *Nauvoo Expositor* a nuisance, and also issued an order to me to abate the said nuisance. I immediately ordered the Marshal to **destroy it without delay**. . . .

About 8 p. m., the Marshall returned and reported that he had removed the press, type, printed paper, and fixtures into the street, and **destroyed them**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 432)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen gives this information concerning the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

The *Expositor* allegations and the subsequent reaction triggered the immediate events leading to the death of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. Although the affair has been described many times, none of these accounts takes into consideration the existence of the Council of Fifty in Nauvoo in 1844; yet an examination of its role in the controversy provides a new dimension to understanding the causes of the death of the Smith brothers.

The *Expositor* was a newspaper started by a group of disgruntled Mormons under the leadership of Dr. Robert D. Foster, who put up most of the money for the press, and William Law, second counselor to Joseph Smith for over two years. . . . a secret council excommunicated Foster along with William, Wilson, and Jane Law “for unchristianlike conduct.” It is of considerable interest that, of the thirty-two persons present at this meeting, twenty-two can be identified as members of the Council of Fifty.

. . . When the first and only issue of the *Expositor* was published on June 7, 1844, it contained the significant passage: “We will not acknowledge any man as king or lawgiver to the church.” These allusions suggest that the apostates must have had at least some knowledge of ideas and practices connected with the Council of Fifty. If the spectacular news of Smith’s kingship could reach Governor Ford, it seems likely that it could also reach those who were even closer to the scene. . . .

The publication of the *Expositor* put Smith in a dilemma. If he did not stop its publication, exposure of the secrets of polygamy and the political kingdom of God might well rend the church asunder and leave it a prey to the Gentiles. . . .

If the Mormon prophet could not afford to tolerate an apostate newspaper dedicated to the exposure of practices and principles which—at least for the present—had to remain secret at all cost, he had no recourse but to silence the press by force. When Smith convinced his rubber-stamp city council, in a trial without lawyers, witnesses, or jury, that the paper should be declared a public nuisance, its press smashed, and the remaining

copies of its first and only issue burned, he may not have been prepared to pay for such a course of action with his life; but there can be no question that he was prepared to pay a high price for the preservation of the kingdom. . . .

In destroying the press Smith had overstepped both his authority and the bounds of propriety. . . .

It is the consensus of most historians that if Smith had handled the *Expositor* affair with more caution he and his brother would not have died at Carthage. George Gayler speaks for most historians who have written on the subject: "It cannot be doubted that the destruction of the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was the most serious blunder committed by the Mormons since their arrival in Illinois four and a half years previously." B. H. Roberts, however, differs from this interpretation. He admits that the destruction of the press was illegal, but a matter of expediency, and under the circumstances essential for the survival of the Mormons in Illinois.

Roberts, however, bases his evaluation on the assumption that the Gentiles would have believed what he considered to be the slanderous statements made in the *Expositor*. But, in the light of the Council of Fifty and the concept of the political kingdom of God, it now appears that many of these charges, however distorted they appeared in the newspaper, had a **basis in fact**. It seems quite likely, therefore, that the destruction of the press was a greater necessity than even Roberts concedes. (*Quest For Empire*, pages 156-160)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts made this statement concerning the destruction of the *Expositor*:

The legality of the action of the Mayor and City counsel was, of course, **questionable**, though some sought to defend it on legal grounds; **but it must be conceded that neither proof nor argument for legality are convincing**. On the grounds of expediency or necessity the action is more defensible. (*History of the Church*, Introduction to vol. 6, page XXXVIII)

John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, made these statements concerning the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

. . . the apostate "Mormons," associated with others, commenced the publication of a libelous paper in Nauvoo, called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. . . . the indignation of the whole community was aroused; so much so, that they threatened its annihilation; . . . As it was among us, under these circumstances, it was thought best to convene the city council to take into consideration the adoption of some measures for its removal, as it was deemed better that this should be done **legally than illegally**. . . . Being a member of the city council, I well remember the feeling of responsibility that seemed to rest upon all present; nor shall I soon forget the bold, manly, independent expressions of Joseph Smith on that occasion in relation to this matter. . . .

He stated . . . it behooved us as men, to act independent of all secondary influences, to perform the

part of men of enlarged minds, and boldly and fearlessly to discharge the duties devolving upon us by declaring as a nuisance, and removing this filthy, libelous, and seditious sheet from our midst. . . . The press was removed or broken, I don't remember which, by the marshal, and the types scattered in the street.

This seemed to be one of those extreme cases that require extreme measures. . . . It was feared that, as it was almost universally execrated, should it continue longer, an indignant people might commit some overt act which might lead to serious consequences, and that it was better to use legal than illegal means. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 61-64)

George Q. Cannon, who became a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, made this statement on October 7, 1868:

It was on the 10th of June, 1844, I had occasion to go to the City Council of Nauvoo, with some proof sheets to the editor of the "Nauvoo Neighbor,"— . . . While there, the subject under discussion, was the declaring of the "Nauvoo Expositor" a nuisance. Doubtless many of you recollect that paper, one number of which was issued by the Laws and other apostates. You who do not recollect that paper may recollect reading about it. There was some excitement at the time in the Council. They had passed an ordinance declaring it a nuisance, and empowering the city marshal, John P. Green, to abate it. . . . Yet we, for years have had in our city [Salt Lake City] a paper which publishes, if possible, more abominable lies about us and our people than were published by the "Nauvoo Expositor," for the abatement of which Hyrum Smith said he was willing to die. We have not noticed it; we have suffered it to go on undisturbed. **But the time has come for us to take this matter into consideration.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 12, page 292)

Heber C. Kimball's wife, Vilate Kimball, described the destruction of the press in a letter to her husband. Her description sounds more like a mob scene than a legal one:

"June 11th. Nauvoo was a scene of excit[e]ment last night. Some **hundreds** of the **brethren** turned out and **burned the press of the opposite party**." (Letter written by Vilate Kimball, as published in the *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, page 350)

The Mormon writer William E. Berrett stated:

The destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* June 10, 1844, proved to be the spark which ignited all the smoldering fires of opposition into one great flame. It offered the occasion for which the apostates from the Church were waiting, a legal excuse to get the Prophet and other leaders into their hands. **The cry that "freedom of the press" was being violated**, united the factions seeking the overthrow of the Saints as perhaps nothing else would have done. (*The Restored Church*, page 255)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart gives this information:

The apostate publishers dashed away to Carthage, **squealing like stuck pigs**, and before Justice of the Peace Thomas Morrison, a notorious Mormon hater, sued out a writ for the arrest of Joseph and seventeen other Church and city officials, on a charge of riot. (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 220)

Charles A. Foster, one of the publishers of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, wrote the following letter on June 11, 1844:

Mr. Sharp:—I hasten to inform you of the **unparalleled outrage**, perpetrated upon our rights, and interests by the ruthless, lawless, ruffian band of **Mormon mobocrats**, at the dictation of that **unprincipled** wretch Joe Smith.

We were privately informed that the **City Council**, which had been in extra session for two days past, had enacted an ordinance in relation to libels, providing that any thing that had been published, or any thing that might be published tending to disparage the character of the officers of the city should be regarded as **lawless**. They also declared the “Nauvoo Expositor,” a “nuisance” and directed the police of [the] city to proceed immediately to the office of the *Expositor*, and **destroy the press** and also the **materials**, by **throwing** them into the **street!!!!**

If any resistance were made, the officers were directed to demolish the building and property, of all who were concerned in publishing said paper, and also take all into custody, who might refuse to obey the authorities of the City.

Accordingly, a company consisting of some 200 men, armed and equipped, with **muskets, swords, pistols, bowie knives, sledge-hammers, &c**, assisted by a crowd of several hundred minions, who volunteered their services on the occasion, marched to the building, and breaking open the doors with a **sledge-hammer**, commenced the work of destruction and desperation.

They tumbled the press and materials into the street, and set fire to them, and demolished the machinery with a sledge hammer, and injured the building very materially. We made no resistance; but looked on and felt revenge, but leave it for the public to avenge this climax of insult and injury. (*Warsaw Signal*, June 12, 1844)

The *Warsaw Signal* called for the citizens to arise, for “War and extermination is inevitable!” It was even claimed that Joseph Smith’s brother had threatened the press of the *Warsaw Signal*:

We have conversed with a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who was in Nauvoo, and present in the council room, at the time the ordinance to destroy the *Expositor* press, was under consideration, and from him, we received the following items . . .

Hyrum, directed his fire against the **press**; and in relation to the Editor of this paper, he made use of the following language: “We had better send a message to long nosed Sharp, that if he does not look out he might be visited with a **pinch of snuff**, that will make him **sneeze**.” At this burst of oratory, the council were convulsed with laughter.

In relation to our Press he said, “If any person would go to Warsaw, boldly, in daylight, and **break the press** of the *Signal* office, with a sledge hammer, he would **bear him out** in it, if it cost him his farm.” (*Warsaw Signal*, June 12, 1844)

Hyrum Smith later denied that he had threatened Thomas Sharp’s life (see *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 500). The synopsis of the proceedings of the Nauvoo City Council, however, show that he did make some comments concerning the “editor of the *Signal*”: “Councilor H. Smith spoke in relation to the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, editor of the *Signal*, &c. , and of the importance of suppressing that spirit which has driven us from Missouri, &c.; . . .” (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 438). On page 446 of the same volume we find this statement: “Councilor Hyrum Smith spoke of the *Warsaw Signal*, and disapproved its libelous course.” Edward Bonney wrote:

Smith, the Prophet, told them “that the time had come to strike the blow! That God no longer required them to submit to the oppression of their enemies, and that he should vote for the destruction of the [*Nauvoo Expositor*] press; that it was a nuisance, and he should order it destroyed as such!”

Hiram Smith spoke in substance the same as his brother, and also denounced, in unmeasured terms, Sharp, the editor of the *Warsaw Signal*. He said “he would give any man five hundred dollars who would go into the *Signal* office with a sledge and demolish the press. That it should be done at all hazards, even if it took his farm to pay for it!”

Upon calling for the vote, eleven voted for, and one against, declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance, and immediate measures were taken for carrying the ordinance for its destruction into effect. (*Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 18-19)

According to George Laub, Joseph Smith claimed to have a vision in which he was directed to destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

. . . Brother Joseph called a meeting at his own house and told us that God showed to him in an open vision in daylight that if he did not destroy that printing press (*Nauvoo Expositor*) that it would cause the blood of saints to flow in the streets and by this was that evil destroyed . . . I write what I know and seen and heard for myself. (*Pioneer Journals*, “Excerpts From the Diary of George Laub,” 1814-1880)

In a letter dated June 22, 1844, Governor Ford rebuked Joseph Smith for destroying the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*:

I now express to you my opinion that your conduct in the destruction of the press was a very gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people. It may have been full of libels, but this did not authorize you to destroy it.

There are many newspapers in this state which have been wrongfully abusing me for more than a year, and yet such is my regard for the liberty of the press and the rights of a free people in a republican government that I would shed the last drop of my blood to protect those presses from any illegal violence. You have violated the Constitution in at least four particulars. You have violated that part of it which declares that the printing presses shall be free, being responsible for the abuse thereof, and that the truth may be given in evidence. . . . No civilized country can tolerate such conduct, much less can it be tolerated in this free country of the United States. (Letter from Governor Ford, as printed in the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 534-536)

LIKE A LAMB?

Edward Bonney gives the following information in his book, *Banditti of the Prairies*:

This outrage upon the public press helped to fan the flame already kindled against the Mormon outlaws by their repeated depredations upon the citizens of the surrounding country, and plainly foreshadowed the storm that was to burst with startling fury.

The dissenting Mormons at once united with those opposed to that sect, and various meetings were called, and all parties urged to arm and prepare themselves to resist any further aggression: to be ready at all hazards to protect themselves and meet the worst. Warrants were issued against the Smiths, and other leaders, in the destruction of the printing office of the *Expositor*, and though served by the proper officers, they refused to obey the mandates of the law, and laughed at its power!

As in all former cases, the writ of habeas corpus was resorted to, and all the arrested at once set at liberty and discharged from arrest, the same persons that were arrested acting as officers of the courts that discharged them! Thus effectually defeating the ends of justice, and compelling the officer to return to Carthage without a single prisoner!

This mock administration of law, added new fuel to the flame. The public being convinced that Nauvoo was the headquarters of nearly all the marauders who were preying upon the surrounding community, together with the full belief that the Mormon leaders were privy to their depredations and the resistance and defeat of justice, now became enraged, and determined to rise in their might and enforce the law, even though it should be at the point of the bayonet or sabre. . . .

The officer from whose custody the Smiths and others were discharged proceeded to summon a posse and renew the arrest from the adjacent counties, rallied under the banner of law and justice. The Mormon leaders, learning this fact, gathered also their forces. The Nauvoo Legion, organized at the call of the Prophet, fully armed and equipped and numbering nearly four thousand, with their pieces of artillery prepared for a desperate resistance.

The city of Nauvoo was declared under martial law, and all necessary preparations were made to sustain the edicts of the Prophet and the freedom of the crime-stained ones or die in the attempt. . . .

A full investigation was entered into and Gov. Ford, instructing the officer having the writs from which the Mormons had discharged themselves, to proceed to

Nauvoo and demand the surrender of the Smiths and others upon whom the writs had already been served, and in case of a refusal to obey the law, to enforce it at the point of the bayonet. At the same time pledging himself, as the Chief Executive of the state, to protect them from personal violence, and the troops under his command pledged themselves to sustain him. . . .

Morning came, and the hour of their departure arrived, but the Prophet could not be found, having crossed the Mississippi River during the night with his brother Hiram and secreted themselves in Iowa, and the officer was again forced to return to Carthage without the prisoners. . . .

During the day, several dispatches crossed the river to and from the Prophet, some advising him to seek safety in flight, and others urging him to return and save the city. Thus urged, the Prophet and his companion in flight, recrossed the river about sunset, and on the following morning started for Carthage, and Nauvoo was again quiet. . . .

On arriving there, the prisoners were examined on the charge of riot in destroying the printing press, and held to bail for their appearance at the next term of the Hancock Circuit Court. Joseph and Hiram Smith were arrested on charge of treason, and committed to await their examination.

All being tranquil, and Governor Ford thinking an armed force no longer necessary, disbanded his troops on the morning of the 27th, leaving but a small force to guard the jail, and proceeded with his suite to Nauvoo. . . .

After the troops were disbanded, the most hostile of them believing the Smiths eventually would be acquitted on the charge of treason, and the Mormons still continued their depredations, and deeming that the only way to secure safety was by ridding them of their leaders, they still continued to fan the flame of revenge that had heretofore been burning but too brightly. Urged on by the Mormon dissenters, who were thirsting for blood, they collected, to the number of about 140, armed and disguised, and proceeded to the jail about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th. Having dispersed the guard, they attacked the jail, and Joseph and Hiram Smith in an effort to escape were both shot dead. Four balls pierced each of them, and any one of the wounds would have proved fatal. Having accomplished this cold-blooded murder (for surely no other name will apply to it) and glutted their appetite for blood, the mob instantly dispersed. (*Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 20-24)

Keith Huntress made these interesting observations in an article published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*:

Though Joseph Smith himself relied upon Governor Ford for protection, and seemed not unfriendly to a man who, he wrote, "treats us honorably," and "continues his courtesies," the opinion of the Mormons after the Smith murders was strongly condemnatory. The governor was accused of ignoring warnings of the evil intentions of the militia—an accusation certainly correct—and of being party to the murder plot.

It is easy to condemn Governor Ford for his conduct at the time of the murders. He was the chief executive of the state, he was on the scene, and yet the murders took place. But few people realize or realized the difficulties under which he labored. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1969, page 42)

It seems obvious that Ford's primary concern was not to save the Smiths but to avoid civil war. He felt that he had to push for the surrender of the Smiths partly because of the legal requirement, but also because their immunity from punishment after the *Expositor* affair made furious the old settlers of Hancock County. . . .

No one can tell what might have happened, but there seems every reason to believe that if Ford had stayed in Springfield and the Smiths had remained at Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred; that if Ford had arranged for the Smiths to escape to Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred: that if Ford had taken the Smiths with him to Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred. He did none of these things, and civil war occurred. . . .

Those writers who have called Ford weak, and who have pointed out, quite correctly, that he changed his mind during those last days of Carthage, have never suggested just what Ford should have done to save the Smiths and prevent war. The governor tried almost everything in his endeavor to keep the peace; it was not his fault that nothing worked.

The mob wanted Joseph Smith dead and the Mormons out of Illinois. Even after the Smiths were killed and the Mormons leaderless, civil war broke out the next year and the Mormons were finally expelled. . . .

Ford failed to save the lives of the Smiths, and he failed to prevent civil war. It is doubtful whether anyone, given that time, that place, those people, could have succeeded. (Ibid., pages 51-52)

It is interesting to compare the death of Joseph Smith with that of Jesus. In Isaiah 53:7 we read the following: "He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: **he is brought as a lamb to slaughter**, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth." In the New Testament it is claimed that Christ fulfilled this prophecy (see Acts 8:32). The reason that Christ fulfilled it is that he did not try to fight back when he was led to death. He died without putting up a fight. In 1 Peter 2:23 we read: "Who, when he was reviled, reviled **not again**; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

When Peter tried to defend Jesus with the sword, Jesus told him: "Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" (John 18:11)

It is claimed that before Joseph Smith was murdered in the Carthage jail he made this statement: "I am going, like a **lamb** to the slaughter; . . ." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 135, verse 4)

Most Mormons believe that Joseph Smith died without putting up a struggle, but the actual truth is that he died in a gun fight. In the *History of the Church* the following is recorded concerning Joseph Smith's death:

Immediately there was a little rustling at the outer door of the jail, and a cry of surrender, and also a discharge of three or four firearms followed instantly.

. . . **Joseph** sprang to his coat for his **six-shooter**, Hyrum for his single barrel, . . .

When Hyrum fell, Joseph exclaimed, "Oh dear, brother Hyrum!" and opening the door a few inches **he discharged his six-shooter in the stairway** (as stated before), two or three barrels of which missed fire.

Joseph, seeing there was no safety in the room, and no doubt thinking that it would save the lives of his brethren in the room if he could get out, turned calmly from the door, dropped his **pistol** on the floor; and sprang into the window when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward into the hands of his murderers, exclaiming. "O Lord, my God." (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 617-618)

In the Introduction to vol. 6 of the *History of the Church*, page XLI, the following is stated about Joseph Smith's death:

When the jail in Carthage was assailed, and the mob was pouring murderous volleys into the room occupied by himself and friends, the Prophet turned from the prostrate form of his murdered brother to face death-dealing guns and bravely returned the fire of his assailants, "**bringing his man down every time**," and compelling even John Hay, who but reluctantly accords the Prophet any quality of virtue, to confess that he "made a handsome fight". . .

John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, made these statements concerning the death of Joseph Smith:

Elder Cyrus H. Wheelock came in to see us, and when he was about leaving drew a small pistol, a six-shooter, from his pocket, remarking at the same time, "Would any of you like to have this?" Brother **Joseph** immediately replied, "**Yes**, give it to me," whereupon he took the pistol, and put it in his pantaloons pocket. . . . I was sitting at one of the front windows of the jail, when I saw a number of men, with painted faces, coming around the corner of the jail, and aiming towards the stairs. . . .

I shall never forget the deep feeling of sympathy and regard manifested in the countenance of Brother Joseph as he drew nigh to Hyrum, and, leaning over him, exclaimed, "Oh! my poor, dear brother Hyrum!" He, however, instantly arose, and with a firm, quick step, and a determined expression of countenance, approached the door, and pulling the six-shooter left by Brother Wheelock from his pocket, opened the door slightly, and snapped the pistol six successive times; only three of the barrels, however, were discharged. I afterwards understood that two or three were **wounded** by these discharges, **two** of whom, I am informed **died**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 100, 102 and 103)

From the information given above it can be seen that the death of Joseph Smith can in no way be compared to the death of Jesus. Jesus did go like a "lamb to the slaughter," but Joseph Smith died like a raging lion. In a letter dated July 22, 1844, Sarah Scott wrote:

I suppose you received our letter and was somewhat prepared, when you heard of the dreadful murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage jail. . . . Joseph prophesied in the last *Neighbor* that was published before his death that they would come off victorious over them all, as sure as there was a God in Israel. Joseph also prophesied on the stand a year ago last conference that he could not be killed within five years from that time; that they could not kill him till the Temple would be completed, for that he had received an unconditional promise from the Almighty concerning his days, and he set Earth and Hell at defiance; and then said, putting his hand on his head, they never could kill this Child. But now that he is killed some of the Church say that he said: unless he gave himself up. My husband was there at the time and says there was no conditions whatever, and many others testify to the same thing. . . . Brigham Young said if he had been here, he wouldn't have consented to give Joseph up and he would be damned if he would give himself up to the law of the land. He would see them all in hell first; the Church [*sic*], and then he said he would see all Creation in Hell before he would. (*Among the Mormons*, pages 152-153)

Joseph Smith's prophecy that he would prevail against his enemies is found in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for June 19, 1844:

I therefore, in behalf of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, warn the lawless, not to be precipitate in any interference in our affairs, for as sure as there is a God in heaven, **we shall ride triumphant over all oppression.**

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayer

Just eight days after Joseph Smith made this prophecy he was murdered in the Carthage jail, and before two years had elapsed the Mormons were driven from Illinois. A year previous to the time Joseph Smith made this prophecy he had stated:

But before I will bear this unhallowed persecution any longer—before I will be dragged away again, among my enemies for trial, I will spill the last drop of blood in my veins, and **will see all my enemies in hell!** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 165)

There is some evidence that just before his death Joseph Smith sent for the Nauvoo Legion to rescue him from the Carthage jail. The Mormon writer F. L. Stewart, however, cannot accept this, for she feels that this “would have started a war and Joseph had already made the decision not to create bloodshed in this manner when he gave himself up voluntarily . . .” (*Exploding the Myth About Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet*, page 61). Harold Schindler, on the other hand, made this statement:

Because Ford had permitted Joseph to use the debtor's apartment in jail and allowed several of the prophet's friends access to him, it was possible to smuggle messages out of Carthage. Realizing time

was precious, Joseph dictated a note to Major General Jonathan Dunham ordering him to call out the Legion and march on the jail immediately. Dunham received the communication in Nauvoo but failed to carry out the command. One of the Legionnaires, Allen Stout, said, “Dunham did not let a single man or mortal know that he had received such orders and we were kept in the city under arms not knowing but all was well.” (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 130)

In a footnote on the same page Mr. Schindler states:

Dunham's act came to light after the martyrdom when Joseph's order was found in a Nauvoo street and read. Stenhouse: *Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 164n, says Dunham was sent on a mission a year later and died of “dysentery.”

AVENGING JOSEPH'S BLOOD

According to the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith wanted his brother Hyrum to live so that he could “avenge” his blood:

I advised my brother Hyrum to take his family on the next steamboat and go to Cincinnati. Hyrum replied, “Joseph, I can't leave you.” Whereupon I said to the company present, “I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to **avenge my blood**, and I will stay with you and see it out.” (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 520)

I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again we should be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live to **avenge my blood**, but he is determined not to leave me. (*Ibid.*, page 546)

The Mormon people took this matter of avenging Joseph Smith's death very seriously. The Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded the following in his journal under the date of December 6, 1889:

About 4:30 p. m. this meeting adjourned and was followed by a meeting of Presidents Woodruff, **Cannon** and **Smith** and Bros. Lyman and Grant. . . . In speaking of the recent examination before Judge Anderson Father said that he understood when he had **his endowments in Nauvoo that he took an oath against the murderers of the Prophet Joseph** as well as other prophets, and if he had ever met any of those who had taken a hand in that massacre he would undoubtedly have attempted to **avenge the blood of the martyrs**. The Prophet charged Stephen Markham to avenge his blood should he be slain: after the Prophet's death Bro. Markham attempted to tell this to an assembly of the Saints, but Willard Richards pulled him down from the stand, as he feared the effect on the enraged people.—Bro. **Joseph F. Smith** was traveling some years ago near Carthage when he met a man who said he had just arrived five minutes too late

to see the Smiths killed. Instantly a dark cloud seemed to overshadow Bro. Smith and he asked how this man looked upon the deed. Bro. S. was oppressed by a most horrible feeling as he waited for a reply. After a brief pause the man answered, "Just as I have always looked upon it—that it was a d—d cold-blooded murder." The cloud immediately lifted from Bro. Smith and he found that he had his **open pocket knife grasped in his hand** in his pocket, and he believes that had this man given his approval to that murder of the prophets **he would have immediately struck him to the heart.** ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," December 6, 1889, pages 205-206)

Actual photographs from the "Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon" are printed at the bottom of this page.

The journals of Abraham H. Cannon only recently came to light. The original journals are now located in the Special Collections Department of the Brigham Young University Library, and photographs are on file at the Utah State Historical Society. The revealing statements in the journals tend to verify our work concerning the doctrine of "Blood Atonement" (see *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 31-42). The reader will also remember that we

demonstrated that the early Mormons had an "Oath of Vengeance" in their temple ceremony in which they pledged themselves to avenge Joseph Smith's blood (Ibid., pages 131-137). This is verified in the quotation below by the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon, when he states that his father (George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency) admitted that when "he had his endowments in Nauvoo that he took an oath against the murderers of the Prophet Joseph as well as other prophets, and if he had ever met any of those who had taken a hand in that massacre he would undoubtedly have attempted to avenge the blood of the martyrs."

The statement that Joseph F. Smith was about to murder a man with his "pocket knife" if he even expressed approval of Joseph Smith's death reveals the intense hatred which the early Mormon leaders felt toward their enemies. Joseph F. Smith later became the sixth President of the Mormon Church, and his son Joseph Fielding Smith recently became the tenth President of the Church.

Statements like the ones quoted above led to the death of many people in Utah. We will have a great deal more to say about this in the chapters which follow.

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Abt 4.30 p.m. this meeting adjourned and was followed by a meeting of Presidents Woodruff, Cannon and Smith and Bro. Lyman and Grant. We here considered and made a few changes in a circular letter that is to be sent out to the Presidents of Stakes advising them to propose to the people of their Stakes to spend the 23d of this month—the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday—in fasting and prayer that the Lord may interpose in behalf of His people and preserve them from the power of their enemies and incline the hearts of the rulers of the nation to us. We are also to pray for a righteous decision in the Church suits now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court, and also for other things which the Spirit may prompt. — In speaking of the recent examination before Judge Anderson Father said that he understood when he had his endowments in Nauvoo that he took an oath against the murderers of the Prophet Joseph as well as other prophets, and if he had ever met any of those who had taken a hand in that massacre he would undoubtedly have attempted to avenge the blood of the martyrs. The Prophet charged Stephen Markham to avenge his blood should he be slain; after the Prophet's death Bro. Markham attempted to tell this to an assembly of the Saints, but Willard Richards pulled him down from the stand, as he feared the effect on the enraged people. — Bro. Joseph F. Smith was traveling some years ago near Castles when he met a man who said he had just arrived five

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minutes too late to see the Smiths killed. Instantly a dark cloud seemed to overshadow Bro. Smith and he asked how this man looked upon the deed. Bro. S. was oppressed by a most horrible feeling as he waited for a reply. After a brief pause the man answered, "Just as I have always looked upon it—that it was a d—d cold-blooded murder." The cloud immediately lifted from Bro. Smith and he found that he had his open pocket knife grasped in his hand in his pocket, and he believes that had this man given his approval to that murder of the prophets he would have immediately struck him to the heart. — In the evening I was at a party in the 10th Ward for a few minutes, but only danced once. Thereafter I went to the farm with Mina.

Saturday, Dec'r 7th:— Very stormy and dismal day. — I was at the office all day where I was engaged in answering letters and arranging goods. In the evening I went to the farm and spent my time in reading. — My teamsters—Lehi and Nephi Horro—were at the party last night and thereafter both got drunk. They therefore did not work today. I gave them warning of a discharge if they allow this to again occur.

Sunday, Dec'r 8th, 1889: } Nice though cool day. — At 8.20
Salt Lake City } a.m. I took the north-bound train and went to Hayville. Father, F. M. Lyman and B. W. Roberts also went thither. Bro. Barnes kindly received us

3. COUNTERFEITING

The reader will remember that in *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 20-24, we showed that Joseph Smith was charged with “illegal banking practices” and “fraudulent transfers of his property.” One of the most serious charges against him, however, was that he engaged in counterfeiting. Joseph H. Jackson made these serious charges in a booklet published in Warsaw, Illinois:

In order to fathom the depths of Joe’s villany, I was obliged to appear to him as an abandoned wretch and outcast. When I told him I was a fugitive from justice, and had committed the darkest crimes, it seemed to give him the greatest confidence, and he immediately conceived the idea that he could through me fulfil his prophecies, and then on the top of it he would urge me to carry out his measures “in the name of the Lord.” . . .

About two days after this, Joe came down the street on horseback. I met him, and told him I thought of going south, and was very sorry I could do nothing for him in Missouri, and made him believe it. He then pressed me to stay, and enter into the manufacture of bogus; to which I consented, hoping to be able to get a clue to another branch of his villany. Shortly after this, he sent two hundred dollars to St. Louis for German plate, and went to work in a remote part of the town to fit up for operation. The details concerning the bogus operation in the city I will give in a subsequent part of this narrative, . . .

But to return to the bogus establishment. The first attempts at bogus-making were rather rough; but in October, Messrs. Barton and Eaton came on from Buffalo, having been sent by one of Joe’s emissaries, and brought with them a splendid press, and all the necessary tools and materials for operation. The press was put up in the south-east room, up stairs, of the house formerly occupied by Joe, being the same room where the Holy Order had previously met. The business was then rushed ahead in good earnest, and an excellent specimen of base coin produced. Soon the city was flooded with this money, and a report was put in circulation that bogus manufacturers were at work in the city. Joe had given out that the room occupied by the press, was rented to Messrs. Barton and Eaton, who were mechanics, and were making drafts for the machinery of a factory which they contemplated erecting. The press continued to run until they had manufactured about \$350,000. . . . All the twelve apostles, except Orson Pratt, and Eben [Heber?] C. Kimball, were engaged in this business, and frequently

visited the room where the press was, and took turns in working it. . . . Joe told me, that in Ohio, he, Dr. Boynton, Lyman Wight, Oliver Cowdry, and Hyrum, were engaged with others in a bogus establishment on Licking Creek, but that their operations were cut short by the bursting of the Kirtland Bank. (*The Adventures and Experience of Joseph H. Jackson*: . . . Warsaw, Illinois, 1846, pages 10, 11, 12 and 15)

I deem it proper here to mention, that I told Gov. Ford after his arrival at Carthage, of the substance of what I have disclosed in these pages; and moreover, that I would pledge myself, if a posse sufficient for protection were furnished, that I would go to Nauvoo, and show the secret passages and hiding places in the city, and furnish evidence of the strongest character to substantiate the truth which I had stated to him in relation to the bogus operations, spiritual wife iniquity, plans of assassination, tampering with the police, &c. An order was given at one time, to march the forces to Nauvoo, as I supposed for that purpose, but after the arrival of a certain politician, things took a turn; the order was countermanded, and the troops were disbanded on the prairie while on their march. (*Ibid.*, page 33)

Joseph H. Jackson’s work was apparently printed for the first time in the latter part of 1844, for on August 17, 1844, we find this information in the *Warsaw Signal*:

We have just issued in pamphlet form, from this office, “a narrative of the Adventures and experience of Joseph H. Jackson, in Nauvoo; disclosing the depths of Mormon villiany.” This narrative, although of an extraordinary character, is fully credited wherever Mr. Jackson is known; and besides this, nearly every fact, can be substantiated by collateral evidence. . . . Mr. Jackson, took the only method by which it was possible to gain Joe’s confidence, and thus ferret out his iniquity. . . .

Mr. Jackson’s statements in relation to the Bogus operations, can be substantiated by the testimony of all the seceders, and by many persons not members of the church, who lived at the time in Nauvoo. His statements in relation to the spiritual wife iniquity, have already been proved by evidence from this same source, which was published to the world in the first No. of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. . . . All of this collateral proof if required, will be shortly given to the world. (*Warsaw Signal*, August 17, 1844)

Even before Joseph Smith's death, Joseph H. Jackson claimed that Smith had been engaged in counterfeiting. In a letter to the Editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, dated June 1, 1844, Joseph H. Jackson made these comments:

In the spring of 1843 I told Harmon T. Wilson, that I was determined to head Joe and in order to do so that I would go to Nauvoo insinuate myself into his favor, win his affection and confidence, and that if he really was a villain I would find it out, and at a proper season I would disclose all to him, that as an officer of the Law, he might have an opportunity to bring the scamp to justice. Accordingly I returned to Nauvoo . . . I represented myself as an outlaw and fugitive from justice . . . He has a ruffian band around him ready to execute whatever he commands . . . The fact that Joe is engaged in counterfeiting, also came to my knowledge while in his confidence; . . . (*Warsaw Signal*, June 5, 1844)

Since Joseph H. Jackson was an adventurer and admitted that he deceived Joseph Smith to obtain his information, his story is somewhat suspect. On the other hand, Jackson's charges cannot be completely dismissed. We know that he was acquainted with Joseph Smith. In Joseph Smith's *History* we find this statement under the date of May 20, 1843:

Mr. Joseph H. Jackson representing himself as being out of employment and destitute of funds, he desired I would employ him and relieve his necessities. I took compassion and employed him as a clerk to sell lands, so as to give him a chance in the world. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 400)

On December 29, 1843, we find this entry in Joseph Smith's *History*:

. . . I related to Dr. Bernhisel and Joseph H. Jackson my commencement in receiving revelations. Mr. Jackson said he was almost persuaded to be one with me. I replied, I would that he were not only almost, but altogether. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 149)

According to Joseph H. Jackson, he told Joseph Smith he was "an outlaw and fugitive from justice." That Joseph Smith felt that Jackson was a criminal is evident from a statement made by Brigham Young on January 27, 1845:

Cain was permitted to live, peradventure, he might repent of his wickedness, and redeem a portion of his time, and thereby obtain a glory and salvation, though not a full salvation; and this is the reason that Brother Joseph **bore so long with Jackson** and others, that peradventure they might, notwithstanding they had been guilty of **murder** and **robbery**, come to the waters of baptism through repentance, and redeem a part of their allotted time. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 366)

We find the following information in the "synopsis of the proceedings of the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, relative to the destruction of the press and fixtures of the *Nauvoo Expositor*":

Councilor Hyrum Smith referred to J. H. Jackson's coming to this city, &c. Mayor said that William Law had offered Jackson \$500 to kill him.

Councilor Hyrum Smith continued . . . Jackson was engaged in trying to make bogus, which was his principal business. . . .

Lorenzo Wasson sworn, said Joseph H. Jackson had told witness that bogus-making was going on in the city; . . . Wanted witness to help him to procure money, for the General (Smith) was afraid to go into it; and with \$500 he could get an engraving for bills on the Bank of Missouri, and one on the State of New York, and could make money. . . .

Mayor [Joseph Smith] said, if he had a City Council who felt as he did, the establishment (referring to the *Nauvoo Expositor*) would be declared a nuisance before night; and then he read an editorial from the *Nauvoo Expositor*. He then asked who ever said a word against Judge Emmons until he attacked this Council? **or even against Joseph H. Jackson** or the Laws, until they came out against the city? Here is a paper (*Nauvoo Expositor*) that is exciting our enemies abroad. Joseph H. Jackson has been proved a **murderer** before the Council, and he declared the paper a nuisance—a greater nuisance than a dead carcass. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 435, 436 and 441)

Brigham Young made these statements concerning Jackson's charges:

John C. Bennett said in his exposure, he knew all of Brother Joseph's secrets, and he would publish them. Joseph H. Jackson, says he has published all Joseph's secrets, but nobody believes their tales, because they lie! . . . Any man that says the Twelve are bogus makers, or adulterers, or wicked men, is a liar; and all who say such things shall have the fate of liars, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, page 664)

Although Jackson's statements are almost unknown today, they were taken very seriously by some of the people who lived in the vicinity of Nauvoo. In the *Nauvoo Expositor* we find this statement:

We have reason to believe, from our acquaintance with Mr. Jackson, and our own observation, that the statements he makes are true; and in view of these facts, we ask, in the name of heaven, where is the safety of our lives and liberties, when placed at the disposal of such heaven daring, hell deserving, God forsaken villains. (*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844, page 3)

Certainly, the "lives and liberties" of the publishers of the *Nauvoo Expositor* were in danger, for just three days later the press was destroyed.

Joseph H. Jackson's statement that Joseph Smith told him "that in Ohio, he, Dr. Boynton, Lyman Wight, Oliver Cowdery, and Hyrum, were engaged with others in a bogus establishment" is very interesting in light of some information found in the "Far West Record." The "Far West Record" is an unpublished "record book containing minutes of meetings in Kirtland and Far West, Missouri." The original is in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office.

For years the Mormon leaders have suppressed this record. (This is one of the documents that they would not microfilm for us.) Recently, however, Leland Gentry, a Mormon scholar who was working on his thesis at the Brigham Young University, was permitted access to it. On page 117 of the “Far West Record,” Leland Gentry found testimony given by Joseph Smith and Fredrick G. Williams that tended to link Oliver Cowdery with the bogus business. Leland Gentry states:

[Fredrick G.] Williams, who vacillated between being a dissenter and a faithful member of the Church, testified that **Oliver had personally informed him of a man in the Church by the name of Davis who would compound metal and make dies which could print money that could not be detected from the real thing.** Oliver allegedly told Williams that there was **no harm** in accepting and passing around such money, provided it could not be determined to be unsound.

Joseph Smith’s testimony was similar. He claimed that a non-member of the Church by the name of Sapham had told him in Kirtland that a **warrant** had been issued **against Oliver** “for being engaged in making a purchase of **bogus money and dies** to make the counterfeit money with.” According to the Prophet, he and Sidney Rigdon went to visit Oliver concerning the matter and told him that if he were **guilty, he had better leave town**; but if he was innocent, he should stand trial and thus be acquitted. “That night or next,” the Prophet said, Oliver **“left the country.”** (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, Brigham Young University, 1965, page 146)

While this does not prove Jackson’s charge that Joseph Smith was actually involved with Oliver Cowdery in a “bogus establishment,” it certainly casts a shadow of doubt on Smith’s character. It would appear that Joseph Smith was almost an accessory after the fact, since he warned Oliver Cowdery to flee from the law if he was guilty. In a letter written by 84 Mormons in June, 1838, both Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were accused of selling bogus money:

Oliver Cowdrey, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson, united with a gang of counterfeiters, thieves, liars, and blacklegs of the deepest dye, . . . During the full career of Oliver Cowdrey and David Whitmer’s bogus money business, it got abroad into the world that they were engaged in it, and several gentlemen were preparing to commence a prosecution against Cowdrey; he finding it out, took with him Lyman E. Johnson, and fled . . . Neither were you contented with slandering and vilifying here, but you kept up continual correspondence with your gang of marauders in Kirtland, encouraging them to go on with their iniquity; which they did to perfection, by swearing falsely to injure the characters and property of innocent men, stealing, cheating, lying, instituting vexatious lawsuits, selling bogus money, and also stones and sand for bogus; in which nefarious business Oliver Cowdrey, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson were engaged while you were here. (Letter quoted in *Senate Document 189*, February 15, 1841, page 8)

The reader will probably remember that Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Now, if two of the three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon were involved in counterfeiting, and if Joseph Smith helped Cowdery to escape from the law as the “Far West Record” seems to show, how can we rely on their story concerning the “gold plates”?

However this may be, Reed Peck made this interesting observation concerning the charges of counterfeiting during the Kirtland period:

These men . . . established a bank without a charter issued a large quantity of their paper in payment of debts . . . and being ___ most unskillful persons in the world in managing to pay debts, were finally compelled to flee to Missouri, leaving their creditors minus about 30000 (independent of what they owed to their brethren) and Thousands of the “Kirtland Safety Society Bank” Bills not redeemed. A bitter quarrel originated in these transactions between the Smith’s and S. Rigdon on one part and the Cowderies Johnson and David Whitmer on the other and each party having their particular friends the church in Kirtland became partially divided and their anam ___ ties carried many of them to great extremes, producing confusion and cruel oppression when either party could wield the balance of power. Very many credible persons in the society have asserted that while the “money fever raged in Kirtland the leaders of the church and others were, more or less, engaged in purchasing and circulating” Bogas money or counterfeit coin and a good evidence that the report is not without foundation is that each of these contending parties accuses the other of this crime (*The Reed Peck Manuscript—An Important Document Written in 1839*, page 4 and 5)

Just before Joseph Smith’s death, the *Warsaw Signal* contained a number of articles stating that the Mormons were involved in passing or making counterfeit coin. On April 24, 1844, we find this statement:

It can be proven, that one of Joe Smith’s bosom friends, has been guilty of passing counterfeit money knowing it to be such, having been detected in the act of brightening it, in order to give it currency. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 24, 1844, page 2)

In another article in the same issue, we find these statements:

There is a species of counterfeit, extensively circulated in this community, called Nauvoo Bogus. They are half dollars, dated 1828. They are a pretty good imitation of the genuine coin—so good, that some of our business men have been imposed upon by them. It is said they are manufactured in the City of the Saints.

On June 5, 1844, the *Warsaw Signal* contained these statements:

COUNTERFEITING, &c.—On a former occasion, we stated that a species of counterfeit money—called Nauvoo Bogus, was extensively circulated in this vicinity. We have since heard the charge distinctly made by one who has had an opportunity of knowing the facts, that Joe Smith, in addition to his other villainous employments is engaged in this nefarious business.

Two years ago a scamp was taken up for robbery, and examined in this place before two Justices of the Peace; he was discharged, but stated that he had been committed for that crime, of which he was innocent, he would have disclose[d] other crimes of which he and others were guilty. On being pressed by his counsel to disclose the matter, he said that there were counterfeiters in abundance in Nauvoo; but he named but one, and that was Joe Smith. This was stated to his lawyer, and of course could not be used in evidence against him and his accomplices. We have now the testimony to corroborate what this man then said, and the fact is notorious that bogus is made in Nauvoo. Here then, we have a band of counterfeiters in our midst, who can defy the laws under the protection of a pretended prophet.

We stated three years ago that Nauvoo would become the resort of blacklegs, thieves, counterfeiters & outlaws; and the evidence of the fulfilment of this prediction, is now before us. . . . Blacklegs, cut-throats, horse-thieves, defaulters and forgerers, can find as effectual protection from Joe Smith, provided they will flatter his vanity, and become his pliant tools, as they could on the soil of Texas. An officer of justice might as well go to perjury to find a culprit as to Nauvoo, if Joe has taken him in charge. . . . (*Warsaw Signal*, June 5, 1844)

Another article appeared in the same issue of the *Warsaw Signal*; it contained this information:

We extract the following from the *St Louis Revue*:
COUNTERFEITERS.—MORMON CERTIFICATES.
—Yesterday morning, a boy named Theron Terrill was arrested, having in his possession twelve American half and eight Spanish quarter dollars, all counterfeited in some sort of base metal. On examination by the Marshal, he stated that many had been given to him by one George Reader, with whom he had lived in former years, but who he had only recently seen again. For a long time the boy maintained secrecy, but, eventually, he yielded, and so told his story. Reader was caught and arrested on board the Ospery, having taken passage for himself and the boy to Nauvoo. . . .

On Reader was found a steel file and other implements, known as such as are used in turning and finishing counterfeit coin. Among other things taken from his pockets, perhaps the following printed certificate, with the blanks duly filled in manuscript, may be considered a little curious:

[Copy]

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

This certifies that George Reader has been received into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized on the sixth of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight and thirty, and has been ordained an elder. . . . Given by the direction of a general conference of the authorities of said Church, assembled in Nauvoo, Ill., on the sixth of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty. (Signed,)

Joseph Smith, President.

....

Reader was recognized by a bar-keeper of a coffee-house, and identified as one who attempted to pass similar coin, a few days since, for a glass of beer. They were both committed. In default of bail—Reader, in the sum of \$2,000, and the boy in that of \$100, to appear as a witness against him. (*Warsaw Signal*, June 5, 1844)

One week later this statement appeared:

The Nauvoo Bogus factories are in full blast, judging from the quantity of base, and counterfeit coin in the city. Since the Mormons have learned they are safe as regards punishment by our laws, they seem bold in talking about their Bogus operations, &c. (*Warsaw Signal*, June 12, 1844)

Joseph Smith ordered the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* on June 10, 1844; four days later the *Warsaw Signal* printed the following statements:

The Prophet finding that his villainies and usurpations were about to be exposed in their naked deformity, and seeing the impossibility of sustaining himself with so powerful an engine as the Press located in the midst of his followers, . . . He called together the City council, and without shadow of authority and in the teeth of the Constitution of this State, and of the U. States, **ordered the destruction of the press** . . . he is the head of a band of counterfeiters, who are inundating the country with base coin and that he has about him, an armed and organized band, . . . With such a desperado and villain in our midst, having the command of two thousand armed and disciplined men, and whom the law cannot reach by any ordinary process, are we safe? (*Warsaw Signal*, June 14, 1844)

Thomas Ford, who was Governor of Illinois at the time Joseph Smith was murdered, made the following comments concerning counterfeiting in Nauvoo:

It was asserted that . . . Joseph Smith had established a Bogus factory in Nauvoo, for the manufacture of counterfeit money; and that he maintained about his person, a tribe of swindlers, blacklegs, and counterfeiters, to make it, and put into circulation. . . .

I . . . was most anxious also to search for the alleged apparatus for making counterfeit money; . . . Col. Buckmaster intimated to me a suspicion, that an attack would be made on the jail. . . .

We proceeded on our journey four miles further. By this time I had convinced myself that no attack would be made on the jail that day or night. . . .

I therefore, determined at this point, to omit making the search for counterfeit money in Nauvoo and defer an examination of all the other abominations charged on that people, in order to return to Carthage that same night, . . . (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 1, 1845)

In *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 2, pages 31-32, we showed that a number of Mormons (including Orrin Porter Rockwell) were involved in planning the robbery which led to the murder of Col. Davenport. Just before

his execution, John Long admitted that he had hid “two **bogus presses**, when it was expected that Governor Ford’s army was coming to search Nauvoo, on the day Joe Smith was killed” (*Warsaw Signal*, November 12, 1845). Long claimed that the presses belonged to Edward Bonney and that Bonney was a dangerous criminal. Since Bonney is the man who brought Long to justice, Long’s statements concerning Bonney must be received with caution. Nevertheless, we know that Bonney was acquainted with Joseph Smith, for he is mentioned in Joseph Smith’s *History*: “I appointed Edward Bonney one of my aids-de-camp” (*History of the Church*, June 18, 1844, vol. 6, page 500). On page 412 of the same volume, Joseph Smith spoke of “Edward Bonney” as one of the “brethren.” It is possible that Bonney was involved in the counterfeiting operations in Nauvoo, since he later admitted using this type of activity to become intimate with those he suspected of murder. Philip D. Jordan made these observations concerning this matter:

His Montrose horse barn first served as office and headquarters for Bonney’s career as a self-appointed agent of justice. . . . he worked closely and efficiently with law-enforcement officials, but he never actually was one of them. He was more the bounty-hunter type, . . . Whatever his motives, Bonney was not averse to passing the “long green” of counterfeit bills when it suited his purpose or to double-crossing individuals whose confidence he had won. . . .

Perhaps the worst that can be said of Bonney is that he was a snooper, a spy, a lover of blood money. . . . no matter what his motives, he played a prominent role in bringing to the gallows the cold-blooded killers of John Miller and his son-in-law, Henry Leicy or Leiza. . . . (*Banditti of the Prairies*, Introduction, pages xi-xiii)

Edward Bonney was indicted for counterfeiting, but was not convicted. In his book, the *Banditti of the Prairies*, Bonney reproduced this statement by Thomas Ford:

I, **Thomas Ford**, late Governor of Illinois, do certify that I was present during the whole trial of Edward Bonney for counterfeiting, . . . I was fully persuaded from the evidence adduced, that the prosecution was put on foot, so far as Haight and the other witnesses against Bonney were concerned, to be revenged on him for ferreting out and bringing to punishment the murderers of Col. Davenport. And for the further object of stopping Bonney from pursuing the residue of said murderers, then and yet at large.

Jan. 6th, 1847. THOMAS FORD.
(*Banditti of the Prairies*, page 259)

The relationship of Edward Bonney to counterfeiting and the Mormon people needs further exploration by scholars interested in Mormon history.

However this may be, there could be some truth in Long’s statement that he hid “two **bogus presses**, when it was expected that Governor Ford’s army was coming

to search Nauvoo, on the day Joe Smith was killed.” We know that after the Mormons destroyed the *Nauvoo Expositor*, they feared that Governor Ford would bring troops into Nauvoo. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, related the following:

I immediately arose upon learning that they had crossed the river, and did not intend to go to Carthage. I called together a number of persons in whom I had confidence, and had the type, stereotype plates, and most of the valuable things removed from the printing office, believing that should the governor and his force come to Nauvoo, the first thing they would do would be to burn the printing office, for I know that they would be exasperated if Brother Joseph went away. . . . I crossed the river in a boat . . . and after the removal of the things out of the printing office, Joseph Cain brought the account books to me. . . . I disguised myself so as not to be known, and so effectually was the transformation that those who had come after me with a boat did not know me. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 79-80)

Under these circumstances it is certainly likely that those involved in counterfeiting would attempt to hide their presses.

APOSTLES INDICTED

After Joseph Smith’s death the non-Mormons continued to accuse the Mormon leaders of counterfeiting. On December 25, 1844, we find this statement in the *Warsaw Signal*:

The Latter-Brethren have lately carried on their Bogus operations extensively. Not less than a dozen farmers who have taken their pork to Nauvoo, have been paid in spurious coin, or counterfeit bills.

On January 8, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* reported the following:

We learn, that last week an officer having a warrant from Gov. Ford, issued on a requisition from the Governor of New York, for one Eaton, who is the king of the Nauvoo Bogus Factory, went to the Holy City to make the arrest. This, the officer did . . . About 11 o’clock, the prisoner having procured a pistol by some means unknown, presented it to the officer, and swore he was going. . . . The house being surrounded by Eaton’s friends, he was carried off in triumph and the officer mocked. And this is Holy Nauvoo, the residence of Gov. Ford’s peaceful saints. (*Warsaw Signal*, January 8, 1845)

The reader will probably remember that Jackson claimed that a man by the name of Eaton came from Buffalo and helped Joseph Smith in the counterfeiting operation. Joseph Smith’s mother speaks of “a man named **Eaton**, who was our friend, . . .” (*Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, London, 1853, page 276).

The Mormon paper, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, admitted that some counterfeit coins might have been paid out in Nauvoo, but it denied that they were made by the Mormons:

Spurious.—The *Burlington Gazette* mentions spurious “half Eagles,” and intimates that they came from Nauvoo. That such coin might pass through or be paid out in Nauvoo, we have no doubt;—for such tricks are as “plentiful as blackberries;” but they are made in other “diggings,” and vended by some of the birds of passage, . . . (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 28, 1845)

Rumors of counterfeiting continued, and on December 2, 1845, the *St. Louis American* reported the following:

COUNTERFEITERS ARRESTED.—Two of the Nauvoo Saints were arrested in Burlington, Iowa on the 20th ult., for passing counterfeit money. Their names were Cyrus Chase and Rufus Adams, and each had passed on the same day a \$10 bill on the Lafayette Bank of Cincinnati. Other counterfeit money was found upon them. They were both committed for trial. (*St. Louis American*, December 2, 1845, typed copy)

On December 27, 1845, the *St. Louis American*, contained this interesting information:

During the last week, twelve bills of indictment, for counterfeiting Mexican dollars, and American half dollars and dimes, were found by the Grand Jury, and presented to the United States Circuit Court, in session in this city, against different persons in and about Nauvoo. (*St. Louis American*, December 27, 1845, typed copy)

Four days later the *St. Louis American* reported that “One of the indictments, we learn, was against **Edward Bonney**, who recently signalized himself in arresting the Davenport murderers” (Ibid., December 31, 1845). On January 9, 1846, the *St. Louis American* reported that “some of the leaders of the Mormon Church” were among those indicted on the charge of counterfeiting. Brigham Young and several Mormon Apostles were included among those indicted for that reason. On January 7, 1846, the *Warsaw Signal* contained the following:

During the last week, twelve bills of indictment, for counterfeiting Mexican dollars, and American half dollars and dimes, were found by the Grand Jury, and presented to the United States Circuit Court, in session in this city, against different persons in and about Nauvoo, embracing some of the “Holy Twelve,” and other prominent Mormons, and other persons in league with them. From incidental remarks made by some of the witnesses in private conversation (not before the jury,) we are led to believe that a large amount of counterfeit coin of the above description, is, and has been for a long time past, circulating in the western country . . . It was said that the Mormons had three presses for counterfeiting the coin named, and that Joe Smith worked most industriously at the business. In fact, Joe used to bo[a]st of his “mint.” A short time previous to his death, in speaking of the power of his establishment to imitate the coin above named, he was repeatedly heard to say that “it would beat the mint,” and seemed, with others of his confidential advisers, to exult at their ability to manufacture “land office money”—

that being the term by which the better quality of their issues were distinguished.

There are said to have been three qualities of the spurious money manufactured which were sold for 75, 50 and 25 cents for the dollar. That for which the highest price was asked, is said to be so perfect as to escape the most rigid scrutiny of the eye—the outer coat being of pure silver, and the alloy so completely covered as to prevent detection in any other way than by cutting. . . . An officer has since been sent to Nauvoo to make the arrests; but we apprehend there is no probability of his success; for, whatever crimes these Mormons commit, the rest are all ready and willing if not bound by an oath to secrete the culprit, or aid his escape, either by fraud or force. The Court, it is understood, will continue in session this week, to give time to the Marshal to make his return. If those indicted are brought before the Court, they will probably be tried the present term; if not, they will be likely to go “unwhipt of justice.”—[*Springfield Journal*, Dec. 25]. (*Warsaw Signal*, January 7, 1846)

“BOGUS BRIGHAM”

Brigham Young had no intention of submitting to the law. The *Warsaw Signal* reported the following:

The best joke of the season was played off, last week, by the Saints, on the United States deputy Marshall for Illinois. It appears that Brigham Young and other Saints, were indicted at the late Term of the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, for Bogus making. On Tuesday of last week, the Deputy Marshall, accompanied by eight of the Hancock Guard, and Mr. Benson of Augusta, (who went along to point out Brigham) started from Carthage for the Holy City. On arriving they went to the Temple, where the Saints were assembled, and soon Mr. Benson pointed out Brigham, accompanied by some ladies, in the act of getting into a carriage, The Marshall immediately walked up and arrested him. The Saints learning what had been done assembled around the prisoner and swore that he should not be taken out of town. The Marshall and his posse were however, determined and not withstanding the threats of the crowd held on to their prisoner, and declared if any effort was made to rescue him they would shoot Brigham the first man. After considerable bluster, the Saints began to cool off and the prisoner was taken to the tavern. The Saints now began to show long faces and seemed very much affected. They spoke in a most affectionate manner to the prisoner—expressing their sympathy and sorrow for his mishap. As the officer and his posse left with their charge they broke out in such strains as these; “Farwell Brother Brigham.” “We hope you will soon return.” “May the Lord bless you Brother Brigham and grant you a safe deliverance.” The Sisters cried and the Brothers swore no harm should befall him. On arriving at Carthage, the prisoner was put under a sufficient guard and was carefully watched. Some time after his arrival, G. W. Thatcher, Esq., went in to see him. Soon he returned with a very knowing look, and affirmed that there was no Brigham Young there, and the Prisoner was an entirely different personage.—An investigation was gone into and sure enough it turned out that the Saints had, by putting the cloak & cap of the apostle on

a man who resembled him in figure and appearance, first deceived Mr. Benson, and then by playing well their part, had prevented any suspicion from arising in the minds of any of the company that they had got the wrong pig by the ear.—The Marshall on learning he had been hoaxed released the prisoner and now says the Saints may “have his hat.” (*Warsaw Signal*, December 31, 1845)

Another article on the same page contained this information: “The U.S. Marshall, after being sadly humbugged in Nauvoo returned to the city to get the real Brigham, but it was no go. Of course Brigham could not be found.”

Although Brigham Young denied that he was guilty of counterfeiting, he admitted in the *History of the Church* that he had tricked the U.S. Marshal. Under the date of December 23, 1845, we find the following:

One-five p.m. Almon W. Babbitt came into the Temple and informed me that there were some federal officers from Springfield accompanied by several of the state troops in the city for the purpose of arresting some of the Twelve, especially Amasa Lyman and myself.

It was soon reported that they were at the door of the Temple and were intending to search it. George D. Grant, my coachman, went below and drove my carriage up to the door as if he was waiting for me to come down.

William Miller put on my cap and Brother Kimball’s cloak and went downstairs meeting the marshal and his assistants at the door, as he was about getting into my carriage the marshal arrested him, on a writ from the United States court, charging him with counterfeiting the coin of the United States. . . . Miller got into his carriage, . . . and they started for Carthage, . . .

The marshal put up at Hamilton’s Tavern, and the rumor soon spread through the town that Brigham Young was in the custody of the marshal . . .

The marshal asked Miller if his name was Young, he answered, “I never told you my name was Young, did I?” . . . William Backenstos was called in and he told them William Miller was not Brigham Young. . . .

Eight-twenty, I left the Temple disguised and shortly after Brothers Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith and Amasa Lyman left, to elude the vexatious writs of our persecutors. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 549-551)

Brigham Young felt that this was one of the “best jokes ever perpetrated.” In a discourse delivered July 23, 1871, Brigham Young stated:

While brother George A. Smith was referring to the circumstance of William Miller going to Carthage, it brought to my mind reflections of the past. Perhaps to relate the circumstance as it occurred would be interesting.

I do not profess to be much of a joker, but I do think this to be one of the best jokes ever perpetrated, . . . I learned that a posse was lurking around the Temple, and that the United States Marshal was waiting for me to come down, . . . I saw brother William Miller leaning

against the wall. . . . Said I to him, “Brother William, the Marshal is here for me; will you go and do just as I tell you? If you will, I will serve them a trick.”. . .

Just as brother Miller was entering the carriage, the Marshal stepped up to him, and, placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, “You are my prisoner.”. . . They both went to the Mansion House. There were my sons Joseph A., Brigham, jun., and brother Heber C. Kimball’s boys, and others who were looking on, and all seemed at once to understand and partake of the joke. They followed the carriage to the Mansion House and gathered around brother Miller, with tears in their eyes, saying, “Father, or President Young, where are you going?” Brother Miller looked at them kindly, but made no reply; and the Marshal really thought he had got “Brother Brigham.”. . . So it continued, until an apostate Mormon, . . . asked the landlord where Brigham Young was. The landlord, pointing across the table to brother Miller, said, “That is Mr. Young.” Thatcher replied, “Where? I can’t see any one that looks like Brigham.”. . . the Marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by brother Miller, . . . and this is the real pith of the story of “Bogus” Brigham, as far as I can recollect. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, pages 218-219)

THE WHITTLERS

While the Mormons remained in Nauvoo, the Mormon leaders were constantly bothered by the law. They claimed they could not allow themselves to be arrested because they might meet the same fate as Joseph Smith. Brigham Young recorded the following statements in the *History of the Church*, for 1845:

Tuesday, 13.—With Elders Heber C. Kimball, W. Richards and George A. Smith reading and revising Church History at Brother Edward Hunter’s where we had retired to keep out of the way of writs reported to have been issued against us. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 408)

Monday, 23.—The sheriff came in with writs for a number of brethren and succeeded in arresting O. P. Rockwell and J. P. Harmon, but Rockwell got away from him. A constable from LeHarpe came in with writs for Brother Taylor, myself and others, but we kept out of the way. (*Ibid.*, page 428)

Thursday, 23.—A detachment of the governor’s troops came in from Carthage to search for a bogus press. They searched Lucien Woodworth’s house in vain. (*Ibid.*, page 485)

Sheriff Backenstos informed me that the United States deputy Marshal was in town with writs for the Twelve and Brother George Miller. . . . the United States Deputy Marshal Roberts, went to the Temple in company with Almon W. Babbitt and searched for the Twelve and others. (*Ibid.*, page 553)

The reader will notice that “Sheriff Backenstos” helped the Twelve escape from the U.S. Marshal. Robert

Bruce Flanders states that Backenstos was “elected by Mormon votes” (*Nauvoo—Kingdom on the Mississippi*, page 327). Flanders also states that Backenstos was “fiercely hated by the anti-Mormons both as a ‘corrupt bargain’ politician and a gentile traitor” (Ibid., page 328, footnote 46).

John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, threatened the officers who attempted to serve writs with death:

Saturday, 12. . . . the U.S. deputy marshal for the district of Illinois arrived in town with writs for myself and others.

Sunday, 13.—Meeting at the stand. Elders Heber C. Kimball and John Taylor preached. Several officers attended meeting. Elder Taylor gave them to understand that if they made an attempt to serve writs on him it **would cost them their lives**. . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 395-396)

Hosea Stout recorded these interesting statements in his diary:

April 13 1845 Sunday. In the forenoon went to meeting at the Stand there was some officers there with writs for Br Young & others. the U.S. Martial was one Elder Taylor spoke on the Stand give them to understand that if they made an attempt to serve the writs it **would cost them their lives** & also told them how they had murdered two of our best men while under a civil process . . . (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 34)

Thursday Feb. 12th 1846. . . . At two was informed that some of the Carthage troops were in the city with writs for some of the brethren and me among the rest whereupon I called out all the troops belonging to our camp and agreed that if any of them came across the river after any of us as we were informed they intended that we would put them to death rather than be Harrassed as we have been after we had started to leave their cursed & corrupt government and also established a line of skiffs across the river . . . (Ibid., page 121)

On April 23, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* reported: “On last Tuesday week, A. S. Headleston, Constable of Carthage, having visited Nauvoo in order to serve some subpoenas, was visited by the gang of ‘whistlers and **whittlers**’ and escorted from the city.” John D. Lee gives this information concerning the “**whittlers**”:

Thus things grew worse the longer the Saints remained at Nauvoo. It was an unfortunate matter, and much of the trouble that came upon the Church was brought on through the folly and fanaticism of the Saints. I have seen relentless cruelty practiced by those who directed this cattle stealing. I cannot call it anything else, though they called it getting back what had been taken from them. It caused many strangers to come to the city to look for traces of their cattle. A company was organized,

called the “**whittlers**.” They had **long knives**, and when any of these strangers would come to town, they would gather around him, and whittle; none of them saying a word, no matter what question was asked. They would thus watch any stranger, gathering close to him, until they finally ran him out of town. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, page 168)

The Mormon Apostle Heber C. Kimball admitted that the “boys” in Nauvoo had been “whit[t]ling:

Let us beware of those fellows, that do not like us very well. At this time a few of them do not like to dwell in our midst; they are afraid of the boys. Well, we will have no more **whit[t]ling** at present; let the boys go to school and attend to their own business. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, page 988)

In the book, *On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 37, Juanita Brooks quotes the following statements from a member of the band:

I joined the whistling and **whittling** band . . . We generally tried to do our duty and we succeeded in bagging some game. I was about to give some instances, but forbear by saying In no case did I ever help to engage in whittling any one down to make them cross the great river unless they were known to be lurking around the Prophet’s premises quite late. . . . In extreme cases when we knew a man to be a mobber, and who still sought the life of the Prophet, we would use our rail . . . on the top it was terribly sharp . . . We all had our knives and cut timbers to whittle and make rails from, and knew what tunes to whistle. (Hancock, “Autobiography,” 26)

Oliver B. Huntington recorded the following in his journal:

“I belonged to the ‘**Whittling** Society’ and the 6th of April helped whittle doctor Charles of Warsaw out of town. . . . no one liked the sight of 1/2 dozen large knives whittling about their ears and not a word said.” (“Journal of Oliver B. Huntington,” vol. 1, page 56, as quoted in *On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 33)

The *Warsaw Signal* printed the following statements concerning this incident:

On Sunday last, Dr. Charles, in company with some other gentlemen from this place, visited Nauvoo. It being the day for conference, . . . The Doctor was standing near the crowd, endeavoring to catch the words of the speaker, when two ruffians with clubs in their hands stepped up to him and enquired his name, . . .

A short time after this, while Dr. C. was in conversation with some gentlemen, another ruffian, with a club in hand, tapped him on the elbow and desired to see him in private. Dr. C. told him he was not aware that he could have any private business with him, and that whatever he had to say to speak it out . . . the ruffian told him . . . that he must leave the city.—He replied that he should leave when he got ready and not before—that he was there on lawful business . . .

On Monday morning the congregation assembled . . . Dr. C. in company with it, his attention was attracted by a gang of twenty or thirty ruffians, with bowie knives and dirks in their hands whittling sticks, whistling in chorus, and crying out “Carthage” “Warsaw” and using jaunting and insulting language, evidently for his annoyance. He walked along slowly but they followed him closely and continued their abuse. . . .

Dr. C. now formed the determination to make the leaders of the church stop this insulting annoyance, or else to acknowledge themselves the authors of it. . . . Having found his way to the stand, where the leaders were sitting—Dr. C. informed Brigham Young of the manner in which he had been treated—told him he knew that he had it in his power to put a stop to such proceedings, . . . Brigham . . . said they must put a stop to such proceedings—. . . Brigham directed the crowd to separate and allow him a passage. Soon after he had left, the same escort of ruffians, were at his heel, with their taunts and insults, as before. He walked some distance when an officer appeared and told the scamps to desist. They said they had a right to whistle. They were very innocent and scampered off. The Doctor walked on; but in a few minutes the escort of blackguards reappeared and continued their annoyance. . . . During all this annoying proceeding, there were thousands in the streets of Nauvoo who saw and heard the treatment bestowed by these ruffians on Dr. C.; yet there was not one expression of disapprobation, although many knew him personally; but on the contrary, the multitude seemed to enjoy the sport, with as much zest as the blackguards themselves. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 9, 1845)

John Taylor, who became the Third President of the Mormon Church, made these statements concerning this matter:

And that State robbed us of the rights of freemen; and the only chance we had then, when they sent their scamps and rogues among us, was to have a **whittling society and whittle them out**. We could not get them out according to law, and we had to do it according to justice; and there was no law against whittling,—so we **whittled the scoundrels out**.

I remember that one of the legislators who had annulled our charter, named Dr. Charles, went to President Young, and says he, “Mr. Young, I am very much imposed upon by the people around here; there are a lot of boys following me **with long knives, and they are whittling after me wherever I go; my life is in danger**.”

Brother Young replied, “I am very sorry you are imposed upon by the people: we used to have laws here, but you have taken them away from us: we have no law to protect you ‘**your cause is just, but we can do nothing for you**.’ Boys, don’t frighten him, don’t.” . . .

[Voice: “We still have **whittling societies**.”]

Yes, we still have whittling societies, as brother Kimball says. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 150-151)

On April 16, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* reported the following:

Mr. Madison, a printer and a gentleman, was last week driven from Nauvoo by a band of ruffians with knives in their hands. Their mode of proceeding was to whistle, hoot, threaten and dog him wherever he went.

Master Foster, a lad, whose only crime is that he is the brother of Dr. Foster, was last week, taken by force from the residence of C. Ivens, by a band of villians and escorted from the city—they kicking and cuffing him occasionally for amusement in addition to their usual insulting and menacing proceedings.

Mr. Wm. Marks, visited Nauvoo, . . . he was called on instanter, by a mob and threatened that if he did not leave by night he should be tarred and feathered. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 16, 1845)

On April 23, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* reported:

The newly invented process of “whistling and whittling” obnoxious persons out of Nauvoo has, we learn by late advices, been carried to a considerable degree of perfection. The saints finding that the natural way of whistling by puckering the lips was rather tiresome and not sufficiently annoying, have procured tin whistles for the purpose of serenading all who happen to be so unfortunate as to have given offence to the holy brotherhood.

In another column of the same issue we find the following:

Mr. Sharp:—The last case of Whittling and Whistling a man out of the **holy city**, came off yesterday evening, and was practiced on the person of Ephraim S. Green, formerly a resident of that place. Mr. Green having some business that called him to Nauvoo, was engaged transacting the same in the house of Edson Whipple, when a loud knock was heard at the door. Mrs. Whipple went to the door and was there asked by a man if he could be allowed to whittle in the house: she replied that he could not and that she considered the question an insult. He said he did not intend to insult her or her family; but wished to have the privilege of whittling for the especial benefit of Mr. Green. By this time a considerable crowd had collected around the door, each man armed with a large knife and stick which they were diligently engagen in whittling and at the same time whistling, yelling, &c.

Mrs. Whipple shut the door and returned into the room where Mr. Green was engaged writing. The mob crowded around the door, and windows, making the most discordant and hideous noises. At this stage in the proceedings Mr. Whipple was seen approaching the house. The ring leader held a conversation with him, he appeared considerably agitated and upon going into the house told Mr. Green that he had better leave, as the mob was determined he should not stay. Mr. G. replied that if they wished it he would certainly go to save them from trouble; but previous to going would like to speak to Col. Markham, who appeared to be one of the principal leaders of the mob. Accordingly Mr. W. called in the Col. and M. G. enquired what he had done that he should be treated in such an unusual manner. The gallant Col. replied that he had done enough—the

d—d dirty apostate son of a b—t. Here ensued a long and angry dispute, during which the crowd had followed the Col. into the room and took an active part in the threats and denunciations that were poured out upon Green. Not wishing to defile your columns by a rehearsal of any more of their vulgar and obscene language, we shall sum up this part of the proceedings by stating that Green agreed to leave in fifteen minutes. Having hastily made the necessary preparation he started to leave the City, followed by the mob, yelling, hallooing, whistling, whittling to the great amusement of all the boys and dogs in town.

In the neighborhood of the Temple (after a short consultation) they stopped him and said they would allow him to stop until morning to finish his business, for they did not want him to go away and tell a d—d lie by saying they would not let him finish his business. . . . Green replied that they had forced him away when he was quietly pursuing his own business and now he would go and he should tell the truth by stating the whole circumstance just as it transpired. . . . Green, in the mean time, making the best way he could out of town, finally got clear of them . . . (*Warsaw Signal*, April 23, 1845)

Mary Ettie V. Smith made these comments concerning the “whistling and whittling” band:

To discourage inconvenient scrutiny from visitors at Nauvoo, the Mormons had a custom in vogue among them called “whistling and whittling Gentiles out of town,” which was done after this wise.

A company of young men and boys would surround the Gentile who evinced too great a thirst for curious knowledge, and with the greatest gravity whistle in concert, and whittle in careless proximity to his person, following him from place to place, until, annoyed beyond measure, he was glad to escape from the “City of Beauty.”

I have often seen this; and after such an exhibition of zeal by the boys, some of the old men of the Church would encourage them by presents, and promises of heaven, telling them the time would come when it would be lawful to not only whittle at, but to whittle into the Gentiles in earnest; and the blood-thirsty spirit thus engendered among those boys now exhibits itself in Utah, among the same ones, now grown to be men, by their readiness to shed the blood of the Gentiles at the command of the new Prophet.

The reason given the boys for this “whittling out to town” was, that since the wicked were always liable to be punished, if the “Gentiles” (i. e. the wicked) were allowed to remain in the town, the righteous (Mormons) were liable to be punished with them. (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, Hartford, 1870, pages 30-31)

GOVERNMENT RECORDS

The United States Government has preserved some important records concerning the indictment of the Mormon leaders for counterfeiting. In a “Reference Service Report,” dated December 11, 1963, Hardee Allen made these statements:

INQUIRY: Information about Records Relating to the Indictment in Illinois of Brigham Young, Mormon Leader, and Apostles of the Mormon Church, 1845-1848, for counterfeiting.

Report: The records of the Solicitor of the Treasury (National Archives Record Group 206) contain a few summary references to the indictment, and proceedings thereunder, of Brigham Young and eleven other men on the charge of counterfeiting, the indictment having been presented in December 1845 in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Illinois. These references appear in form reports on suits brought and pending and on cases decided that the United States Attorney and the Clerk of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Illinois made periodically to the Solicitor of the Treasury. The National Archives can furnish negative photostats of the pertinent United States Attorneys’ reports (from Reports of the U.S. District Attorneys, From 1845 to 1850), as follows:

1. Report of Suits Pending in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Illinois at its December Term 1845, listing suits brought in that court on indictments for counterfeiting, dated December 17 and December 18, 1845, against Brigham Young and 11 other men, . . .
2. Report of Suits Pending at the June Term 1846, which identifies Brigham Young and most of the others charged with counterfeiting as “not arrested.” 1 page; negative photostat, 75 cents.

.....
The United States Attorneys’ reports in the records of the Solicitor of the Treasury do not show the disposition of the charges against Brigham Young and 10 others. These reports do not include any report for the December Term 1848, but the reports of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Illinois, which for the most part duplicate the United States Attorney’s reports, do contain a report for the December Term 1848 which shows that the cases against Brigham Young and 10 others (not including Edward Bonney), indicted for counterfeiting, had been dismissed at that Term of the court. The National Archives can furnish negative photostats of the pertinent Clerks’ reports (from *Reports of the Clerks of the U.S. Courts, 1846 to 1850*) . . .

In the same “Reference Service Report,” Hardee Allen lists 16 reports that are related to these indictments and states that “The National Archives can supply negative photostats of any of these reports at the prices listed, or a 35 mm. microfilm of all of them (16 pages) for \$2.50.” We have obtained a copy of this microfilm and find it rather revealing.

According to these records, Brigham Young and four of the other Apostles (Willard Richards, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde) were indicted “for counterfeiting the current coin of the U.S.” Among the list of others indicted we find the name “Joseph H. Jackson.” This is very interesting, for Jackson, as we

have already shown, admitted that he “consented” to help Joseph Smith in “the manufacture of bogus.” Jackson also stated that “Barton and Eaton” were in on the bogus operation in Nauvoo. Among the list of those indicted we find the names “Augustus Barton” and “Gilbert Eaton.”

Theodore Turley was also indicted. This comment concerning Turley appears in a handwritten note on the record showing the indictment: “This is an indictment for counterfeiting the current coin of the U.S. The defendant, who is the chief manufacturer of dies &c resides at Nauvoo. From the testimony before the Grand Jury, it appeared that counterfeiting coin has been largely carried on at that place for some years. The defendant evades the service of process.” It is interesting to note that when the Mormons condemned the *Nauvoo Expositor*, they relied upon the testimony of Theodore Turley:

... the Mayor [Joseph Smith] . . . called up Theodore Turley, a mechanic, who being sworn, said that the Laws (William and Wilson,) had brought **bogus dies** to him to fix. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 434-435)

Joseph Smith was certainly acquainted with Turley, for he makes this statement in the *History of the Church* under the date of March 10, 1843:

I told Theodore Turley that I had no objection to his building a brewery. (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 300)

Under Brigham Young’s leadership, Theodore Turley became a member of the Council of Fifty (*Quest for Empire*, page 224). Under the date of November 16, 1845, Brigham Young recorded that Turley had been arrested for counterfeiting:

I learned that Elder Theodore Turley has been arrested at Alton on a charge of bogus-making. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 525)

On November 24, 1845, Brigham Young recorded: “The council wrote Elder Theodore Turley who is now in jail awaiting his examination” (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 532). Turley apparently received help to pay his bail and then fled west with the Mormons. A U.S. Government record dated January 12, 1847, contains this statement concerning Turley: “The deft in this case is beyond the reach of process—proceeding against his bail have been had—further proceedings useless.” Under the date of March 28, 1846, Brigham Young recorded the following in his “Manuscript History”:

I met my captains of Tens at the Post Office at 3:40 p.m.; immediately after which Theodore Turley came into the Council and reported that Edward Bonney, Haight and another man had been in pursuit of him for two or three days, they had followed him from Richardson’s Point within five or six miles of this place, but by several meanderings and disguises he had escaped them; that his family were at Richardson’s Point, and had not team sufficient to bring them on. (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” March 28, 1846, typed copy)

On November 28, 1847, Brigham Young recorded this statement in the *History of the Church*:

I met with the Twelve and high council in the forenoon. Theodore Turley and Joseph Fielding were voted members of the high council. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 620)

Among the list of those indicted we find the name “Peter Hawes.” Klaus J. Hansen shows that he was a member of the “Council of Fifty under Joseph Smith” (*Quest for Empire*, page 223). The “Manuscript History of Brigham Young” makes it very clear that Peter Haws was involved in the “bogus” business after the Mormons left Nauvoo, for Brigham Young wrote the following under the date of May 12, 1846:

While I was standing with Prest. Kimball at his tent, an outcry was heard from Peter Haws’ Camp; we repaired thither and found that Haws and Thomas Williams and two others had a quarrel about some property, etc. that Haws had let Williams have some **bogus money**, on shares and Williams had not paid him his share of the profits. I reproved them for dealing in base coin and told Haws he could not govern himself, his family, or a company; and unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him and all those who partook of such corruption. (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” May 12, 1846, typed copy)

In the *History of the Church*, the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts refers to this incident, but he does not tell that it was Peter Haws who was involved:

The matter of counterfeit money spoken of in the above remarks, is again referred to in the *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*. It appears that the man who had the counterfeit money in his possession had let another brother have some of it on shares, which he was to exchange among the settlers north and south of the line of march in exchange for goods, etc. This man had not shared the profits with the man who gave him the bogus and hence a quarrel between them. President Young being brought to the scene of the quarrel reproved them for dealing in base coin and told the originator of the trouble that he could not govern himself, his family or a company; and unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty the hand of the Lord would be against him and all those who partook of such corruption. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 609)

Brigham Young’s rebuke of Peter Haws can hardly be taken very seriously, since Haws continued to serve in the “Council of Fifty in Colonial Utah, 1847-49” (*Quest for Empire*, page 225). When we find that both Peter Haws and Brigham Young were under indictment for counterfeiting at the time this occurred, it throws a new light on the whole incident.

Another suspicious reference to counterfeiting which mentions Peter Haws is found in the “Manuscript History of Brigham Young” under the date of April 5, 1846. We will refer to this later.

A RAPID EXODUS

According to the United States Government records, the Mormon leaders were indicted for counterfeiting on December 18, 1845. While they remained in Nauvoo they hid from the U.S. Marshal. In 1846 they fled from Nauvoo and headed west. While the anti-Mormons were demanding that the Mormons leave Illinois, the indictments for counterfeiting apparently speeded things up. The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey made this statement “Warrants pending for the arrest of Brigham Young and other leaders on charges of counterfeiting were among the reasons for the early departure of the Saints from the ‘city of Joseph’ in February rather than in the spring as originally proposed” (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, page 215). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives this very interesting information in regard to this matter:

This threat of the use of federal authority to affect the arrest of the church authorities, relative to alleged counterfeiting of United States money, and even to prevent the migration of the saints to the west, was wickedly put forth and fostered by Governor Ford (really to play upon the fears of the church and hasten its departure from Illinois) and quite widely discussed in the press of both state and nation.

Relative to the charge of counterfeiting and the threatened arrests of the twelve therefor, Governor Ford said:

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

There is not the slightest evidence in existence that “the twelve” were in any way connected with alleged counterfeiting operations at Nauvoo, it was clearly a “trumped up charge,” so far as they were concerned. It appears that some counterfeiters **had located at Nauvoo** but were routed by the diligence of the church leaders against them and their illegal traffic. These were the parties who made the charges of counterfeiting against the brethren at Springfield. . . .

The passage from Ford’s History discloses that fact, that by the subterfuge of making the twelve believe—if they did believe it—the United States army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring to make arrests . . . Governor Ford himself was a party to those annoyances . . . (*Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 2, pages 532-533)

On January 26, 1846, Samuel Brannan wrote Brigham Young a letter in which he stated:

Mr. Benson thinks the Twelve should leave and **get out of the country first**, and **avoid being arrested** if it is a possible thing, but if you are arrested you will find a staunch friend in him, and you will find friends, and that a host, to deliver you from their hands—if any of you are arrested, don’t be tried west of the Allegheny Mountains. In the east you will find friends that you little think of. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 588-589)

On February 11, 1846, the *Warsaw Signal* reported:

During the last week, as we learn from various authentic sources, the saints have been crossing the River in a perfect army. . . .

We scarcely know what to make of this movement. It was expected that but a small party would start at this time; but from all the information we now have, it appears that a company of from one to two thousands will leave at the present time. . . .

The Holy Twelve are said to be in this advance party as are also all against whom there are any writs. . . . (*Warsaw Signal*, February 11, 1845)

Brigham Young, however, said that he departed from Nauvoo on February 15, 1846. The *Warsaw Signal* for February 18, 1846, maintained that the Twelve left Nauvoo but returned when they found that the U.S. Marshal had not come to Nauvoo:

Our latest information from Nauvoo is up to Sunday morning last.

The Twelve, who had left the city the week before, on account of a rumor that the Deputy U.S. Marshal was on his way to the city, having ascertained that the rumor was false, have all returned.—The Saints, however were still crossing the river, notwithstanding the snow had fallen on Saturday, to the depth of six inches. . . . So soon as they are ready for the march, the Twelve (all except Page) will join them. (*Warsaw Signal*, February 18, 1846)

However this may be, we know that the Mormons left Nauvoo in February, 1846, and it seems obvious that the indictments for counterfeiting caused the early departure. The Mormons continued west until they were outside the territorial limits of the U.S. Klaus J. Hansen observed:

Likewise, there can have been no question that, in the fall of 1845, Brigham Young knew that the area to which he hoped to move the Saints was not part of the United States. In an “Epistle to the Brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Scattered

Abroad Through the United States of America,” Young admonished his followers that removal beyond the boundaries of the United States was a test of orthodoxy: . . . This letter indicates that Young had not contemplated the possibility that the United States would take over in the near future the region where the Saints hoped to establish the kingdom of God. The Mexican War, however, changed these calculations. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 114-115)

Of the twelve men indicted for counterfeiting, we know that at least seven of them went west. Five of these men were Apostles; Brigham Young became the second President of the Church and John Taylor the third. All seven of the men who went west served in the secret Council of Fifty.

Although Joseph H. Jackson apparently did not join the Church or go west with the Mormons, he was very well acquainted with Joseph Smith. It is even possible that he was a member of the Council of Fifty, for John D. Lee stated: “The same winter he [Joseph Smith] organized what was called the ‘Council of Fifty.’ This was a confidential organization. A man by the name of Jackson belonged to it, though he did not belong to the Church” (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, page 173).

The U.S. Government records show that the Mormon leaders were indicted for counterfeiting on December 18, 1845, but there is some evidence to show that they were in trouble even before these indictments were issued. On November 5, 1845, the *Warsaw Signal* reprinted the following statements from the *Quincy Whig*:

If a Mormon steals a cow, an ox, or a horse, he immediately puts for the city of refuge—Nauvoo. There, the law is borne down by brutal violence—the officers of the law are insulted and driven out of the city, and the very horse they ride into the city taken from him. So in the case of a murderer. Here was one of the Reddings, a noted scoundrel and murderer, sought safety in Nauvoo. The officers of the law pursued and arrested him there—he was taken from them—their persons abused—and the very boat which landed the officers was driven off by a shower of stones. So also with a counterfeiter. Process was issued against Brigham Young for counterfeiting the coin of the United States—the officer through fear of his life, and the lives of several honorable gentlemen in the city left with his process unserved and without his prisoner. (*Warsaw Signal*, November 5, 1845)

Brigham Young made this statement in the *History of the Church* under the date of October 27, 1845:

Babbitt states that Dr. Abiather Williams has been before one of the judges of Iowa and sworn that the **Twelve made bogus** at his house in Iowa.

They have taken out a United States writ and made a demand on the governor of this state for them, and the deputy marshal of Iowa (Silas Haight) is at Carthage with writs for all the Twelve. Warren is coming with the troops tomorrow, to aid the marshal in making the arrests. They had these writs with them on Saturday evening and this deputy was also with them, but when Elder Taylor made

his speech it bluffed them off and they were afraid to serve them; . . . The brethren of the Twelve all concluded to leave their homes tonight, so that if the posse come in during the night there will be no danger. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 491-492)

Dr. A. B. Williams, who swore that the Twelve made “bogus” at his house, seems to have been a friend of Joseph Smith. In fact, Joseph Smith printed an affidavit by Williams exposing a “Conspiracy against the Prophet” (see *History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 278, 341 and 343).

When Edward Bonney was tried for counterfeiting “Ten of the jurors signed an address to the Hon. R. J. Walker, secretary of treasury, . . .” In this address we find these statements concerning Dr. A. B. Williams:

11th. That said Williams, as appears by his own statements, has been long accessory to the making and circulating of counterfeit money, and guilty of secreting a press, made and used for the purpose of counterfeiting in his own house, at **Nauvoo**; and of harboring and associating with thieves and counterfeiters, and aiding them by false statements to escape from the grasp of justice; while from the evidence of others, we were satisfied of the said Williams’ commission of the most heinous crimes, perjury and counterfeiting among others, and that so far as any moral restraint is concerned, he would not halt in the commission of any crime. (*Banditti of the Prairies*, pages 257-258)

Even Joseph Smith’s brother William accused Brigham Young of counterfeiting. In the *Warsaw Signal* for November 14, 1846, we find the following:

Mr. Babbit . . . is a Mormon High Priest under the Brigham reign. He it was who received a handsome fee—said to be 1000 dollars—to defend Turley another Mormon preacher of the same Brighamite stamp, when it was known at the time that the said Turley was as notorious a counterfeiter as ever walked the earth. The only difficulty was that his leader, Mr. Brigham, was known as the colleague of Turley in the [co]unterfeiting business, and he might [we]ll suppose that a full trial in Turle[y]’s case, would reveal secrets affecting [the] character of the holy apostle Brigham! Both Young and Turley have been indicted for making counterfeit money.

William Smith was an Apostle in the Church until October 6, 1845. It is interesting to note that even he was accused of counterfeiting. Dr. Wyl gives this information in his book, *Mormon Portraits*:

In the beginning of May, 1885, while stopping at the Metropolitan Hotel, in Salt Lake City, I met a lady of the name of Mrs. E___, who had lived in Nauvoo as a child. She told me the following story: “My parents lived for a time at what was called ‘Joseph Smith’s Tavern,’ in Plymouth, thirty-three miles from Nauvoo, and fifteen miles from Carthage. We children played hide and seek, one day, as we often did. We came, by chance, to an upper room, which Apostle Bill Smith, Joseph’s brother,

used as a bedroom when he was at the 'tavern.' While running about and trying to hide, we suddenly came upon along, heavy sack, which we opened and found full of coined money—silver and gold. At least, it looked so. We were very happy to become so rich. We little girls put lots of money in our small aprons, called together the children of the neighbors, and gave them some of the money. Our parents were not at home, but when they came we ran up to them: 'Oh, pa! oh, ma! we have a whole bread-pan full of money for you!' Father gave us a severe rebuke, and ordered us to get all the money together, and to get back from our little friends all that we had given to them. We obeyed, with our eyes swimming in tears, and laid all the money before our father, who put it back in the sack and buried the sack. He said he would wait till Bill Smith and his comrades would ask him for the money. A few days after, Apostle Bill came to the 'tavern,' and with him came Zinc Salisbury and Luke Clayborn, both brothers-in-law of Bill. They searched for the money, and, not finding it, invited my father to go coon-hunting with them. My father divined that they wanted to punish him for the disappearance of the money, so he said to them: 'Why don't you tell me, honestly, that you wanted your money?' And so saying he showed them where he had buried the treasure. They took it, and threatened my father that they would kill him if he talked to anybody about it. There was great excitement in the country about this bogus money, and it finally became so intense that the authorities had to interfere. The officers found the machinery, with which the money was made, in Plymouth. Whenever Joseph Smith owed money he paid with this kind of coin." (*Mormon Portraits*, Salt Lake City, 1886, pages 37-38)

Although this story was not printed until many years after the incident was supposed to have occurred, there could be some truth in it, for Joseph Smith stated that his brother Samuel Smith "kept a public-house at Plymouth" (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 201). On pages 209-210 of the same volume, Joseph Smith makes this statement:

Tuesday, 27.—At nine in the morning, started in custody of Wilson Law for Springfield, in company with Hyrum Smith, **Willard Richards**, **John Taylor**, William Marks, Levi Moffit, **Peter Haws**, Lorin Walker and **Orson Hyde**. . . . we arrived at my Brother Samuel's, in Plymouth, a little after sunset, and we were soon joined by Edward Hunter, **Theodore Turley**, Dr. Tate, and Shadrach Roundy. I supped with Brother William Smith's family, who lived under the same roof, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 209-210)

It is interesting to note that five of the men who were later indicted for counterfeiting were in the group that passed through Plymouth.

The following was printed in the *Warsaw Signal* on February 25, 1846:

We find in the last *Keokuk Argus*, a communication, signed by six seceding Mormons, stating the reasons for their withdrawal from the church, . . . After an introduction, remarking on the duty of those who have been deceived, the communication proceeds thus:

To enumerate some of the more heinous of their offences, the undersigned would beg leave to state, that

they became _____ed [satisfied?] beyond the existence of a rational doubt, that the infamous doctrine has been and now taught and practiced by the Mormons, at first cautiously and limitedly, to those only whose depraved natures and corrupt lives, had prepared them to receive it, and afterwards more generally and boldly, that it was not only a right, but a duty of the Saints to steal, rob, or in any other way, to take the property of the Gentiles, or those who did not embrace the Mormon faith, and convert it to their own use; and that in the exemplification of this doctrine, thefts and robberies of the most reckless and daring character, and not unfrequently accompanied with tragical and revolting murders were committed by the Mormons to an alarming extent throughout the country, and especially in the region of Nauvoo. That the manufacture and circulation of counterfeit coin was a regular and extensive business carried on at Nauvoo by the leaders of the church.

That a system of licentiousness scarcely paralleled in the history of the past, was set on foot by the great high priest and prophet of the church, in his time, and continued . . . by his successor, under the pretence of a special revelation . . . to take and enjoy an indefinite number of spiritual wives, . . . from among the married and unmarried, with whom to raise up a holy seed unto the Lord. . . . to avoid the detection and condign punishment due to their numerous and detestable crimes, the further black and horrible crime of perjury and subornation of perjury has been invariably resorted to and committed, . . . the undersigned are well satisfied that Nauvoo and its vicinity has for some time been, and is now, the scene, and the Mormon church the actors, in the commission of almost every vice and crime known either to the laws of God or man.

On becoming thus satisfied of the error, vice and crime, connected with Mormonism, the undersigned at once renounced the odious and abominable system . . . which renunciation, with a brief statement of some of the reasons therefor, they now lay before the public.

REUBEN DANIELS, MORRILL B. VAUGHN,
RUFUS S. VAUGHN, POLLEY VAUGHN,
SUSAN SLINGERLAND, WILLIAM O. DANIELS.
February 7, 1846. (*Warsaw Signal*, February 25, 1846)

BOGUS MAKERS GO WEST

On August 18, 1844, Brigham Young made these statements: "I wish the saints to let their bickerings cease, and a strict order of things be introduced: we shall not harbor blacklegs, counterfeiters and bogus-makers; we know all about them, they have been in our midst long enough. . . . do not harbor blacklegs, counterfeiters and bogus-makers, wipe them away; . . ." (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 258-259). On January 20, 1846, the High Council of the Church published a circular in which the following statements appeared:

We venture to say that our brethren have made no counterfeit money: and if any miller has received fifteen hundred dollars base coin in a week, from us, let him testify. If any land agent of the general government has received wagonloads of base coin from us in payment for lands, let him say so. Or if he has received any at all from us, let him tell it. Those witnesses against us have spun a long yarn: . . . (*Ibid.*, page 571)

On January 24, 1846, Brigham Young made these statements:

A set of bogus-makers who recently commenced operations in this city, who are determined to counterfeit coin here by wagonloads and make it pass upon the community as land office money; [they] are determined to be revenged upon us, because we would not permit them to pursue their wicked business in Nauvoo, they have scattered through the country circulating their bogus money and spreading lies and every species of falsehood, saying that we are engaged in bogus-making in order thereby to conceal their crimes, and screen themselves from observation and punishment, and at the same time be avenged upon us for not consenting to the establishment of their bogus mints at Nauvoo. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 574)

If the Mormons were not involved in counterfeiting, the exodus from Nauvoo should have ended the matter. We have already shown, however, that as they headed west the charges of counterfeiting continued, and Brigham Young frankly admitted that Peter Haws, a member of the Council of Fifty, was involved in this business. In a letter written April 5, 1846, Brigham Young stated: “. . . I have some men in the company, that are thieves and **bogus makers** and bogus men any way you may put them, . . .” (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” typed copy). On April 12, 1846, Brigham Young stated: “But there had been some things done which were wrong. There were **among us** those who were passing counterfeit money and had done it all the time **since** we left Nauvoo. There were men among us who would steal; . . .” (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 608). Under the date of June 21, 1846, Brigham Young recorded the following in the “Manuscript History”: “A piece of bogus money, was palmed off upon the Pottawatomies, who took an ox from the next company and killed it; I said, they did right” (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” June 21, 1846, typed copy). In a letter dated August 1, 1846, Brigham Young wrote:

“A letter was written by O. Hyde describing a man who had passed bogus gold.

“The decision of the council is, that the man described in bro. Hyde’s letter shall return forthwith and make ample satisfaction, and in case of refusal he shall restore fourfold and be cut off from the Church and cast out of their midst.” (Ibid., August 1, 1846)

On August 11, 1846, Brigham Young recorded:

I referred to a man who had passed Fifteen dollars bogus gold, below the settlement, and gone on west in Miller’s company, for whom I had sent to return immediately, and pay the man whom he defrauded and satisfy him for his trouble, repent, and make satisfaction to the Church; or, he should pay four fold, if it took the last farthing he possessed, and be cast out from among us, and that is the law to Israel “and you may write it.” (Ibid., August 11, 1846)

Finally, on February 24, 1847, Brigham Young wrote:

I swore by the Eternal Gods that if men in our midst would not stop this cursed work of stealing and counterfeiting their throats should be cut. (Ibid., February 24, 1847)

Dr. Wyl gives this information in his book, *Mormon Portraits*:

For proof of my assertions as to the earlier times of the “Church,” the times in Missouri and Illinois, I rely principally on the confession of that daisy, Phineas Young, brother of Brigham, which, in my opinion, is worth fifty volumes on Mormon history. I give it in the very words of my informant, who is one of the most cultivated and reliable men of Salt Lake City:

“Phineas Young, a near relative of mine, said to me in 1875: ‘We have been driven (from Missouri and Illinois) because our people stole too much. They stole horses, cattle and beehives, robbed smoke-houses, and anything you may imagine, and then scores of us passed counterfeit money on the Gentiles.’” (*Mormon Portraits*, page 37)

William Hall was a man who had a great deal to say about counterfeiting among the Mormons. He had been a member of the Mormon Church. In his “Manuscript History” Brigham Young recorded the following concerning William Hall:

During the day William Hall left Camp with his team for the Des Moines to bring forward a load for Allen J. Stout; at Indian creek one of his horses sickened with bloating and choleric; Elders Hall and Luellin Mantle laid hands on him and he recovered immediately, and went on about two miles when he was again attacked more violently than before, they tried to give him medicine but could not succeed, the horse lay on his side with his forefoot over his ear, but Reuben Strong said he believed there was breath in him yet, and proposed to lay hands upon him, some present doubted whether it was right to lay hands on a horse, Elder Hall replied the Prophet Joel has said that in the last days the Lord would pour out his spirit upon all flesh and thus satisfied the brethren, and Elders Wm. Hall, Reuben R. Strong, Luellin Mantle, Joseph Champlin, Martin Potter and one more laid hands on the horse and commanded the unclean and foul spirits of every name and nature to depart and go to the Gentile at Warsaw and trouble the Saints no more, when the horse rolled twice over in great distress, sprang to his feet, squealed, vomited and purged, and the next morning was harnessed to a load of about twelve hundred weight and performed his part as usual.” (“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” March 14, 1846, typed copy)

At any rate, William Hall turned against the Church and wrote a book which contains important information about the counterfeiting operation. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft made these comments concerning Hall’s book:

William Hall was an old gentleman of simple mind and manners when he wrote his book; he appears to be earnest and truthful. As he says of the saints, so I should say of him: he meant well, but he should beware of bad leaders. Hall was not a great man in the church, like Bennett; nevertheless, like Bennett he wrote a book, but unlike Bennett’s, his book reads like that of an honest man, although it is full

of bitter accusations against the Mormons. All such works should be taken with some degrees of allowance; for when a person begins to rail against any people or individual, he is apt to be carried away and misrepresent, intentionally or unintentionally. The period that Hall's experiences cover is quite an important one, including as it does the Illinois expulsion and the exodus to Great Salt Lake. (*History of Utah*, page 152)

William Hall made these statements concerning counterfeiting among the Mormons:

The bogus money, as next in dignity, claims our consideration. In this brother Turley shone conspicuous. . . . at "bogus" he could not be surpassed. A press was prepared, and the money, composed of zinc, glass, etc., coated with silver, was executed in the best style. The people at large were liberally endowed with it; in fact, all they could meet with of kindred spirits were pretty sure to receive an endowment of "bogus." Imitations both of gold and silver were in general circulation, and very difficult to detect. In fact, for a time, scarcely any other circulating medium was to be found among them.

When leaving Illinois for Council Bluffs, I hauled in my wagon, for some distance on the way, a bogus press. The secret object of the leaders, even at that time, was the valley of the Salt Lake. The press was afterwards sold on a credit in Missouri, but the vender was afraid afterward to go for his money. (*The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*, Cincinnati, 1852, pages 20-21)

Tom Williams was one of the choicest among this gang of finished scoundrels. During my sojourn among them, . . . I had occasion to seek employment among the farmers of Missouri, . . . I labored, a short time, for one who lived on the disputed territory, and one day he told me that he had just sold a yoke of oxen and a cow for, I think, thirty-five dollars. He wanted the money to pay for a piece of land, and that was the reason for selling them so low. He showed me the money (paper money) and asked me if I thought it was good. I looked at it, but told him I could not tell. I inquired of whom he had received it, but he could not recollect the man. I asked him to describe him. He did so. I pronounced the name of Tom Williams. That was the name. I said if he got the money from him, I expected it was bad, as he was a notorious cheat, and seldom dealt in any other than counterfeit money.

The money was printed from the real plate used by the bank, and purchased slyly of the officers, and it was only the signatures that were forged, which were well executed. I advised him to go down to the camp, and go right to Brigham Young, and demand from him the cattle, stating that he had got some bad money from Williams, or he thought it bad, and was not willing to trust it. I told him he must never mention my name, and if he should see me in camp or elsewhere, not to recognize me, or I might be in danger. I told him, moreover, that he must not accept any thing like the former price, but exact sixty or sixty-five dollars for the oxen, and ten dollars for the cow. That they must have the cattle, and were then afraid of a fuss with the people of Missouri, and would give him a good price in specie, if he insisted on it.

He went down to camp, and went to Brigham Young and told him of the bad money, as supposed, that he had got from Williams, and offered to return the money, and demanded the cattle. Brigham Young sent for Williams,

and after hearing what he had to say, told him to bring the cattle to him. He told him he had parted with them to Brother Hawks [Haws?]. Young told him peremptorily to go and get them of brother Hawks, and bring them to him. Williams was obliged to comply. The cattle were brought, and Young said he would give the price for them in good gold and silver. The man told him that would not do now, he would not take it. He was asked how much he would take. "Sixty-five dollars for the oxen, and ten for the cow," he replied. Young studied a few minutes: he did not want to raise a noise for fear of the Missourians, who threatened to stop them, and then continued: "You must be an honest man! I think you are an honest man; your countenance looks like an honest man's." He paid the money, and the man departed. Brigham Young a judge of the face of an honest man! How often does he see one?

At Garden Grove, in Southern Iowa, somewhere near or on the disputed territory, we buried two bogus presses, which I carried in my own wagon, with a barrel of rosin, and materials belonging thereto, amounting in weight to about one thousand pounds. The reason assigned for this proceeding was, that they would want them on their return, as they would be available to press **good money**. The inference was, that when they returned, it would be as conquerors of the United States, and that then, having the political power in their hands, they would coin good money. Garden Grove had its name given to it by the Mormons. (*Ibid.*, pages 79-81)

Notice that Hall claims that a man by the name of Tom Williams passed bogus money on a farmer, and that the farmer came to Brigham Young seeking justice. This seems to be confirmed by the "Manuscript History of Brigham Young." Under the date of April 5, 1846, we find the following:

SUNDAY, 5—Morning clear, ground white with frost. Elder John Taylor rode into camp and took breakfast . . . he also stated that his company was destitute of corn.

The following was received:

President Brigham Young:

Mr. Cochran an old acquaintance of mine from Kentucky sold Mr. Williams a yoke of oxen, cow and chain for which he received fifty dollars, part of which he apprehends is spurious, he wishes us to assist him in getting it changed, as he thinks the young man passed it without knowing the fact, will you please to give him such aid as is in your power to affect the object he has in view. GEORGE MILLER.

I replied as follows:

Brother George Miller:

What in the name of the Lord did you think when you referred Mr. Cochran to me to assist him or render him what assistance I could? I will tell you what assistance I might render him, it is this, **I have some men in the company that are thieves and bogus makers** and bogus men any way you may put them, and unless they can do something to bring distress upon the saints, they are in torment like a worm in the fire.

Now brother Miller you go to the man or send some one that did the trading and have him settle the matter forthwith, or we must suffer, and I pray my Heavenly Father in the name of Jesus Christ that the man or men who will persist in such things may be cursed henceforth and go down to hell speedily, that the saints may not be cursed by his or their wickedness any more.

Let Williams deliver the property to the old man Cochran and settle the matter forthwith. Brother P. Haws will attend to this matter; there is some one that knows about it and it will all come out.

N. B. Brother Miller I want you to explain the reason why you should refer old man Cochran to me for satisfaction when you knew at the same time he was swearing vengeance against the whole camp, unless he could get satisfaction. As much as to say that I was knowing as well as accessory to the game played by those thieves, bogus men and makers of your camp. I was told by some of the brethren that you were heard to describe my omnibus and that carriage that I ride in. I want you and all the brethren east to come up with the main camp as soon as the traveling will allow.

(“Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” April 5, 1846, typed copy)

Hall’s statement that the Mormons “buried two bogus presses, which I carried in my own wagon” is very interesting. Although we have no other evidence that bogus presses were buried, it is interesting to note that some cannon balls were buried on the way to Utah. Under the date of March 9, 1846, we find this statement in the “Manuscript History of Brigham Young”: “. . . the Council instructed Captain Scott of the artillery to cache between twenty three and twenty four hundred pounds cannon balls in this vicinity.” Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary:

Monday March 9th 1846. . . . It was also decided to light up the loads of the Artillery by burying up the ball & shot in the ground and getting them some other time. . . .

Wednesday March 11th 1846. . . . While out we came across H. G. Sherwood surveying & taking the points of the compass from certain objects where the cannon balls had been buried while there Mr Richardson came also and he told him that Elder Sherwood had been taking an observation to find out the distance to Nauvoo and found it to be fifty miles and a quarter to a certain spot designated which he was so much taken up with the idea of having the correct distance that he went more than a half a mile in the rain and mud and packed a stone and had it buried there to mark the place which also served Br Sherwoods purpose as well as his and left no suspicion of what was done. (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, pages 136-137)

Juanita Brooks gives this information in a footnote on page 137 of the same volume: “It was March 14 before Lee found time to enter the full description of the ammunition cache for the record, and then he inferred that other items were also buried.”

Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith gives this information in her book:

It was well known to me, although young at the time, as it was to every Mormon at Nauvoo, that great numbers of cattle and hogs were in the habit of wandering from the surrounding country into the city, and were appropriated by the Saints; and the same with other property that could be concealed. Another thing that increased the prejudice against our community, was the great amount of bogus money afloat about that time, and in some cases traced

directly to the Mormons. It so happened that while at Nauvoo, and afterwards, I had an opportunity to know something of this bogus manufacture.

When we were on the route through Iowa, it occurred, that one day, when one of the wagons was upset, the press for making bogus money rolled into sight, and was seen by many Mormons, who till then had not supposed they were one of a gang of counterfeiters. But there is no doubt about the fact that the business of counterfeiting was carried on extensively, and that too under the personal sanction and blessing of the Prophet Joseph, and of the Twelve. Most of these Twelve Apostles are now living at Salt Lake, and the same is true to day there, although not done openly, and justified as is the spiritual wife practice. Even this was denied at Nauvoo to the Gentiles, while it was taught us under the ban of secrecy. One thing is certain; this bogus press was carried, to my certain knowledge, to Salt Lake, and there is now a man living in Allegany county, by the name of Lewis Wood, who saw it between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs. (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, Hartford, 1870, pages 28-29)

In the mean time, the Prophet’s ears were ever open for information of some goodly land, far off and well protected against “Gentile” intrusion, where he could hive the swarming hordes of his people, which an uninterrupted emigration and the swift reproduction of spiritual wifeism were gathering about him at Kanesville.

Those who remained at the “stakes” were busily employed in raising grain for present use, and to lay up in store for the coming masses, while many, whose “talents” fitted them for the service, were sent back to Missouri, and other points in the States, to buy horses and cattle, and other property with “bogus” money, or to procure them as best they could. This service was mostly performed by the “Danites.” (*Ibid.*, pages 87-88)

While dressing the next morning, Wallace [her husband] accidentally left his belt in my room; it was the one he wore around his body under his clothing; which I examined without his knowing it, and found it to contain about three hundred dollars of bogus money. This did not surprise me, as I had suspect it before, and I knew the authorities of the Church, if they did not manufacture it themselves, directed it to be done by others. . . . The discovery I had made as to the bogus money in the belt of Wallace, sharpened my curiosity, and I took occasion to watch his movements and all connected with him. I made it convenient, as I had an opportunity a few days after this, to question Joseph Young, brother of the Prophet, about it. I commenced by telling him I thought he had given Wallace more than his share of bogus money. The men who had the management of such matters were generally very cautious about telling the women of [i]t. Brother Joseph, thrown off his guard, replied,

“Did he get me a span of horses?”

I told him I did not know but he bought one for himself.

“Yes, yes,” said brother Joseph, thinking I knew all about it, as some of the wives of the Prophet did; “he can sell the bogus any time to the Missourians, if he wishes, and they cannot detect us. If they do, we shall soon be beyond their reach. We must help ourselves this year to a good outfit for crossing the plains; and, next spring and summer, we shall be off and beyond their reach, and they can whistle.”

I thus ascertained positively what I had long suspected. I went home knowing that my husband was a thief and a counterfeiter, if not something worse than either; . . . soon after this, a man came to our house, who was unknown to me, and had a long conversation with Wallace. The subject of their interview seemed to be one of great importance and secrecy. After the stranger had left, Wallace told me it was necessary for us to move to St. Joseph, Mo.; that he was going there by direction, and in the service of the Church, and was to keep a boarding-house to accommodate the Mormons in that State, doing business disguised as "Gentiles."

The reader will not be surprised to know, what I soon learned to be true, that this "business" was selling bogus money, and buying with it various kinds of property needed by the Church, and forwarding it to Council Bluffs. . . .

The notorious gamblers of this region, among the Gentiles, somewhat famed about this time, stood no chance with this band of Mormons; for while they were professedly strangers, they had a system of secret signs by which they were understood by each other, and they could thus play into the hands of their friends unsuspected.

The horses, and other booty purchased or stolen, was forwarded at once to Kaneshville, and was there received by Orson Hyde, who, after assorting it, forwarded it on to the plains, or made such disposition of it as would place it beyond the reach of the Gentiles, in case suspicion should be directed towards them. Orson Hyde is one of the "Twelve Apostles," and is often in the States. There are now many persons living by whom these facts can be proved.

The bogus money used by these men, was mostly made at Nauvoo; but I have heretofore mentioned that the press used in its manufacture was taken west, and on to Salt Lake in the wagon of Peter Hawse, and was at this time at Kaneshville. This man, Hawse, is now living on Humbolt River, west of Great Salt Lake City. (Ibid., pages 103-107)

Mrs. Smith's statement that the Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde received stolen property at Kaneshville is very interesting, for we know that Orson Hyde approved of stealing from the Gentiles. In his journal for October 13, 1860, John Bennion recorded that "after meeting Bp council & **Elder Hyde** had a long talk in my house br **Hyde** said **speaking of stealing** that a man may **steal** & be influenced by the **spirit of the Lord to do it** that **Hickman had done it years past** said that he **never would institute a trial against a brother for stealing from the Gentiles** but stealing from his brethren he was down on it. . . ." (The reader will find the complete statement on pages 11-12 of this volume.)

Mrs. Smith states that a bogus press was hauled west in the wagon of "Peter Hawse." This seems very likely, since Peter Haws (a member of the Council of Fifty) was indicted along with the Mormon leaders for counterfeiting, and since even Brigham Young admitted that while the Mormons were coming west "Haws had let Williams have some bogus money on shares. . ." ("Manuscript History of Brigham Young," May 12, 1846, typed copy).

After the Mormons arrived at their destination by the Great Salt Lake, they decided to mint some gold coins. Dr. Wyl made this statement concerning these coins: "Should you come to Utah, reader, some old Mormon or apostate will show you the gold coins of Zion, coined by Brigham Young. Even this official money of the Kingdom, now out of course, is counterfeit; it bears on its face 'Five Dollars,' and is in reality only worth about \$4.30." (*Mormon Portraits*, page 37). In his book, *Counterfeit, Mis-Struck, and Unofficial U. S. Coins*, Don Taxay stated:

Among the most prominent newcomers were the Miner's Bank, the Pacific Co., Ormsby & Co., and the Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. In addition, gold pieces from other territories, including the famous Mormon issues, now poured into the motley circulation. As the weeks rolled by, a veritable avalanche of private coin resuscitated the moribund economy and business thrived as never before.

In the midst of the boom the citizens received a rude shock. A series of assay tests, taken by Eckfeldt and DuBois at the Philadelphia Mint, revealed that almost all of the coins in circulation were debased. The Mormon gold, whose coining was supervised by none other than Brigham Young, was found to be wanting by as much as twenty per cent, and that of the Pacific Co., by even more. . . .

In the panic that followed the publication of Eckfeldt and DuBois' findings, the debased issues quickly depreciated, and those holding them suffered severe losses. One by one the firms were driven out of business, and at the end of 1849 Moffat & Co. alone survived. (*Counterfeit, Mis-Struck, and Unofficial U.S. Coins*, by Don Taxay, New York, page 172)

In 1859 the Mormon people again found themselves in serious trouble because of the exposure of a counterfeiting operation. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives this information regarding this matter:

Two incidents happened in the troublesome fall of 1859 that threatened for a time to bring on a conflict between the citizens of Utah and the army at Camp Floyd. One of these is known . . . as the Spencer-Pike affair; the other was a plot to arrest Brigham Young in connection with a case of alleged counterfeiting of government drafts. . . .

The facts in the counterfeiting case referred to in the opening paragraph of this chapter, in which it was sought to involve President Young, are as follows: a party of men in Camp Floyd, prominent among whom were M. Brewer, and J. M. Wallace, conspired to counterfeit United States quartermaster orders on St. Louis and New York. In pursuance of this purpose they employed a young "Mormon" engraver of Salt Lake City to duplicate the quartermaster's plate at Camp Floyd. This was skilfully accomplished and the counterfeit bills printed upon it. The forgery was soon discovered and the principal in the crime, Brewer, was arrested at Camp Floyd. He promptly turned state's evidence by confessing and threw responsibility for the crime upon the young "Mormon" engraver; and implicated a person in Brigham Young's office for having furnished the paper for the counterfeit notes. The engraver's tools and engraving paraphernalia were all seized by Mr. Dotson, the United States marshal, and the young engraver was arrested. Afterwards, when visiting the engraver's regular workshop,

where he had done work for Brigham Young on the “Deseret currency plates,” these plates were also seized by Mr. Dotson and carried to Camp Floyd.

The confession and allegation of Brewer seemed to bring this crime so close to the premises at least of President Young that it was hoped at Camp Floyd that he could be implicated in it. One officer when he heard Brewer’s confession, jumped up and down like one bereft of his senses, saying “By G— —! we will make this stick on Brigham Young this time.”

In pursuance of this purpose to make the crime “stick” on Brigham Young, a plan for his arrest was arranged, . . . The plan was to issue a writ for the arrest of Brigham Young as well as the young “Mormon” engraver, and apprehending that there would be resistance to the arrest of the former, the army was to be ordered into Salt Lake City; Johnston’s artillery was to make a breach in the wall surrounding the ex-governor’s premises, then the troops would sally forth, seize Brigham Young by force and hurry him to Camp Floyd. (*Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 4, pages 503, 505 and 506)

B. H. Roberts goes on to show that Governor Cumming opposed the idea of the army “creeping through walls” to arrest Brigham Young. On pages 507-510 of the same volume, B. H. Roberts gives this information:

Word indeed was brought from Camp Floyd on the night of 17th of April by an express rider from Camp Floyd that two regiments would be ordered that night on a forced march to Salt Lake City to make arrests. Whereupon Governor Cumming, it is said, gave orders to General D. H. Wells of the Utah militia, to be ready with a force to repulse the federal troops. And this General Wells so promptly responded to that “by two o’clock on Monday morning, five thousand men were under arms.” . . .

A group of men were stationed at the point of a mountain thirty miles south of Salt Lake which overlooked the Jordan ford and the road leading over the low hills to Camp Floyd. They were to keep watch day and night for the movement of any detachment of troops towards Salt Lake City. . . .

The young “Mormon” engraver of the counterfeit plates of the foregoing incident was put on trial, found **guilty**, and sentenced to prison for two years. . . .

Marshal Dotson in taking forceful possession of the “currency” plates belonging to Brigham Young exceeded his duties as an officer; while in his charge they were marred to the point of ruining them. In this condition the marshal sought to return them to their owner, but President Young refused to receive them, and brought suit against Marshal Dotson for the illegal seizure and injury of the currency plates. After a long and tedious trial President Young obtained judgment of damages to the extent of \$2,600, for which property in Salt Lake City was sold to satisfy. It was this circumstance which finally led to Marshal Dotson’s resignation and removal from Utah.

Judge John Cradlebaugh, who had served in Utah, made these statements in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1863:

With the history of one more case, I will conclude. In the summer of 1858, David Machenzie was arrested,

charged with engraving plates for counterfeiting Government drafts on the Treasury at St. Louis. The evidence showed that the engraving had been done in the upper part of the Deseret store, in Salt Lake City. This store is within the inclosure of Brigham Young’s premises, the same being walled in with a stone wall some twelve or fourteen feet in height. Judge Eckels, who issued the warrant, directed the marshal, Peter K. Dotson, to seize the plates, and any other matter that might be found in the room where the engraving had been done which would establish the offense. The marshal accordingly went to the room and seized the plate. He also found another plate there, belonging, as it since appears, to Brigham Young, and used for striking off the Deseret currency; and, observing that the copper-plate upon which the counterfeit engraving had been made had been cut off one side of Brigham’s Deseret currency plate, he brought away with him the currency plate. After the trial Brigham refused to take them back, but brought his action against the marshal, P. K. Dotson, in the probate court. Probate courts throughout the Territory, held in violation of the organic act, are dignified into courts of coequal jurisdiction with the Federal courts. It is one of Brigham’s methods of destroying and nullifying the Federal courts. He installs into these probate courts his most devoted creatures. An appeal can be made from these courts to the district court, but the appeal is almost always refused. I defy the Delegate to show that Brigham ever brought an action in one of these creature courts of his in which he did not succeed. Of course he obtained a judgment against Marshal Dotson for some \$2,600. It would have been as much more if he had only said the word. An appeal is refused; execution is issued; Dotson’s property is sold, and he is turned out of his house—a property that would rent for \$500 per annum—Brigham’s agent having bought it in. Thus a good, efficient officer is ruined in Utah for having faithfully endeavored to prevent fraud upon the Government Treasury.

I have the plates here, [exhibiting them.] I have shown them to engravers in the city, and they tell me the original cost of making them could not be more than five or six hundred dollars, and say that they can be put in as good order as ever they were for twenty-five dollars. No stronger evidence could be adduced showing the absolute control of Brigham Young over the courts of Utah. (“Utah and the Mormons,” a Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh, in the House of Representatives. February 7, 1863, as printed in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, February 23, 1863, page 124)

On July 20, 1859, the *Valley Tan*, printed an article in which the following appeared:

On Wednesday morning at 10 o’clock, Judge Eckles held a court in the Theatre to make the primary examination in the case of the forgery of Quarter Master’s Cheques on the Treasury. Judges Sinclair & Cradlebaugh were present.

Myron Brewer, who was admitted as State’s evidence, was the first called. After being duly sworn he made the following statement:

Resided in Salt Lake City for 3 or 4 years; in the month of May met McKenzie on the street; in course of conversation a plate was mentioned, . . . about four weeks elapsed, . . .

Witness told McKenzie he would consult his friend Mr. J. M. Wallace—did so—seemed to coincide with the views of McKenzie, spoke to him, when McKenzie said the thing was quashed. McKenzie said he must get some other party; he said Mr. John Kay had spoken to him about it, did not understand the behavior of Wallace after his return from Camp Floyd, said he was resolved to carry the thing out at all hazards.

Court—Did he assign any reason?

He said he had scruples and must communicate with Mr. Young on the subject.—Young gave him short answers.

From this time the plate progressed—the witness was to have nothing to do with the issuing. The plates were accomplished.—Mr. Wallace proposed going to Camp Floyd to see about the feasibility of issuing; received the plate from McKenzie and took it into Wallace’s back room; went to Camp with Wallace.

It would be necessary for some one to go to California. Witness could get a trusty agent.

The bill was struck in Great Salt Lake City; witness filled it up—that is the cheque; the counterfeits are prepared by tracing—are twice traced; this paper has been traced; knew of a plan for counterfeiting the New York cheques. The cheque was passed to Mr. Lint, at Wallace’s, in Fairfield.

Court—You state that Young said so and so. What Young?

Wit.—Brigham Young. The Tithing office is on the west side of Young’s house; is enclosed and belongs to the church.

McKenzie stated he could get some paper from a son-in-law of John Kay. George D. Watt got some of the paper for him, he lives in the city; he is the reporter for the church. Witness got a quire from the *Valley Tan* office, but thought it was not used.

Court—Was there any agreement in writing as to the disposal of the proceeds?

Wit.—McKenzie said he should exact a receipt from Wallace for two-thirds of the proceeds. Nothing less than \$500.00 was to be issued, at first \$1000 was mentioned.

Court—Did he assign any reason for so large an amount?

Wit.—That it might fall into the hands of the people of the territory—they wished the government to be the sufferers. The ultimate arrangement was, the bills were to pass through the hands of witness to Wallace. Had seen McKenzie at work, in the upper room of the Tithing office; he worked in the day time—every one can have access [i]n the room. There was some contrivance with the handle of the door which gave notice of the approach of any one, and the plate disappeared under a false sill in the

window. McKenzie had made some plates for the church and the *Deseret News* office; he worked as a mechanic. Witness procured the color and give it to McKenzie; saw the bills struck—explained how the plates could be altered to St. Louis, New Orleans, &c.; the impression was taken off the plates by a hand press in the office in the Tithing store; Mr. Wallace was engaged as agent.

Mr. J. M. Wallace next stated he had an [in]terview with McKenzie, who told him that Wallace was recommended to him by Mr. Brigham Young as a man to be trusted.

Wallace entered into the sceme, and no[t]ified Gen. Johnston of what was going on . . . (*Valley Tan*, Great Salt Lake City, Utah, July 20, 1859)

Juanita Brooks states that the Mormon engraver McKenzie “refused to implicate Brigham Young or anyone else, but took his sentence of imprisonment for two years” (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 699, footnote 60). Mrs. Brooks also gives this interesting information concerning McKenzie:

David McKenzie was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, December 27, 1833. At the age of eleven he was apprenticed to an engraver for whom he worked seven years. On February 11, 1853, McKenzie was baptized into the Mormon Church and the next year came to Utah. On March 7, 1857, he was made a Seventy, and that fall he was a part of the military force in Echo Canyon. He was engaged to engrave the plates for the Deseret currency, and while thus engaged he lived with the family of Brigham Young in the Beehive House. On February 28, 1859, he married Mary Ann Crowther, and four months later was involved in the counterfeiting scandal recorded here. . . .

McKenzie was convicted and sentenced to a two-year prison term, at the end of which he became disbursing clerk at the tithing office. Later he became one of the most popular actors at the Salt Lake Theater. In 1868 McKenzie was made private secretary of Brigham Young; still later succeeded Horace K. Whitney in keeping the church books. He died March 10, 1912, in Salt Lake City. (*Ibid.*, page 698, footnote 58)

CONCLUSION

Although the Mormon leaders always denied that they were involved in counterfeiting, there is so much evidence to the contrary that it cannot be easily dismissed.

4. MORMONISM AND MONEY

The Mormon Church requires 10% of the income of its members for tithing. With this money the Mormon Church has become one of the richest churches in the world for its size. The *Doctrine and Covenants* threatens those who do not comply with the law of tithing with destruction. In section 64, verse 23, we read:

Behold, now it is called today until the coming of the Son of Man, and verily it is a day of sacrifice, and a day for the tithing of my people; **for he that is tithed shall not be burned at His coming.**

Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, threatened the members of the faculty as follows:

When I am called upon this year to pass on proposed promotions in academic rank for members of the faculty, I hope I do not have to refuse any on the ground that the nominee does not adhere in practice to one of the qualifications approved by the faculty of this institution for advancement in academic rank namely: "Adherence to the principles and teachings of the Gospel as taught by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," one of which is the **payment of tithing**. And I trust that such payment will be **voluntary**, for we do not want any person on this faculty to share his income with the Lord because of any coercion or compulsion. Should there be any member of the faculty who does not voluntarily desire to pay his tithing, **the honorable and manly thing for that person to do is to resign his position**. We shall be strong as individuals and collectively as a faculty only to the extent we exercise our free agency by freely choosing to obey the commandments and revelations of the Lord. (*The Principle and Practice of Paying Tithing*, from an address made to the members of the B.Y.U. faculty, September 25, 1957, page 24)

Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made these statements concerning tithing:

We have said pay your Tithing. And we have said to the Bishops that if any man refuses to pay his Tithing, **try him for his fellowship**; and if he still refuses, **cut him off** from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and so we say now. . . .

In regard to the Law of Tithing, the Lord has given the revelation I have already referred to, and made it a law unto us, and let all who have gathered here and refuse to obey it, be disfellowshipped; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, pages 283 and 285)

We have had trouble with men who refused to pay their Tithing, but the time has now come when a man that will not pay his Tithing is not fit to be in the Church. (Ibid., vol. 10, page 309)

Joseph Smith would not allow a person to participate in the temple ceremony unless he paid tithing. Erastus Snow stated: ". . . the Prophet Joseph instructed the brethren in charge, to the effect that none should be allowed to participate in the privileges of the House of God excepting those who shall produce a certificate from the General Church Recorder, certifying to the fact that they had paid up their tithing" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19, page 337). The Mormon Bishops are still instructed to ask those who are seeking a Temple Recommend if they pay their tithing. This appears as question number three in the Temple Recommend Book.

CHURCH FUNDS FOR PRIVATE GAIN

It is a well known fact that a person who has money to invest stands a very good chance of becoming rich. Brigham Young and other Mormon Church leaders used the Church funds and became wealthy. The Mormon writer Leonard J. Arrington stated:

Brigham Young and other church authorities, when need required it, drew on the tithing resources of the church, and at a later date repaid part or all of the obligation in money, property or services. **No interest seems to have been paid** for the use of these funds. . . . This ability to draw, almost at will, on church as well as his own funds, was a **great advantage to Brigham Young** and was certainly one of the reasons for his **worldly success**. . . . while Brigham Young was probably the **largest borrower** of funds from the trustee-in-trust, he was certainly not the only one. ("The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate," 1877-1879, Reprinted from the *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 21, number 1, February 1952, pages 7 and 8)

Brigham Young's practice of using Church funds for private speculation may have led others to do the same. In a sermon delivered June 15, 1856, Brigham Young stated:

I have **proof** ready to show that **Bishops** have taken in thousands of pounds in weight of tithing which they have never reported to the General Tithing Office. We have documents to show that Bishops have taken in hundreds of bushels of wheat, and only a small portion of it has come into the General Tithing Office; they **stole it to let their friends speculate upon**. If any one is doubtful about this, will you not call on me to produce my proof before a proper tribunal? I should take pleasure in doing so, but we **pass over** such things in mercy to the people. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 342)

During the last few years a great deal of money has been stolen by employees of the Mormon Church. In one instance more than half a million dollars was stolen by two of the Church's bookkeepers. On January 29, 1969, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed an article which contained the following statements:

Preliminary hearing for two men charged in connection with the theft of more than half a million dollars from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints started Tuesday, but was halted and continued to Feb. 14. . . .

Kay and Darrow are accused of thefts occurring over a period from Sept. 18, 1967, to Oct. 10, 1968. Police have recovered **more than \$72,000** in cash and cancelled checks **totaling \$604,199.65**. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 29, 1969)

On January 27, 1970, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

A jury . . . Wednesday found Seldon Clarence Darrow, 32, guilty of forging a check on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . .

LaMar Edward Kay, 42, 3440 – 5th East, accused in connection with the same thefts in October, 1968, was convicted two months ago of forgery and Monday began serving a one to 20-year sentence in the Utah State Prison. . . .

The two were charged in connection with the theft of more than a **half million dollars** from the church offices. . . .

At about this same time a theft of nearly \$72,000 was reported in the *Salt Lake Tribune*:

MURRAY—Chris Elmer Eugene Case, 40, was arraigned Wednesday . . . on two charges of forgery and one of grand larceny in connection with the theft of nearly \$72,000 from the LDS Church Office Credit Union.

Case is the former manager of the credit union operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 22, 1969)

According to the *Salt Lake Tribune* for May 15, 1969, the FBI became involved in this investigation:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation Wednesday confirmed it has joined investigation of thefts of thousands of dollars from the Credit Union of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 70 E. South Temple.

Chris E. Case, 40, the credit union's former manager . . . was arrested Tuesday after Florida lawmen traced telephone calls. . . .

Sgt. Bradford . . . said the FBI became interested when inquiring revealed that Western Union money orders in large sums were being used the past several months to transport money from Salt Lake City to California banks.

YOUNG BECOMES RICH

Just after Joseph Smith's death, Brigham Young made this statement: "I want my support and living by the church hereafter, so that I can give my whole time to the business of the church" (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 257). In 1851, however, Brigham Young claimed that he did not receive anything from the church. Hubert Howe Bancroft states:

In July 1859 Horace Greeley visited Brigham, who said: "I am the only person in the church who has not a regular calling apart from the church's service, and I never received one farthing from her treasury. If I obtain anything from the tithing-house, I am charged with and pay for it, just as any one else would. . . . I am called rich, and consider myself worth \$250,000; but no dollar of it was ever paid me by the church, nor for any service as a minister of the everlasting gospel." (*History of Utah*, page 351)

Although Brigham Young claimed that his riches came because of his ability, the evidence shows that he used his position as President of the Church to become rich. We have already shown that he used tithing funds for purposes of speculation and did not pay interest to the Church, and Orlando W. Powers, who served as associate justice of the supreme court of Utah, claimed that Young even had access to funds in the treasury of Salt Lake City:

After the Liberal Party had secured control of the city of Salt Lake, I procured an investigation to be made of the city records, which had been written up by the Mormon city recorders from the earliest time, . . .

The leading officials of the church seem to have had access to the city's treasury. On one occasion Brigham Young borrowed from the city of Salt Lake \$10,000. . . . In 1873 he borrowed \$14,000. The records show that other leading church officials at times borrowed from the city. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, pages 804-805)

John Cradlebaugh, who served as associate justice of the Second Judicial District in early Utah, made these comments about Brigham Young:

. . . Brigham himself is king, priest, lawgiver, and chief polygamist. . . He selects for himself the choicest spots of land in the Territory, and they yield him their productions, none daring to interfere.

The timber in the mountains for a great distance from Salt Lake City belongs to him, and it is only by delivering each third load, as he shall order, that the gates are open and the citizens allowed to pass up City creek canon to obtain it. . . The cattle on a thousand hills exhibit his brand. He fixes his pay—he pays himself. (“Utah and the Mormons,” a Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh, delivered in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1863, as printed in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, February 23, 1863, pages 121-122)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives this information:

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the proceedings of the assembly is the liberality with which valuable timber and pasture lands and water privileges were granted to favored individuals. By act of December 9, 1850, the control of City Creek and canon was granted to Brigham Young, who was required to pay therefor the sum of five hundred dollars. A month later the right to the timber in the canons of the mountain range that lay to the west of the Jordan was bestowed on George A. Smith. To Ezra T. Benson was granted the control of the timber in the canons and mountains at the entrance of Tooele Valley, of the canons between that point and Salt Lake Valley, and of the waters of Twin and Rock Springs in Tooele Valley. To Heber C. Kimball were given the waters of North Mill Creek canon—all these grants, with the exception of the first, being made without consideration. (*History of Utah*, page 451)

On page 675 of the same book, Bancroft states that “Brigham was certainly a millionaire, . . .” On page 674 we find this interesting information: “In the records of the internal revenue office at Washington his total income for 1870 is stated at \$25,500, in 1871 at \$111,680, and in 1872 at \$39,952.” Stanley P. Hirshon gives this information concerning Brigham Young:

In Utah he longed for more wives, additional converts, and greater power. In God’s and his church’s name he made the Great Basin his private possession. (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 139)

Within months of his migrations to Utah a thousand dollars in debt, Young by his own admission was rich. “Before I had been one year in this place,” he bragged in 1850, “the wealthiest man who came from the mines, Father Rhodes, with seventeen thousand dollars could not buy the possessions I had made in one year!” During the 1860’s the prophet’s personal income averaged \$32,000 a year, and in the 1870 census he declared personal property worth \$102,000 and real estate valued at \$1,010, 600. (Ibid., page 247)

Brigham Young himself made these statements:

In the early history of this Church, Joseph Smith was accused of being a speculator. So far as I am concerned, I never denied being a speculator; for in one sense of the word, it is one of the greatest speculations ever entered into by man. In building up the kingdom of God, I am decidedly **for self**, and so are you. If you wish to obtain wealth, power, glory, excellency, and exaltation of every kind, be for God and truth, and he will give to you more than your hearts can conceive of. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, page 155)

Brother Little exhorted the brethren, this morning, to take from their little piles, as he called them, and add to brother Brigham’s big pile. Brigham’s individual pile is already large enough. . . . I apparently own horses, carriages, houses, lands, flocks, herds, &c. The Lord has intrusted to me all this property, in his providence; I have not run after it or sought it, it is the Lord’s; if, under this consideration, you agree to add to Brigham’s “pile,” I am willing you should do so. (Ibid., vol. 10, pages 210-211)

I made a statement yesterday, which I can make again with all propriety—that in my judgment it would take more than I have got to pay my back Tithing, and **I have got as much, probably, as any man in the church.** (Ibid., vol. 16, page 70)

I have about as many buildings as anyone in this Territory, . . . (Ibid., vol. 17, page 362)

Wilford Woodruff, who later became president of the Church, made this statement concerning Brigham Young:

Should I, or any man in the kingdom of God feel for a moment to object to President Young’s handling or controlling gold or wealth for **his own benefit**, or the rolling of the kingdom? No, we should not. I wish he had his **millions**, for he has clearly manifested before our eyes, from the beginning until now, his talents and gifts as a financier; and we all know he has been profitable to the Church and kingdom of God, to Zion, and this whole people. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 321)

Heber C. Kimball made this statement concerning Brigham Young:

Our Governor will be rich, and there is not a man on God Almighty’s earth that will begin to compare with him: he will swallow them up in riches and blessings. (Ibid., vol. 6, page 191)

One means Brigham Young used to acquire his wealth was to charge the Mormon people \$10 for a bill of divorce. He made these statements concerning this matter:

At times it seems as though all hell and earth are combined to keep money out of my hands. A great many of the people would give me millions, if they had it; but most of those who have it will not part with it. . . . If you think you can keep the money from me, you will be mistaken, for I shall have what is necessary to carry on this work; and those who take a course to hedge up my way in business transactions, pertaining to carrying on this work, will go to the Devil. . . .

Some may think that my individual business is so mixed and combined with the public business that I

cannot keep them separate. This is not the case, . . . The teasers who come all the time after women, and soon get tired of them and want to divorce them, **I make pay ten dollars** for each divorce, and that is **my** individual bank. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, pages 201-202)

I have plenty of money for my private use. You may wish to know how I get it. I believe I will tell you how I get some of it. A **great many** of these Elders of Israel, soon after courting these young ladies, and old ladies, and middle-aged ladies, and having them sealed to them, want to have a bill of divorce. . . . when you ask for a bill of divorce, I intend that you shall pay for it. That keeps me in spending money, besides enabling me to give hundreds of dollars to the poor. . . . (Ibid., page 345)

I tell a man he has to give me ten dollars if he wants a divorce. For what? My services? No, for **his foolishness**. If you want a bill of divorce give me ten dollars, so that I can put it down in the book that such a man and such a woman have dissolved partnership. Do you think you have done so when you have obtained a bill of divorce? No, nor ever can if you are faithful to the covenants you have made. It takes a higher power than a bill of divorce to take a woman from a man who is a good man and honors his Priesthood . . . You might as well ask me for a piece of blank paper for a divorce, as to have a little writing on it, saying—"We mutually agree to dissolve partnership and keep ourselves apart from each other," &c. (Ibid., vol. 17, page 119)

On July 31, 1859, Brigham Young made these statements:

He then asked me whether I did not receive a salary.

I replied, "No, my friend; I can truly say to you that I do not have the value of a cabbage-head from the Tithing Office, unless I pay for it."

"What!" said he, "do you not have pay for your services? You devote all your time."

I remarked that I should count myself a poor hand to dictate this people and hold the position I occupy in the providence of God, unless I was capable of maintaining myself and family without assistance from the Church, though I have had a great deal given to me by the members of the Church. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 346)

While it is probably true that a great deal was given to Brigham Young by members of the church, there is evidence to show that Young could be very demanding in his request for gifts. In a letter to Samuel Brannan, Brigham Young stated:

If you want to continue to prosper, do not forget the Lord's treasury, lest He forget you; for with the liberal; the Lord is liberal. And when you have settled with the treasury, I want you to remember, that Bro. Brigham has long been destitute of a home and suffered heavy losses and incurred great expense in searching out a location and planting the church in this place, and he wants you to send him a **present of twenty thousand dollars in gold dust**, to help him in his labors. This is but a trifle when gold is so plenty, but it will do me much good at this time.

I hope that Bro. Brannan will remember that, when he has complied with my request, my council will not be equal with me unless you **send \$20,000 more** to be divided between Bros. Kimball and Richards, who like myself are straitened; **a hint to the wise is sufficient**, so when this is accomplished, you will have our united blessing, and our hearts will exclaim "God bless Bro. Brannan and give him fourfold, for all he has given us."

Now Bro. Brannan if you will deal justly with your fellows and deal out with liberal heart and open hands, making a righteous use of all your money, the Lord is willing you should accumulate the rich treasures of the earth and the good things of time in abundance; but should you withhold, when the Lord says give; your hopes and pleasing prospects will be blasted in an hour you think not of—and no arm can save. (Letter by Brigham Young, "Journal History," April 5, 1849, pages 3-4, as cited in *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God. Son of Thunder*, page 191)

Harold Schindler makes this comment concerning Brigham Young's letter to Samuel Brannan: ". . . Young's letter smacked more of a demand than a request" (Ibid., page 191).

Even devout Mormons have had to admit that Brigham Young seemed to love riches. Benjamin F. Johnson made this statement concerning Young:

Brigham, . . . opened his mouth in a strange tongue. This was the first heard by Joseph. He said at once that it was the language of our first parents. At that time he made the prediction upon the head of Brigham Young that "he at some period would become the leader of the Church, and there would be but one danger to beset him and that would be his love of wealth." . . . I am witness that after the Prophet's death Brigham Young became Israel's Great Leader, a Prophet, Seer and Revelator to the Church in all the world. Yet I know that he was a great financier and at times did manifest **a love for wealth**, and made mistakes, some of which he may not have lived fully to rectify. But with all of his mistakes, private or public, his voice was ever the voice of the True Shepherd to Israel. (Letter from Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, 1903, mimeographed copy)

The Mormon writer Hyrum L. Andrus made these comments concerning Brigham Young:

In his ability to commune with with [*sic*] the Infinite, however, Joseph Smith was far superior to Brigham Young. Both men were also natural leaders. But here again, Joseph Smith possessed abilities far above those of Brigham Young. Brigham Young did exceed the Prophet in the **ability to accumulate** wealth according to nineteenth century practices. But in the ability to organize man and project plans and schemes designed to benefit people, Joseph Smith was far in advance of his successor. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Winter 1966, page 123)

Brigham Young's worldly example with regard to riches has had a very bad effect on the Mormon leaders who have followed him.

JOSEPH F. SMITH'S TESTIMONY

In the *Reed Smoot Case*, Joseph F. Smith, the sixth President of the Mormon Church, gave the following testimony:

Mr. Tayler. What is your business?
Mr. Smith. My principle business is that of president of the church.
Mr. Tayler. In what other business are you engaged?
Mr. Smith. I am engaged in **numerous** other businesses.
Mr. Tayler. What?
Mr. Smith. I am president of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution.
.....
Mr. Tayler. Of what other corporations are you an officer?
Mr. Smith. I am president of the State Bank of Utah, another institution.
Mr. Tayler. What else?
Mr. Smith. Zions Savings Bank and Trust Company.
Mr. Tayler. What else?
Mr. Smith. I am president of the Utah Sugar Company.
Mr. Tayler. What else?
Mr. Smith. I am president of the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company.
Mr. Tayler. What else?
Mr. Smith. There are several other **small** institutions with which I am associated.
Mr. Tayler. Are you associated with the Utah Light and Power Company?
Mr. Smith. I am.
Mr. Tayler. In what capacity?
Mr. Smith. I am a director and president of the company.
Mr. Tayler. A director and the president?
Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.
Mr. Tayler. Had you that in mind when you classified the others as small concerns?
Mr. Smith. No, sir; I had not that in mind.
Mr. Tayler. That is a large concern?
Mr. Smith. That is a large concern.
Mr. Tayler. Are you an officer of the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad Company?
Mr. Smith. I am.

Mr. Tayler. What?
Mr. Smith. President and director.
.....
Mr. Tayler. Of what else are you president?
Mr. Smith. I am president of the Salt Air Beach Company.
.....
Mr. Tayler. What else, if you can recall?
Mr. Smith. I do not recall just now.
.....
Mr. Tayler. What relation do you sustain to the Idaho Sugar Company?
Mr. Smith. I am a director of that company and also the president of it.
Mr. Tayler. Of the Inland Crystal Salt Company?
Mr. Smith. Also the same position there.
Mr. Tayler. The Salt Lake Dramatic Association?
Mr. Smith. I am president of that and also a director.
Mr. Tayler. Are you president of any other corporation there?
Mr. Smith. I do not know. Perhaps you can tell me. I do not remember any more just now.
Mr. Tayler. It would seem that the number has grown so large that it would be an undue tax upon your memory to charge you with naming them all.
.....
Mr. Tayler. What relation do you sustain to the Salt Lake Knitting Company? Did I ask you about it?
Mr. Smith. No, sir; you did not.
Mr. Tayler. The Salt Lake Knitting Company?
Mr. Smith. I am president of it, and also a director.
.....
Mr. Tayler. The Union Pacific Railway Company?
Mr. Smith. I am a director.
.....
Mr. Tayler. Are you an official of any mining companies?
Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.
Mr. Tayler. What?
Mr. Smith. I am the vice-president of the Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company.
.....
Mr. Tayler. The Deseret News?
Mr. Smith. No, sir.

Mr. Tayler. You have no business relation with that?

Mr. Smith. No sir.

....

Mr. Tayler. Is the Deseret News the organ of the church?

Mr. Smith. Well, I suppose it is in some sense the organ of the church. It is not opposed to the church, at least.

Mr. Tayler. It has for years published, has it not, at the head of its columns, that it is the organ of the church, or the official organ of the church?

Mr. Smith. Not that I know of.

....

Mr. Tayler. Do you know who own it?

Mr. Smith. How is that?

Mr. Tayler. Do you know who own it?

Mr. Smith. I know who owns the building that it is in.

Mr. Tayler. Who owns the building in which it is published?

Mr. Smith. The church.

Mr. Tayler. The church?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. Tell us what you know about the owners of that newspaper.

Mr. Smith. It has been for a number of years past owned by a company—an incorporated company.

Mr. Tayler. What is the name of the company?

Mr. Smith. The Deseret News Publishing Company.

Mr. Tayler. Do you know who its officers are?

Mr. Smith. Now, it is not owned by that company.

Mr. Tayler. Oh, it is not?

Mr. Smith. No; it is not.

Mr. Tayler. What do you know—

Mr. Smith. But I say for years it was owned by a company of that kind.

Mr. Tayler. What do you know about its present ownership?

Mr. Smith. I presume that the present ownership is in the church.

Mr. Tayler. You suppose the present owner is the church?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; the church.

....

Mr. Tayler. I do not want to have any misconstruction put upon your use of the word “presume” because you do not know that it is so owned?

Mr. Smith. I really do not know so that I could tell you positively.

Mr. Tayler. Who would know?

Mr. Smith. I presume I could find out.

Mr. Tayler. Could you find out before you leave Washington?

Mr. Smith. Perhaps so.

(*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, pages 81, 82, 83, 86, 87 and 88)

Some time later Joseph F. Smith testified as follows:

Mr. Tayler. In what form does your church have title to the Deseret News property?

Mr. Smith. It owns the deed.

Mr. Tayler. I am speaking now of the newspaper, not the building.

Mr. Smith. The press; yes. I would like to state that when I was asked that question before, Mr. Tayler, I was not aware of the fact that I have since learned from my counsel here that during the trusteeship of Lorenzo Snow the Deseret News plant was transferred from the Deseret News Company to Lorenzo Snow, trustee, in trust. I was not aware of the fact, Mr. Chairman, when that question was asked me yesterday, I believe it was. I have since learned that that is the fact and that my counsel, who is here, made out the papers for the transfer.

....

Mr. Tayler. So that it is now in you as trustee in trust?

Mr. Smith. Now **I own it as trustee in trust.** Furthermore, I will say that I have discovered since yesterday that there is published on the second or third page of the Deseret News the statement that it is the organ of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, . . . (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, page 158)

OVER \$1,000,000 A DAY

Joseph F. Smith’s testimony was given over fifty years ago. Since that time the Mormon Church has become even more involved in business. The following is taken from an article which appeared in *Newsweek*:

The biggest commercial enterprise in the West, excepting only the massive Bank of America in California, is a strictly non-commercial organization called the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, better known as the Mormons. . . . income pours in from the church’s vast collection of business and real-estate investments, ranging from the Hotel Utah on Salt Lake City’s Temple Square to a 260,000-acre Florida cattle ranch. All told, the cash flow reaches an estimated \$1 million a day—enough to finance the Mormon’s schools, missionary work, temple-building, and other church expenses, and still leave millions to plow back into other worthy commercial investments. . . .

But even true believers might be surprised by the latest investment, announced last week in New York. The Mormon church purchased (for \$1.3 million) a plot of land in the heart of Mid-town Manhattan as a site for a “30-or 40-story” skyscraper—to include a chapel, auditorium, library, church administrative offices, along with offices or apartments for public rental. . . .

Investment Man: But the center of the Mormon’s operations is still—and will remain—the three-story, white marble office building in Salt Lake City, where a onetime lawyer named Henry Dinwoodie Moyle presides over all the Mormons’ financial activities. Officially, Moyle is the “First Counselor in the First Presidency,” second-ranking man in the Mormon hierarchy and adviser on money matters to David O. McKay, Prophet, Seer and Revelator, and President. In fact, Moyle is something of a one-man holding company.

Along with the hotel and the cattle operation, Moyle supervises Utah’s \$16.9 million-a-year ZCMI (Zion Co-Operative Mercantile Institution) department store (51 per cent owned), the wholly owned Beneficial Life Insurance Co. (with assets of \$85 million), and a major interest in the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. (last year’s earnings: \$2 million). He oversees a newspaper, radio station, motel, and book firm, plus ranches in Texas, Alberta, and California. A passel of undeveloped properties are currently held by the Zion Securities Corp., which buys up real estate and manages it until the church is ready to develop it for religious or commercial purposes.

But Moyle believes just as firmly that “the church can do anything anyone else can do” in the way of investing. While most of its holdings were first started to help develop the Salt Lake valley or to provide a real-estate base for church expansion, the church has not shied away when these turned into commercial successes. Its preference, by tradition, is for real estate . . . the church . . . is now putting up a brand-new \$3.6 million suburban outlet for its ZCMI store. It is building a seventeen-story annex on the Hotel Utah, . . . (*Newsweek*, “Latter-Day Profits,” January 22, 1962, pages 67-68)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart seems willing to admit that the Church brings in more than a **million** dollars a day: “Today the LDS Church is in excellent financial condition, having one of the greatest incomes of any private organization in the United States. **More than a million dollars per day** in tithing and other funds pour continuously into its treasury” (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 183).

The records which show where the tithing is spent are kept secret from the Mormon people. Dr. Sperry, of Brigham Young University, made this statement:

Dr. Talmage told me that he showed this man [R. C. Webb] even the records where the tithing money went, which is something **even you cannot get**, except for your own accounts, today, but he felt inspired to do it. (*Pearl of Great Price Conference*, December 10, 1960, 1964 edition, page 6)

Neil Morgan wrote the following in an article entitled “Utah: How Much Money Hath the Mormon Church?”

In the minds of two million Mormons, including a prospective candidate for President of the United States, Zion is that booming, gold-plated spiritual empire which fans out from the spires of the majestic Mormon Temple at the heart of Salt Lake City. . . . The church has attained—through faithful tithes and shrewd investments and business operations—a spectacular wealth. It is fast becoming, if it is not already, the richest church of its size in the world. Unquestionably it controls the greatest aggregation of capital in the states of the Rocky Mountain area. . . . this thriving empire of Zion moves out past the granite statue of Brigham Young at the head of Main Street. It encompasses at least seventy-one major pieces of downtown Salt Lake City commercial property owned by the church, and a hefty number of the city’s businesses.

Zion has a foothold in New York City, where a Mormon-owned skyscraper will be completed in 1965. . . . Until recent years, the annual public statement by the church itemized disbursements; they soared above \$55,000,000. In more recent years disbursements **have not been made public**. The income of the church has not been announced in any recent public report. . . .

The reticence of the Mormon church to discuss its wealth is understandable. Most Mormons are people of modest income, whose rigid ten percent tithe is not the end of their financial obligation to the church. They give heavily of their time and remaining funds to the construction of temples and churches, and to the church welfare program. A poor Mormon farmer near the hamlets of Moroni, Ephraim or Manti—educated to the high standards of his church—might occasionally bristle at some family sacrifice necessary to meet his tithe if the extent of church wealth were known to him. (*Esquire*, August 1962, pages 86-91)

Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of the Seventy, tries to justify the church’s involvement in business by stating: “Since the kingdom of God on earth is concerned with temporal as well as eternal salvation, there are of course banking, insurance, industrial, agricultural and other business enterprises in which the Church has an interest” (*Mormon Doctrine*, 1966, page 141). Joseph H. Weston stated:

Active participation of the Latter-day Saints church in business affairs has been a thing difficult for many people to understand. . . .

The church has never failed to furnish its own accumulated capital for enterprises that would provide more employment for the faithful and, if possible, return an honest dollar or two in profit to the church treasury. (*These Amazing Mormons*, page 49)

The Mormon Church leaders have tried to keep the members of the church from finding out how involved in business the church has become. Joseph H. Weston quotes J. Reuben Clark, who was a member of the First Presidency, as saying the following:

“Not always has the purpose of participating by the Church in financial and industrial operations been understood. Sometimes a criticism has come that the Church was seeking to dominate and control the financial or industrial operations of certain areas, particularly in the State of Utah. The activities of the Church in these matters have never been motivated by such a purpose. The investments of the Church, . . . have been relatively small, . . .

“In its investments the Church has never been motivated by the mere desire of making money. It has, of course, not wished to make investments which were not profitable, . . .” (J. Reuben Clark, as quoted in *These Amazing Mormons*, page 51)

J. Reuben Clark’s statement that the investments of the church have been relatively small certainly does not agree with the statement in *Newsweek* that the Mormon Church is the “biggest commercial enterprise in the West, excepting only the massive Bank of America.”

In 1960 the Mormon Church leaders announced some fantastic building plans. The headline of the *Deseret News* for October 7, 1960, read: “Pres. McKay Opens Conference; Vast Building Plans Disclosed.” In the article which followed these statements appeared:

A dramatic multi-million dollar building program for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which will make sweeping changes on the administrative square and on Temple Square, was disclosed Friday.

The program, covering a period of many years, calls for:

—Erection of a 38-story office building on the administrative square bordered by State, South Temple, Main and North Temple Streets.

—Construction of a modernistic 11-story Archives Building on the northeast corner of the intersection of Main and North Temple Streets. . . .

—Building a larger and more functional Temple Annex building that will provide 91,000 square feet of space.

—Addition of a 17-story annex to the Hotel Utah.

. . .

A plaza with a fountain will be centered in the block behind the new Administration Building.

A reflecting pool on an axis across Main Street from the Temple will mirror the historic building.

To tower 500 feet above ground level, the new office building will be the first structure on the block to go up, Mr. Mendenhall said.

It will be erected on the northeast corner of the block, . . .

Mr. Mendenhall said the skyscraper will provide more than a million square feet of office space, with 30,000 square feet on each floor.

Plans for an observation tower atop the proposed 38-story Administration Building are tentative. Building Office spokesmen said telescopes may be installed for viewing the Salt Lake Valley from atop the building. . . .

It will require about 20 elevators, Mr. Mendenhall said. . . . (*Deseret News*, October 7, 1960)

According to the *Deseret News* for May 6, 1961, the Mormon Church had even greater plans. Not only were they going to build a 38-story office building, but also a new Genealogical building which was “expected to be the largest genealogical research center in the world,” and the 11-story Archives Building had been increased to 15 stories:

The Historian’s Office and Library will be quartered in a new 15-story Archives building on the north-east corner of Main and North Temple . . .

The Genealogical Society, including the Temple Archives and the rapidly expanding research library with their microfilm viewing machines, will occupy a new research center to be erected on Redwood Road and 21st South. . . . It is expected to be the largest genealogical research center in the world. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, May 6, 1961, page 3)

The Church has started to build the skyscraper, but some of the other plans appear to have been either postponed or canceled. The skyscraper will not be as tall as originally announced, but it will certainly be expensive. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for July 17, 1969, contained this information:

In a joint venture, two Utah firms offered the apparent low bid Wednesday for the 25-story office building of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . .

Low base bid of \$31,396,000 was submitted by Christiansen Brothers, Inc., and W. W. Clyde & Co., 209 W. 13th South.

It was only two-tenths of one percent lower than the second lowest bid, \$31,485,000 . . .

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for December 22, 1970, reported that the skyscraper was to be a “30-story” building. If this is correct, it will cost more than a million dollars a floor.

Wallace Turner gives this information regarding the Church’s involvement in business matters:

In all particulars, it is difficult to discuss the financial status of the LDS church. Precise information is lacking. The church has a policy of secrecy on financial matters that makes it difficult to check the accuracy of reports picked up from non-church sources. . . .

Most Mormons try hard to pay the tithe . . . They are a devout people, and their religion demands so much else of them that the sacrifice of the tithe can be carried without flinching.

The economic impact of paying is community-wide. Its meaning can be illustrated by one example given to me by a highly reliable source in Salt Lake City. He spoke of a small Mormon settlement with which he was acquainted. He said that of the two score families, seven were on relief and three or four tithed only occasionally, leaving about twenty-nine or thirty families to carry the load. Yet the tithing income to the general authorities in Salt Lake City from this village was about \$9000 a year.

This is very important money. It is about all that the relatively poor people of that little settlement could afford for outside investment. When they surrendered this for the good of their souls, it meant that an equivalent amount of work was not going to be done somewhere in the social-economic structure of their village. It meant that they could not invest in new machines, new homes, or even in stock ownership. Such figures must be multiplied many times, and such examples repeated over and over as the church each year amasses its millions and millions.

What happens to all of this money? Only a dim picture filters through to the outside world of the decision-making process. Even the network of pipelines through which the money goes out is not well understood except in the top reaches of the LDS Establishment. . . .

No one outside the top administrative levels of the church can say in detail where the money goes. . . . It costs something to operate the bureaucracy in Salt Lake City, but not so much as might be expected, since so much work is done for nothing, and much of the rest is done at prices far below the going rate for the talent involved. . . .

There are many other church-owned properties in downtown Salt Lake City. By one reliable estimate, the church owns thirty acres of downtown property. Periodically, a struggle can be seen by which the Saints seek to recover a bit of land alienated from their control. The Zions Securities Corporation, a wholly owned subsidiary of the church, takes the lead in these operations. Spokesmen for the church always point out that Zions Securities pays taxes on what it earns.

In addition to the Hotel Utah, the church owns the Hotel Temple Square and the Hotel Utah Motor Lodge. Not long ago it turned the New Ute Hotel into a hostelry for missionaries. It owns the new Kennecott Building on the site of a bank which the church once owned. . . .

In addition to the network of chapels, office buildings, and other real estate holdings which are the dominant realty interest of Salt Lake City, the Saints also have a set of business holdings that are essential to supplemental programs of the church. These include a newspaper, the *Deseret News*, . . . KSL radio and KSL-TV, both wholly owned by the church . . . and interests in KBOI-TV in Boise, KID in Idaho Falls, and KIRO radio and KIRO-TV in Seattle. . . .

It is through the *Deseret News* that the LDS church holds 300,000 shares of stock in the Times Mirror Corporation, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, one of the nation's most important newspapers and by far the best published in the West. There are about 5,500,000 shares of common stock so that the church's ownership amounts to about 5.5 per cent. . . . The Mormon ownership traces back to the purchase by the Times and the News of the Hawley Pulp and Paper Company at Oregon City, Oregon, after World War II. This venerable paper plant was renamed Publishers' Paper, built up, and has become a major source of newsprint. Early in 1965 Times Mirror Corporation exchanged the large block of its stock for the 32.3 per cent of Publishers' Paper owned by the *News*. This made the LDS church an important stockholder in the *Los Angeles Times*. In early 1966, the stock was worth approximately \$18,675,000. . . .

The church also owns the Deseret Bookstores which provide an outlet for the various publications of the church, as well as for commercially printed books of other publishers. . . . the nineteen-story Kennecott Building was opened in 1965, built by the church to be

filled with offices of the copper mining company. . . . The church owns about 60 per cent of Utah and Idaho Sugar Company; . . . The church owned about 15 percent of Amalgamated and traded it for a block of U. & I. owned by Floyd Odlum, the investor and business manager. Odlum sold his Amalgamated, but the church kept its U. & I. so that today it dominates the beet sugar company.

The Mormons own the Beneficial Life Insurance Company. . . . The church also has the Home Fire Insurance Company. . . .

Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) goes back to the foundations of the religious colony in the desert. Today, it is one of the most progressive department stores in Salt Lake City . . . The church owns about a third of the stock, which is enough for control. But the management is not controlled by the church in the same sense that it controls, say, the *Deseret News*.

In 1952 the church took an interesting step to assure the *News* of a clear field in the afternoon newspaper market in Salt Lake City. It bought out the competing *Telegram* which had been operated by the morning *Salt Lake Tribune*, owned by generations of Catholics and once viciously anti-Mormon. . . . Soon after this purchase, the *Tribune* and the *Deseret News* formed a joint printing, circulation and advertising solicitation company—the Newspaper Agency Corporation . . .

At one time the church owned about two-thirds of the stock of the Hotel Utah. This other stock was called in and bought up a year or so before the hotel corporation borrowed \$4 million from Salt Lake banks in the 1960s for a modernization program. . . .

Over the years, the Saints have acquired huge ranch properties, some of which are operated as a part of the welfare program, some of which are not. The Canadian ranches include about 80,000 acres near Cardston, Alberta, where thousands of head of feeding cattle are kept. The proceeds go toward costs of new chapels and other building programs in Canada. Originally, the ranches were bought because tithing money from the thousands of Canadian Saints could not be taken out of Canada. . . .

The Deseret Farms in Florida were bought in 1950. This amounted to about 220,000 acres of swampland. The land was drained. The insect pests were destroyed. About 30,000 head of cattle were put for feeding. (*The Mormon Establishment*, Boston, 1966, pages 105, 108-111, 113-114, 116-119)

However, no one should mistake the underlying truth that in Salt Lake City one must get along with the LDS church in order to be reasonably successful in big enterprise. It is unquestionably true that the major corporations doing business in Utah always have an eye cocked and an ear tuned for messages from the First Presidency. . . . There are prominent men in the capital of the Saints who were born into the LDS church but have not set foot inside one of its chapels for decades. Yet, they daily deal in the currency of being Mormons. They would never withdraw from the church, for to do so would be disastrous to their business operations. . . .

When all of these things have been said; when the position of the church against credit and in favor of careful financial management has been enunciated from the top; when the glorious achievements in philanthropy, education and health care of the Saints have been set forth—

After all of these, there still remains a computation printed in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in May, 1965. Utah's bankruptcy rate jumped in a year by 38 per cent, while the national increase was only 10 per cent. The bankruptcy proceedings in Utah wiped out debts of about \$10 million that year. There was one bankruptcy for every 714 persons, compared to one nationally for every 1100 persons. Almost all of these were filed for individuals who were overly extended in installment buying.

Finally, one of the financial experts I talked with said that he sees the Mormon country as a debtor area, kept that way by the heavy financial demands of the church on its people. . . .

One Mormon in an important administrative job said that one year he kept track of the demands on his money. He found that if he had met all of them, it would have amounted to 35 per cent of his income for the church and its related activities.

Another man of equal stature in the same field said he could not imagine such a figure would be accurate. He doubted if it could be much over 15 per cent. Certainly, he said, no higher than 20 per cent.

"Unless," he qualified, "they were building some new meeting houses in his ward. He would be expected to contribute heavily."

Yet a different Mormon told of borrowing \$500 which it took him a long time to repay. This was the amount he was told to contribute to a new church building. It was proper for him to borrow his contribution but improper for the LDS ward to borrow.

He since has quit going to church. (Ibid., pages 133-136)

On January 4, 1969, the Church Section of the *Deseret News* printed an article in which the following appeared:

An agreement in principle to purchase the corporate stock of Deseret Farms of Florida, Inc., has been entered into between The GAC Corp., a multi-million-dollar diversified eastern U. S. firm, and Zions Securities Corp., real estate arm of the Church. . . . The proposed purchase price would be in the neighborhood of **\$100 million**.

The Church property consists of approximately 260,000 acres, including buildings, timberlands, citrus groves and 60,000 head of cattle, and has been up for sale almost three years.

The *Deseret News*, Church Section, for February 7, 1970, however, announced that the "sale of some 265,000 acres of land owned by Deseret Farms of Florida, Inc. in central Florida has been cancelled."

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for November 15, 1970, gave this interesting information concerning the Church's Zions Securities Corporation:

In the founding days of Salt Lake City . . . the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints founded and funded many commercial enterprises.

By the 1920s, however, the church leadership deemed it wise to separate the ecclesiastical from the temporal.

Thus was created Zions Securities Corp., one of several semi-autonomous enterprises that conduct their dealings with the church—at arm's length distance. . . .

Vice president and general manager of Zions Securities Corp. is 53-year-old J. Howard Dunn, . . .

As the chief operating officer, Mr. Dunn runs Zions as any other executive runs a corporation—more or less free to make his own operating decisions within certain guidelines set down by the church's First Presidency. . . .

Zions Securities Corp. owns the Kennecott Building, the Salt Lake Industrial Center, the Eagle Gate Apartments and ZCMI and is the developer and owner of the new ZCMI Center.

It recently acquired the J. C. Penney Co. Building, now under construction at Main and Broadway (300 South), from Zions Utah Bancorporation.

It owns 20,000 acres of farm land in Florida. It also is owner and manager of the Village of Laie in Hawaii, site of the Church College of Hawaii and the Polynesian Cultural Center.

It also owns substantial acreage in the downtown area of Salt Lake City. . . . Zions employs 130 persons locally. In addition it has about 25 to 30 employe[e]s in Hawaii. . . .

While the corporation is concerned with earnings, this is not an end in itself. Its ownership of lands in the downtown area is in part calculated to assure the qualitative land use and development that will complement the city—the world center for the church. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 15, 1970)

On May 28, 1969, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed the following concerning a shopping mall planned for the ZCMI block:

ZCMI President Harold H. Bennett Tuesday unveiled preliminary plans for a major downtown shopping mall in the ZCMI block. . . .

Mr. Bennett declined to put a price of the cost of the structure. He said, however, it would be substantially in excess of the cost of the Salt Palace, now pegged as a \$19 million investment.

Asked about financing of the project, Mr. Bennett said ZCMI would be a tenant in the mall and that the development is being handled by Zions Securities Corp., the real estate arm of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The development will center about an interior mall and will have some 70 stores. It will also provide parking for 2,000 cars. . . .

The structure anticipates the eventual construction of a 20-story office tower on the east side of the block. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 28, 1969)

On August 7, 1970, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

NORTH SALT LAKE—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has signed a letter of intent to purchase the Valley Music Hall, for an undisclosed sum. . . .

The theater-in-the-round was originally valued at \$1.5 million . . . and was hailed as the largest of its kind in the world. Its circular amphitheater has a 200-foot diameter and is five stories high from floor to ceiling.

If the sale is approved, the church would use the building for a regional meeting center of church-related programs, according to N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in the First Presidency. . . .

The sale also would include 10 acres of land, including a 1,500-car parking lot, and option for 10 additional acres. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, August 7, 1970)

Several years ago the Mormon Church purchased the Forest Dale Golf Course property from Salt Lake City. This purchase caused a great deal of controversy at the time, and, according to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 16, 1970, some city officials are displeased with the arrangement:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sent a check for \$6,850 as final payment to Salt Lake City for the Forest Dale Golf Course property, 2400–9th East.

The golf course property was sold in an agreement with the city and Corporation of the President of the LDS Church Jan. 14, 1959. . . .

Salt Lake City commissioners delegated Commissioner Conrad B. Harrison to meet with church officials and those of Brigham Young University to discuss the possibility again of the city repurchasing the golf course property or obtaining a long-term lease for its use.

The golf course was sold to the church by the city because church officials had proposed construction of a junior college on the property. But since that time no construction was ever started and the church later leased the golf course to the city for \$4,500 per year. . . .

Mayor J. Bracken Lee told the commission he had always desired that the city buy the golf course back. But, he said, it appears this is going to be impossible. . . .

Public Safety Commissioner James L. Barker Jr. said the church should build a college or let the city repurchase the land for a similar amount for which it paid. He said it was sold to allow the church to build the college and it certainly would not have been sold to any private developers. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, December 16, 1970)

The Mormon Church's attempt to buy many radio and television stations has caused some concern among the Gentiles. The *Deseret News*, for September 5, 1964, printed an article which contained the following:

A Merger of the three electronic communications companies owned or controlled by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into a single company to be called the Bonneville International Corporation, was announced Friday.

The new company includes KSL Television and Radio, Salt Lake City; KIRO Television and Radio, Seattle, Wash.; and WRUL International shortwave stations in New York. It will be headquartered in Salt Lake City. . . .

The Church owns approximately 82 per cent of the stock in KSL Inc., 99 per cent of KIRO, Inc., and 100 per cent of WRUL operations. (*Deseret News*, September 5, 1964)

Commissioner Robert T. Bartley, of the Federal Communications Commission, gave the following information in a letter written to a man in Utah in 1967:

I am pleased to furnish the following answers to your recent questions about broadcast facilities of the Mormon Church.

I voted against granting consent to the assignment of FM Station WRFM, New York City, from William H. Reuman to International Educational Broadcasting Corporation (of the Mormon Church), . . .

In my opinion, an adequate showing had not been made that operation of the station by the multiple, absentee owner would better serve the public interest than continued operation by the local, individual licensee.

Broadcast facilities in which the Mormon Church has ownership interest are as follows:

Salt Lake City, Utah

KSL (AM) 50, 000 watts

KSL (FM) 13 kilowatts

KSL (TV) 33.1 kilowatts, visual

18.2 kilowatts, aural

Seattle, Washington

KIRO (AM) 50,000 watts

KIRO (FM) 16.5 kilowatts

KIRO (TV) 316 kilowatts, visual

158 kilowatts, aural

Idaho Falls, Idaho

KID (AM) 5,0000 watts, day; 1,000 watts, night

KID (FM) 41 kilowatts

KID (TV) 100 kilowatts, visual

60.3 kilowatts, aural

Boise, Idaho

KBOI (AM) 5, 000 watts

KBOI (FM) 17.5 kilowatts

KBOI (TV) 65 kilowatts, visual

33 kilowatts, aural

New York City, New York

WRFM (FM) 20 kilowatts

Scituate, Massachusetts

WNYW (International Station)

50,000 watts for each of its transmitters. Pending is an application to move the station to New Jersey and increase power of each transmitter to 250,000 watts.

I have no record of proposed acquisitions by the Church.

The request of KSL for operation with 750,000 watts is involved in a basic policy determination by the Commission which has not been concluded. (Letter from Commissioner Robert T. Bartley, Federal Communications Commission, dated January 3, 1967)

Just a month after Commissioner Bartley wrote the letter cited above, the *Salt Lake Tribune* announced that the Church was considering the purchase of two more radio stations in Kansas City:

Arch L. Madsen, president of Bonneville International Corp., Friday announced acquisition of two Kansas City radio stations pending approval by Federal Communications Commission.

Mr. Madsen said the corporation, broadcast arm of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has contracted for the purchase of KMBC-AM and KMBR-FM. . . Purchase price was \$2,000,000. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1967)

On July 19, 1967, Dr. John J. Flynn, of the University of Utah, charged that the “public communications media in Salt Lake City is in the hands of a cartel”:

WASHINGTON—A University of Utah law professor charged Wednesday that joint business operations of Salt Lake City daily newspapers resulted in “news suppression” and discourages competition by other newspapers.

Dr. John J. Flynn, associate professor of law, testified before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly sub-committee in opposition to a bill which would grant limited antitrust exemption to joint commercial operations of newspapers or mergers of competing newspapers. . . .

He charged that “horizontal and vertical interlocks” among and between newspapers, television and radio stations in the Salt Lake area “have resulted in cartelization of the communications media.”

Since 1952, he said, the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Utah’s two major newspapers, “have been united in the Newspaper Agency Corporation, a combination the proposed legislation—S. 1312—would sanction.”

“The only honest description that can be applied to the Salt Lake City market—measured by the daily and Sunday newspapers, the commercial television stations, and the major network—affiliated radio stations, is that the public communications media in Salt Lake City is in the hands of a cartel,” Dr. Flynn asserted

“The pessimism and fear expressed by this conclusion may seem paranoid, until one realizes the control the ownership of the *Deseret News* and *Tribune* exercise over other forms of news media,” Dr. Flynn said.

“The Mormon Church-owned *Deseret News* also owns KSL-TV (Channel 5), a CBS affiliate, and KSL Radio, a CBS radio affiliate.

“The *Tribune* owns 50 per cent control of KUTV (Channel 2), an NBC affiliate. The remaining 50 per cent is owned by the Glasmann family, the owners of the sole newspaper in Utah’s second largest city, Ogden. . . .

“The newspapers involved in the Newspaper Agency Corporation have interlocking ownership with three television stations and one radio station and a community of economic interest with the other newspaper, the *Ogden Standard Examiner*, and one other major radio station,” Dr. Flynn charged. . . .

He noted that both newspapers “actively campaigned” editorially for the civic auditorium and sports arena, . . .

He said that several parcels of land in the area where the auditorium was to be constructed were owned by the Mormon Church, “owners of the *Deseret News*.” The owners of the *Tribune*, he said, are also major landowners in the area and, he said, both papers had an economic interest in passage of the bond issue. (*Deseret News*, July 20, 1967, page 12A)

On August 10, 1967, the *Deseret News* printed an article in which the following appeared:

WASHINGTON—Utah witnesses presented sharply divergent testimony Wednesday before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on a proposed bill to limit antitrust prosecutions of joint newspaper printing and business agencies.

Utah Atty. Gen. Phil L. Hansen charged that both Salt Lake City newspapers “have been above the law for some time” and said his office was instituting investigation of both papers.

DENY CHARGE

Both George L. Nelson, legal counsel for the *Deseret News*, and John W. Gallivan, publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune* and president of the Newspaper Agency Corporation which prints both papers, denied Mr. Hansen’s charges. . . .

“I think they (Salt Lake City newspapers) have been above the law for some time now,” Mr. Hansen charged. He told the subcommittee that his office was instituting investigation of both papers, “with the firm and vigorous intention to bring state or U.S. antitrust cases” against them.

DESPITE LOSSES

The Utah attorney also criticized practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which he said would continue to run the *Deseret News* “despite losses” if the Newspaper Agency Corporation were dissolved. “Let’s keep the profits and the prophets separated,” he declared.

Thursday, Mr. Hansen told a reporter his antitrust suit against Salt Lake City’s major newspapers would include efforts to obtain financial records of the Mormon Church.

Hansen—who claims the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* control a communications cartel—said he also will try to gain access through the courts to financial records of two other communications holdings. . . .

He said he would seek records—but only those records necessary in an attempt to find antitrust violations of the companies which he said have the following holdings:

—The Mormon Church, owner of the *Deseret News* and KSL radio and television stations in Salt Lake City and with interests also in eight other radio and television stations in Utah, Idaho, Washington, Missouri and New York.

—The Kearns Tribune Co., owner of the *Tribune* with 35 per cent interest in KUTV in Salt Lake City and 26 per cent interest in CATV systems in Utah, Wyoming, Nevada and Idaho.

—A. L. Glasmann-George Hatch interests with 65 per cent interest in KUTV in Salt Lake City and interests in two newspapers and nine radio and television stations in Utah, Idaho, Montana and Hawaii. (*Deseret News*, August 10, 1967)

There has been an attempt to prevent KSL from renewing its licenses, but this effort seems to have failed:

WASHINGTON—The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled late Monday in favor of the Federal Communications Commission in its disputed renewal of the radio and television licenses of KSL, Inc., Salt Lake City. . . .

Seeking reconsideration of the renewal in 1969, the appellants charged that the station serves the interests of the licensee—the LDS Church—“to the exclusion of serving equally other segments of the public.” . . .

The court said that the FCC is now reviewing its policies concerning control of mass media. The FCC contended there was no basis for this action against a single licensee on the grounds of undue concentration of control because the commission has proceedings to adopt rules on a country-wide basis. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 17, 1970)

NO PAID MINISTRY?

In 1851 the Mormon Church claimed that the Church leaders did not receive a salary. By 1889, however, they were receiving a regular monthly salary. In the journal of L. John Nuttal, under the date of January 30, 1889, the following appears:

Bp Preston Called & submitted a report of the committee on Salaries &c. They now suggest that the Tithing of all the Church Employees also the **Apostles**, and clerks be deducted from their **salary** monthly. (Journal of L. John Nuttal, pages 349-350 of typed copy at the Brigham Young University)

This reference may come as a shock to many members of the Mormon Church who believe that the Apostles do not receive any remuneration for their service to the Church. The Book of Mormon condemns a paid ministry in the strongest terms, and for this reason many members

of the Mormon Church do not believe the Apostles receive a salary. Several years ago a man who had worked in the Church Financial Department told us that the Apostles received \$12,000 a year from the Church. He did not know, however, how much the members of the First Presidency were paid. We would assume that it is somewhat more. Another man who had been employed in the Financial Department told us that the General Authorities could buy things and charge them to the Church. He stated that one of the General Authorities had the ceiling lowered in his home and charged the bill to the Church.

Besides receiving a regular salary from the Church, the General Authorities appoint themselves to head the various businesses owned by the Church. The leaders of the Mormon Church are becoming very wealthy from the salaries they receive from these companies. Writing in 1947, Joseph H. Weston stated:

Many of the higher officials of the church have risen to their present eminence via a route on which they found themselves handling business affairs of the church. . . . Today the church owns outright a number of thriving modern enterprises and has its funds invested in stocks of others, as well. A big life insurance company, two of Salt Lake City's banks, the Hotel Utah, several office buildings, a daily newspaper, a powerful radio station, a book publishing firm—such are the typical church investments. . . .

Generally speaking, income from investments goes toward payment of what salaries the church officials get. . . .

Higher officials of the Mormon church are members of the **board of directors** of several corporations of national scope. . . .

Against the advice of all his conferees in the church, President Wilford Woodruff again forcibly injected the church into the beet sugar business in 1890. . . .

That was the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. **Some of the general authorities always have been officials or directors of the sugar firm**, which is understandable, considering the holdings that the church has in the business. The church president usually has also been president of the sugar company. At the present time,

J. Reuben Clark, a member of the first presidency, and Albert E. Bowen, one of the council of twelve apostles, are members of the company's executive committee, while **George Albert Smith, head of the Church, is president of the sugar corporation.**

The company now operates eleven sugar factories . . . Total assets of the firm, given in early 1943, were \$28,590,888.99.

By placing its faith in sugar beets, as well as God, the church performed an invaluable service to the west . . . (*These Amazing Mormons*, pages 49-50)

The positions held in the Church by the Mormon leaders seem to have a definite influence on the positions they hold in businesses controlled by the Church. For example, on January 24, 1970, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that Joseph Fielding Smith had become “the tenth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-

day Saints.” Just a month later the *Deseret News* printed an article which contained this statement:

The election of President Joseph Fielding Smith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a director and **chairman** of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. board of directors was announced today. (*Deseret News*, February 26, 1970)

It is interesting to note that Joseph Fielding Smith was 93 years old at the time he was elected to this position with the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. As if this was not enough to show the influence of the Church upon this company, the same article contained these statements:

Harold B. Lee, first counselor in the First Presidency of the Church was elected a director and vice chairman of the board, according to Rowland M. Cannon, company president.

The board accepted the resignation of Elder Hugh B. Brown of the Council of the Twelve who had been a director and vice chairman. (*Deseret News*, February 26, 1970)

The reason for Hugh B. Brown’s “resignation” and Harold B. Lee’s appointment is probably related to a difference of opinion with regard to the Church’s anti-Negro doctrine. Hugh B. Brown had served as First Counselor to David O. McKay, the ninth President of the Church, and had tried to get the Church to change the anti-Negro doctrine so that Negroes could hold the Priesthood. Joseph Fielding Smith, on the other hand, has stated that Negroes are “an **inferior race**” (*The Way to Perfection*, Salt Lake City, 1931, pages 101-102). On January 25, 1970, Wallace Turner wrote the following: “SALT LAKE CITY, Jan. 24—When the Mormon presidency passed this week to Joseph Fielding Smith, a 93-year-old strict theologian, it ended for a time the hope of church liberals for a change in the practice of refusing membership in the priesthood to Negroes” (*New York Times*, January 25, 1970). In the same article Mr. Turner stated: “Among the first acts taken by the new president was the selection of a set of councillors who do **not** include Hugh B. Brown, a councillor to Mr. McKay and the liberal voice in the hierarchy.”

Joseph Fielding Smith selected Harold B. Lee as his First Counselor, and Lee seems to have taken Brown’s position as “a director and vice chairman of the board” at the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company.

Joseph H. Weston admits that the leaders of the Mormon Church receive salaries, but he makes it appear that they are underpaid. On page 28 of his book, *These Amazing Mormons*, he states:

General authorities and officers of the church devote full time to its activities. The remuneration which they receive is a **pittance** compared with salaries that services of such a high order would command in any other field. . . . the first presidency and the twelve apostles receive

salaries **that are very small**, compared to what similar duties would command in business or industry.

While this statement may have been true when Mr. Weston wrote his book in 1947, it is certainly not true today. In 1964 we published the following information in our book, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?*:

Insurance companies in Utah are required to submit a report showing the salaries that their officials receive. The general public are allowed to examine this report which is kept at the State Capital Building. The Mormon Church owns the Benefic[i]al Life Insurance Company, and many of the General Authorities of the Mormon Church are on the board of directors. We have copied some of the salaries received by leaders of the Mormon Church for the year 1963. They are as follows:

David O. McKay, President of the Church	- \$13,400.00
Hugh B. Brown, Member of First Presidency	- 9,200.00
Henry D. Moyle, Member of First Presidency	- 6,750.00
Nathan Tanner, Member of First Presidency	- 1,700.00
Joseph Fielding Smith, Apostle	----- 6,200.00

Henry D. Moyle died during the year, and Nathan Tanner moved into the First Presidency. This is probably the reason that Henry D. Moyle’s salary was not as high as it was in 1962 (in 1962 it was \$9,200) and also why Nathan Tanner received only \$1,700.

Upon the first visit we made to the State Capital Building, in regard to these salaries, we were informed by one of the employees that the salaries paid to the directors of the Beneficial Life Insurance Co. were “unusually high.” We were also told by another employee that insurance companies are the only companies that have to report the salaries received by their directors and officers. Therefore, to our knowledge there is no way to find out how much the church authorities are being paid by the other companies owned by the church.

As we have already shown, Joseph F. Smith (the sixth President of the Mormon Church) testified that he was President of 12 companies. Now, if the President of the Mormon Church today received a salary from 12 companies, and that salary amounted to \$13,400 (as David O. McKay receives from Beneficial Life) he could make \$160,800. Then if we were to add on the monthly salary received from the Church he could make over \$170,000 a year. We are not saying that the President of the Mormon Church makes this amount, however, it would be very possible for him to make this much or even more under the present setup. A mimeographed sheet circulated in 1962 suggested that the Mormon Church may have the highest paid ministry on the face of the earth:

Inasmuch as their services to said institutions are but nominal, and they hold those positions solely because they are Church Officials, would it be presumptuous on our part to conclude that we **in the LDS Church have the dubious distinction of having the highest paid ministry on the face of the earth.** (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Salt Lake City, 1964, pages 384-385)

The same mimeographed sheet which we cited in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* gives some interesting information concerning how the salaries of the Mormon leaders increased at Beneficial Life Insurance Co. For

instance, in 1952 David O. McKay was receiving only \$5,055.00. By 1957, however, his salary was increased to \$7,025.00. In 1960 he received \$10,066.00. The next year (1961) his salary jumped to \$12,950.00. The mimeographed sheet ends at this point, but our investigation of the records reveals that in 1982 David O. McKay's salary was increased to \$13,400.00. At this point we began to publish this information to the world, and in 1966 Wallace Turner included it in his book, *The Mormon Establishment*, page 104. We wondered if the Mormon leaders would dare to increase their salaries after this information became available to the general public. We have now examined the records for 1969 and find that in the seven year period between 1962 and 1969 the salaries have remained exactly the same. The figures are as follows:

David O. McKay, President of the Church - \$13,400.00
Hugh B. Brown, Member of First Presidency - \$9,200.00
Nathan Tanner, Member of First Presidency - \$9,200.00
Joseph Fielding Smith, Member of First Presidency -
\$6,200.00

The fact that the Mormon leaders received raises in 1960, 1961 and 1962, but never received any after this would seem to show that they were embarrassed by the publication of this information.

In examining the list for 1969 we find that most of the Apostles are listed, and their salaries range from \$1,400.00 to \$6,200. The Assistant Apostles receive \$1,400.00, and Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, receives the same amount. Victor L. Brown, of the Presiding Bishopric, receives \$5,000.00.

We do not know how much work the Mormon leaders do for Beneficial Life Insurance Company to receive these salaries, but we doubt that David O. McKay could have done a great deal toward the end of his life. He was 96 years old at the time of his death. He had been very ill in 1969, yet he still received \$13,400.00 for his services.

We have not had the time to find out just how many companies the Mormon leaders hold positions in, but we have clipped a few items from the local newspapers which are of interest. The *Deseret News* for September 5, 1964, stated that the Bonneville International Corporation was formed by a "merger of the three electronic communications companies owned or controlled by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." In the same article we find the following:

Office[rs] and directors of Bonneville International are President David O. McKay, chairman of the board; President Hugh B. Brown, vice president of the board; President N. Eldon Tanner, consultant; Arch L. Madsen,

president; Elder Richard L. Evans, vice president; Elder Gordon B. Hinckley, vice president; Elder Thomas S. Monson, vice president; James B. Conkling, William F. Edwards, D. Lennox Murdoch, David Lawrence McKay, Edward M. Grimm, Stanley G. McAllister; Robert W. Barker, secretary; and Blaine W. Whipple assistant secretary and treasurer. (*Deseret News*, September 5, 1964)

The Church's Hotel Utah also has a board of directors which includes Mormon leaders. In the *Deseret News* for June 2, 1967, we find the following:

Guiding the destiny of the Hotel Utah and the men behind the \$3.1 million improvement program are the hotel's officers and directors.

President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is chairman of the board with President Hugh B. Brown and President N. Eldon Tanner, counselors in the First Presidency, as vice chairmen. . . .

Members of the board of directors of the hotel include President McKay, President Brown, President Tanner, Mr. Backman, Mr. Adams, Bishop Brown, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Jones and Mr. Simmons.

Other directors are President Thorpe B. Isaacson of the First Presidency; LeGrand Richards, member of the Council of Twelve; Antoine R. Ivins of the First Council of Seventy, all of the LDS Church; . . . (*Deseret News*, June 2, 1967)

Church officials are also included on the board of directors for the Church's *Deseret News*:

Four new members were elected to the board of directors of the Deseret News Publishing Co. Wednesday, said George L. Nelson, president.

They are:

—N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in The First Presidency, Church of Jesus Christ [*sic*] of Latter-day Saints.

—Bishop Victor L. Brown, second counselor in the Presiding Bishopric of the Church.

—Elder Thomas S. Monson of the Council of the Twelve and former manager of the Deseret News Press.

—Elder Marvin J. Ashton, first assistant general superintendent of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. (*Deseret News*, May 5, 1965)

ZCMI also has a board of directors which includes Mormon leaders. In the *Salt Lake Tribune* for May 28, 1969, we find the following:

All officers and directors were re-elected. These include David O. McKay, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, chairman of the board; Hugh B. Brown and N. Eldon Tanner, first and second counselors in the First Presidency of the LDS Church, vice chairmen of the board. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 28, 1969)

The Mormon Church has also formed a corporation with a board of directors to operate their ranches in Florida and Georgia. The *Deseret News*, Church Section, January 16, 1965, contained the following:

President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency returned to Salt Lake City Friday after a three-day visit to Melbourne, Fla., where he attended the board of directors meeting of Deseret Farms, Inc. The corporation operates the Church ranches in Florida and Georgia.

On February 7, 1970, the *Deseret News*, Church Section, reported that "President N. Eldon Tanner" was "vice president of Deseret Farms of Florida."

We have already shown that the Mormon leaders are on the board of directors at Beneficial Life Insurance Company and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. A careful examination of the business news reported in the *Salt Lake Tribune* or the *Deseret News* for the last ten years would, no doubt, reveal a great deal more about this subject. If the Church continues to buy up businesses, there is probably no end to the riches which the Mormon leaders will be able to obtain.

Ralph L. Foster wrote the U. S. Treasury Department asking information regarding the salaries that the Mormon Church leaders receive. They replied that they could not furnish this information unless they had written permission from the persons who filed the returns. Mr. Foster wrote to the Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards asking for this permission. LeGrand Richards replied on June 28, 1963:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23rd. I have **no authority** to grant you the permission you asked in your letter to contact the Internal Revenue Service in Washington, D. C., to learn the income of the general authorities of the Church. . . . most of the general authorities have made great sacrifice financially in order to accept the call that has come to them to devote their entire time to Church work. We have many employees who are receiving more, considerably more, compensation than the general authorities since their's is a spiritual call. . . .

If the facts were known, there would be no intelligent, successful Latter-day Saint seek for an appointment as one of the general authorities of the Church because of the remuneration they receive as such. (Letter from Apostle LeGrand Richards to Ralph L. Foster, June 28, 1963, photomechanical reprint of the original letter in *The Book of Mormon on Trial*, example 8, between pages 20 and 21)

In a letter to Morris L. Reynolds, LeGrand Richards wrote:

I now have your letter without date just received, asking for information about the allowances to officers of the Church. This information **I do not desire to give to you**, nor any other information that smacks like it might be used against the Church, . . . (Letter from LeGrand Richards to Morris L. Reynolds, dated September 6, 1966)

It is interesting to note that in his book, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, page 256. LeGrand Richards states that the "ministers of the churches of the day have justified themselves in **preaching for hire**, . . ." Now, we know that LeGrand Richards receives a salary from Beneficial Life Insurance Company and probably more from other Church businesses. This is in addition to his regular salary from the Church. How can he condemn the ministers of other churches when he receives far more compensation than they do? Is it any wonder that he refuses to give any information about "the allowances to officers of the Church"?

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Since writing the material above we have found some additional information that may be of interest to the reader. The *Deseret News*, Church Section, for January 9, 1971, printed an article which contains the following statements:

Purchase of a 25,000 square-foot building site near New York City's Lincoln Center has been announced by the First Presidency.

The development of the site will make it possible to provide facilities for religious, educational, and cultural activities of the Church, the church leaders said. . . .

The First Presidency reported a study is currently in progress to determine the best structural use to make of the site in light of the needs for a church facility and the conditions in the real estate market in New York City in general and in Lincoln Center in particular. . . .

A visitor's center to acquaint interested persons with the doctrines, practices, cultural activities and history of the Church, together with the offices of the Eastern States Mission also may be included in the new church facility. . . .

The building site is directly opposite the famed Julliard School of Music. The church leaders noted their pleasure at having obtained a location in the cultural center of New York City . . .

This is the second time the Church has purchased a parcel of land in downtown New York City. In January of 1962, the First Presidency announced that the Church had purchased some land on 57th and 58th Streets west of Fifth Avenue.

The announcement then said a 35 to 40-story building would be constructed for use by the Church for a ward, stake and mission complex, as well as leasing the rest of the building for offices and apartments.

The plans for the building didn't materialize and the property was later sold. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, January 9, 1971)

The *Deseret News*, Church Section, for May 22, 1971, printed an article which contained this interesting information:

High on the cliffs above Emerald Bay in Laguna Beach sits a modest, yet attractive white frame home.

The view of the Pacific Ocean from the sun deck is almost magnetic. . . .

This is the home of the President of the Church when he is in California on Church business or for a needed rest. . . .

In early 1950, the Church purchased the home and an adjoining lot. . . . President David O. McKay used the home when on Church business in California, or just to relax from the heavy responsibilities that come with the call as President of the Church.

Now, President Joseph Fielding Smith and his wife, Mrs. Jessie Evans Smith, stay in the home while in the Golden State.

In April, President Smith, accompanied by his wife, his secretary, D. Arthur Haycock and his wife, flew to California for a 10-day working vacation.

We have previously shown that the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company appointed Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Mormon Church, as chairman of the board (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 26, 1970). On January 25, 1971, the *Wall Street Journal* announced that the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company was to be involved in an antitrust suit:

Three sugar buyers have leveled civil antitrust charges against Amalgamated Sugar Co. and Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. Utah-Idaho Sugar is 50.5% owned by the Mormon Church.

The action was filed in Federal District Court in Salt Lake City . . .

The antitrust action accuses Amalgamated and Utah-Idaho of conspiring to fix the price of sugar and sustain and fix artificial freight charges, in violation of the Sherman Act. . . .

The suit further alleges that the defendant companies, in violation of the Robinson-Patman Act, discriminated against buyers in 16 Western states by charging "phantom freight" on sugar shipments. Phantom freight is a term used to designate a freight charge that is higher than the actual delivery cost.

According to the complaint, the defendants used a "multiple-basing point system," whereby a buyer in Salt Lake City, for example, paid a prespecified freight charge regardless of where the shipment actually originated. (*Wall Street Journal*, January 25, 1971)

On May 1, 1971, the *Deseret News* printed an article which contained the following statements:

If only a normal yield of sugar is taken from the acreage it expects to have under contract, then 1971 should result in record production for Utah-Idaho Sugar Co., the firm said in its annual report. . . .

The report was signed by President Joseph Fielding Smith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who is U-I's board chairman, and by Rowland M. Cannon, president of U-I. . . .

Concerning a class action anti-trust suit filed against the company and two other major producers, the report said it appears to be a challenge of the multiple basing point price system. The industry has operated under this system for many decades, the report noted.

The same issue of the *Deseret News*, gives this information concerning ZCMI:

ZCMI increased its sales by 17 per cent and its after-tax profits by 26.4 per cent last year, the department store's annual report showed today.

The report said sales amounted to \$36,440,268, compared with \$31,147,168 in 1969. Net income was \$1,287,480, or \$3.83 per share. . . .

The company has main offices in downtown Salt Lake City and branch stores in Ogden, the Cottonwood Mall, and the Valley Fair Shopping Center. It plans to be in a new 163,000 square-foot store in an Orem shopping center by fall, 1972.

Concerning the downtown ZCMI project which will result in a 775,000 square foot, two level covered mall, the company said demolition of old structures should begin this June. . . .

The report was signed by President Joseph Fielding Smith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who is board chairman, and by Harold M. Bennet, who is president. (*Deseret News*, May 1, 1971)

During the past few years the Mormon Church has had some problems over taxation. The *Deseret News*, Church Section, printed an article which contained this information:

Several blocks from Temple Square . . . stands an undistinguished, flat-topped office building that houses the Church Legal Department.

In this unimposing building, Wilford W. Kirton, general counsel or head legal adviser, supervises a devoted team of lawyers and office personnel who perform a function vital to the advancement of the Church in this modern age. . . .

The Salt Lake office is headquarters for 13 attorneys who are primarily concerned with specialized areas within North America. Two other attorneys are on three-year tours of duty . . .

One of the principal functions of the department deals with the acquiring of property throughout the world in connection with Church buildings and chapel sites. . . .

An increasing field of activity for the department is in the area of taxation.

"The problems of taxation are now becoming an increasingly difficult problem for the Church," explained Mr. Kirton. "Churches, heretofore, have been exempt from tax. But now, some aspects of tax are being applied to the Church. Laws are changing, making the Church subject to taxation."

According to Mr. Kirton, the Church has always paid corporate taxes on its business holdings, while stake farms and other welfare projects, as charitable projects, have been exempt. Now, there are increasing cases where welfare farms are being assessed taxes under new laws. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, January 9, 1971, page 7)

Zions Securities Corp. which is owned by the Mormon Church, seems to be having a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service over taxes. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

WASHINGTON—Zions Securities Corp., the financial arm of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, claims the church was overcharged by \$2,825,174.26 by the Internal Revenue Service for the years 1962 through 1967.

A case filed in the U. S. court here involves differences between Zions Securities and IRS on allowances for such items as depreciation, interest, contributions, capital gains, capital loss carryover and property sales and exchanges. . . .

The 1970 IRS notice to Zions Securities also held that in 1962, 1963 and 1964 “you engaged in transactions either with your parent, corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, relating to the sale or transfer of real property which were not arm’s length deals.”

Among the items at issue are also a claim that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue erroneously determined that interest paid by the taxpayer (Zions Securities) to the corporation of the president of the Church of Jesus Christ [*sic*] of Latter-day Saints and Corporation of the presiding bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints “did not represent interest paid on a bona fide indebtedness.” . . .

One of the biggest items of difference is depreciation deduction claims which for the six-year period are in excess of \$1,500,000. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 30, 1971)

On July 1, 1971, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, printed the following:

BOISE (AP) — Use of land rather than ownership, determines whether it is exempt from the property tax in Idaho, the State Board of Tax Appeals ruled Wednesday.

It said that in the case of farms operated by the welfare program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the purpose is not simply to provide food for the needy.

“Very little of the commodities produced on the farms in question went directly to needy persons,” the board said.

“By far most of them were sold and the proceeds used to pay for operating expenses and repayment of loans used to acquire the farms or cattle, with the balance going into general welfare funds of the church, which might be used to buy clothing or other necessities or for cash distribution to the needy.”

The board affirmed action by boards of equalization in Bannock and Bingham counties, which had refused to grant tax exemption for four church-owned farms in Bannock County and six in Bingham County,

LDS Church officials in Salt Lake City said they had no comment on the matter pending further study of the decision.

The board’s ruling could be appealed to district court, either in Ada County or in the county where the owner of the land resides.

The board said that a 1970 law which granted tax exemption for property “directly related to the charitable purpose for which” a charitable organization was formed does not apply to the farms.

“The growing of crops,” the board said, “is not part of the charitable purpose for which the charitable corporations here involved exist, nor is it directly related to such purpose. The crops or the proceeds are, of course, revenue derived from the land.

“While it is indispensable that such revenue must be used exclusively for charity to gain exemption, this is not sufficient. It is the use to which the land is put that determines its status as exempt or non-exempt.

“Here the land was used for commercial purposes and unless such use was directly related to the charitable purposes of providing for the needy, it is not exempt.”

The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for June 30, 1971, gave the following information concerning the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.:

Utah-Idaho Sugar Co. announced Tuesday it will enlarge its Moses Lake, Wash., factory, making it the largest in the United States. . . .

Stockholders also approved acquisition of the Prior Land Co. in Yakima, Wash., in anticipation of long-range land development by the company, U-I now has diversified farming operations in Idaho and Washington which have proven profitable above expectations, Mr. Cannon said. . . .

He also declined to put a price tag on the “multimillion” Moses Lake plant expansion.

He said that company counsel has not yet fully researched and answered the antitrust action on sugar pricing filed against U-I and Amalgamated-Sugar Co., Ogdon, earlier this year. . . .

The company is held 52 percent by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The remainder of the stock is held by the public.

President Joseph Fielding Smith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was re-elected chairman of the board. President Smith was not at the meeting, however. President N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in the First Presidency, and U-I vice chairman, conducted the meeting in behalf of the chairman.

Business Week Magazine for March 14, 1970, gave this interesting information concerning Zions First National Bank:

At the intersection of Main and Temple in Salt Lake City stands a heroic-size statue of Brigham Young, arm outstretched. Mormon wags are fond of noting that while the statue’s back is to the temple grounds of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, the outstretched arm points to a bank.

The bank is Zions First National, started nearly a century ago by Brigham Young himself, to encourage thrift among the Mormons. With \$263-million in assets, the bank is Utah’s third largest, still far behind First Security Bank of Utah. . . . Zions First National is owned by Zions Utah Bancorporation, the state’s only one-bank holding company. . . . ZUB has carried diversification about as far as any one-bank holding company, anywhere. It does a modest real estate business in Salt Lake City, leases equipment (mostly to smaller businesses), has a stake in a local savings and loan association, runs a chain

of small-loan offices in Utah and Colorado, and owns three industrial banks in Colorado.

The very rich Mormon Church (just how rich is a closely-guarded secret) sold its controlling interest in Zions First National a decade ago to Zions Investment Co., which later became ZUB. It still has minority interest in ZUB, which helps in heavily-Mormon Utah. In rural Utah, where the population is 70% Mormon, Zions First National tends to be the No. 1 bank. And a big slice of church deposits wind up in the bank.

“It definitely gives them an edge on competition,” notes Willard L. Eccles, who with his half-brothers, heads First Security Corp., which owns First Security Bank. **“They’ve got five Apostles on their board. We’ve only got two.”** . . .

The bank Young founded in 1873 was Zion’s Savings Bank & Trust Co. In 1957, that bank merged with two other church-controlled banks to form Zions First National Bank. In 1960, the Mormon Church sold 50.1% of Zions First National to Zions Investment Co. for \$10-million. “Because of the competitive nature of the banking business,” says Simmons, “the church was competing with its own members.” So the church got out of banking, though not out of big-time finance.

The church has an interest in office and apartment buildings, hotels, a department store, a newspaper, several radio and television stations, and even a “sizable” position in the Times-Mirror Corp, in Los Angeles. Next, the church will build a \$30-million shopping center in Salt Lake City. . . .

Meanwhile, the bank keeps its close ties to the Mormon Church, doing among other things a fair international business for the church. In fact, the bank has a number of foreign customers, a holdover from the days when European converts deposited money in what was the church bank. “The sun,” quips Simmons, “never

sets on a Zions customer.” (*Business Week*, March 14, 1970, pages 110 and 112)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for February 13, 1971, reported that Zions First National “now has 25 banks spanning 350 miles from St. George to Centerville. . . .” Harold B. Lee, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, is Chairman of the Board of Zions First National Bank. An advertisement published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on April 6, 1971, shows that six of the Mormon leaders serve on the board of directors. Their names are as follows: Joseph Fielding Smith (President of the Church), Harold B. Lee (a member of the First Presidency), Delbert L. Stapley (an Apostle), Ezra T. Benson (an Apostle), Hugh B. Brown (an Apostle), and Gordon B. Hinckley (an Apostle).

CHURCH OR BUSINESS?

The great wealth of the Mormon Church is becoming very apparent. Neil Morgan made this statement:

In Boise, Idaho, a responsible citizen told me: “The Mormons aren’t a church anymore; they’re a **business**.” (*Esquire*, August 1962, page 91)

The Mormon leaders might do well to consider the following statement which was made by Jesus himself: “My kingdom is **not** of this world: . . .” (John 18:36).

The Bible does not say anything about Jesus trying to build a temporal kingdom or manage large business concerns; instead, it says that he had no place to lay his head.

5. THE KINGDOM IN UTAH

In the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, pages 98-100, we showed that Joseph Smith “suffered himself to be ordained a king” when he lived in, Nauvoo, Illinois. The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen frankly admitted that “Joseph Smith did start a political kingdom of God and a Council of Fifty; he **was** made **king** over that organization; . . .” (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 104). Kenneth Godfrey, Director of the LDS Institute at Stanford University, also admits that Joseph Smith was “ordained ‘king over the Immediate House of Israel’ by the Council of Fifty” (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter, 1968, pages 212-213). Richard D. Poll, Professor of History and Political Science at Brigham Young University, also seems willing to concede that Smith was ordained king:

That neither the Prophet nor the Council was totally preoccupied with the political race is clear from the investigations of Texas and other possible new homes for the Saints which were in progress, and also from the intriguing and rather convincingly documented report that the Prophet was ordained “king on earth” in the Council during this period. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1968, page 19, note 11)

BRIGHAM YOUNG AS KING

The practice of ordaining the President of the Mormon Church as “king on earth” did not cease with the death of Smith. It is reported that Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church was ordained king, and the Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon states that there was a discussion in the Council of Fifty as to whether John Taylor, the third President of the Church, should be ordained king:

Father [George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency] said Moses Thatcher’s drawing away from his brethren commenced as far as his knowledge concerning it went, at a time when the **Council of Fifty** met in the old City Hall, and Moses opposed the

proposition to **anoint John Taylor** as Prophet, Priest and King, and Moses’ opposition prevailed at that time. Moses has constantly opposed the increase of power in the hands of the President of the Church. (“Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon,” December 2, 1895, page 198, original at Brigham Young University Library)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen states:

. . . the prophet apparently had himself ordained as “**king on earth**.” Brigham Young, upon his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, likewise reportedly had this ceremony performed in the Council of Fifty. (*Quest for Empire*, page 66)

On page 200, footnote 74, of the same book, Hansen gives this information:

Former Bishop Andrew Cahoon, whose father Reynolds Cahoon had been a member of the Council of Fifty, testified in 1889: “The King of that Kingdom that was set up on the earth was the head of the Church. Brigham Young proclaimed himself **King** here in Salt Lake Valley before there was a house built, in 1847.”

Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, may have been referring to Brigham Young’s ordination to be “king” when he made these statements in 1856:

The Church and kingdom to which we belong will become the kingdom of our God and his Christ, and brother Brigham Young **will become President of the United States**. (Voices responded, “Amen.”)

And I tell you he **will be something more**; but we do not now **want to give him the name: but he is called and ordained to a far greater station than that**, and he is foreordained to take that station, and he has got it; and **I am Vice-President**, and brother Wells is the **Secretary of the Interior**—yes, and of all the armies in the flesh.

You don’t believe that; but I can tell you it is one of the smallest things that I can think of. You may think that I am joking; but I am perfectly willing that brother Long should write every word of it; for I can see it as naturally as I see the earth and the productions thereof. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 219)

On another occasion Heber C. Kimball stated:

. . . the President of the United States **will bow to us** and come to **consult the authorities of this Church** to know what he had best to do for his people.

You don't believe this. **Wait and see:** . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 93)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft made this statement concerning an incident that happened on July 24, 1857:

All eyes turned at once to Brigham. . . . Gathering the people around him, he repeated the words uttered ten years before, prophesying even now that at no distant day he would **himself become President of the United States or dictate who should be President.** (*History of Utah*, photo-mechanical reprint of 1889 edition, page 505)

Brigham Young even referred to himself as a "dictator." The following quotations are taken from some of his sermons:

As formerly, I presented myself before you this morning in the capacity Providence has lead me to occupy, acknowledged and sustained by you as **the dictator**, counsellor, and adviser of the people of God. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, page 267)

You may say it is hard that I should **dictate** you in your temporal affairs. **Is it not my privilege to dictate you?** (*Ibid.*, vol. 12, page 59)

I sometimes say to my brethren, "I have been **your dictator** for twenty-seven years—over a quarter of a century I have **dictated** this people; that ought to be some evidence that my course is onward and upward. (*Ibid.*, vol. 14, page 205)

Now ask the Father in the name of Jesus whether I am telling you the truth about temporal things or not, and the same Spirit that bore witness to you that baptism by immersion is the correct way according to the Scriptures, will bear witness that the man whom God calls to **dictate affairs** in the building up of his Zion has the **right to dictate about everything** connected with the building up of Zion, **yes, even to the ribbons the women wear;** and **any person who denies it is ignorant.** (*Ibid.*, vol. 11, page 298)

Heber C. Kimball once stated that "President Young is our governor and our dictator" (*Ibid.*, vol. 7, page 19). Speaking of early Utah, the Mormon writer William E. Berrett made this statement: "The Church did, however, exercise a **definite control** over the **economic** and social life of its people" (*The Restored Church*, page 477).

Brigham Young went so far as to tell the people they could not trade with those who didn't belong to the Mormon Church:

And you, sisters, **cease trading with any man** or being in this city or country **who does not belong to the Church.**

If you **do not**, we are going to **cut you off from the Church.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 12, page 315)

How our friends, the outside merchants will complain because **we are going to stop trading with them!** We can not help it. It is not our duty to do it. Our policy in this respect, hitherto, has been one of the most foolish in the world. Henceforth it must be to **let this trade alone**, and save our means for other purposes than to enrich outsiders. . . .

We have talked to the brethren and sisters a great deal with regard to sustaining ourselves and ceasing this **outside trade.** . . . My feelings are that every man and woman **who will not obey this counsel shall be severed from the Church**, and let all who feel as I do lift up the right hand. (The vote was unanimous.) (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 12, page 301)

William E. Berrett gives this interesting information:

The Church leaders anticipated the effects the coming of the railroad would produce on industry, and early in 1868 initiated a movement to organize the Mormon merchants and purchasers into cooperative merchandising enterprises. . . .

The first of these cooperative merchandising organizations was begun in Provo in 1868. In 1869 the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, which became shortened in name to the Z.C.M.I., became a Church-wide institution. . . .

In connection with the establishment of the Z.C.M.I. a **boycott** was urged against non-Mormon merchants. In the October conference of 1868 Brigham Young announced:

"I want to tell my brethren, my friends, and my enemies, that we are going to draw the reins so tight as not to let a Latter-day Saint trade with an outsider." (*The Restored Church*, 1956, page 474)

Thomas G. Alexander states:

During the late 1860's and early 1870's, Utah was no place for a Gentile. What one historian has called a "full-blown boycott" had developed against non-Mormon businesses by the end of 1868. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 85)

The following statements concerning trading with Gentiles are taken from the "Minutes of the School of the Prophets," held in Provo, Utah (the first speaker is Joseph F. Smith):

My belief and doctrine is to trade with no gentile and few Mormons, some of the latter are no better than Walker Bros. ("Minutes of the School of the Prophets," Provo, Utah, 1868-1871, page 11 of typed copy at the Utah State Historical Society)

J. S. Fuller said I understand that these Gentiles are our enemies . . . they are not of us we belong to the government of God. in the world those who give aid, and comfort, to an enemy are considered traitors, and commit treason, why should we give aid and comfort, to the enemies of the Kingdom of God?

A. T. Noon said I . . . have traded a little bit but have not traded more than a hundred dollars with the gentiles, and will not trade any more. . . .

Bp. I. P. R. Johnson . . . I do not want to trade with a gentile. . . . I will not trade with a Mormon Merchant unless he pays his tithing etc. . . .

Bp. Follet . . . it is just as bad to get a Mormon to trade with a gentile for you, as it is to do the trading yourself. . . .

A. O. Smoot . . . I will deal with no elder of Israel, if he deals with an outsider—I would touch every string to pull down our enemies . . .

D. Carter . . . felt to support the idea of making Gentiles pay \$20.00 gold for **rotten straw** and would use his influence with family and friends. (Ibid., pages 23-26)

. . . I [A.O. Smoot] attended a school in the City on Saturday last . . . I gave a brief account of the proceeding of our school also referred to trading with gentiles and gave counsel of Prest Young in that he said to all those who ever traded with a Gentile again he wished them to never attend the school again—also said they ought to be damned and they would be damned if they did persist in it . . . (Ibid., page 92)

On page 121 of the same “Minutes” we find this statement by Joseph F. Smith: “Keep good company and do not associate with the gentiles . . .” The Mormons built their own schools, and Brigham Young was very opposed to free schools. According to Brigham Young it was the Bishops who appointed the school teachers:

While on this subject I will say that I am ashamed of our Bishops, who can not have anybody but a stranger for a school teacher. Let a “Mormon” come along, who can read all around and over and under him, and who, as far as learning is concerned, is his superior in every way, but because he, the “Mormon,” does not come in the guise of a stranger, the Bishop will not hear him. Bishops, I wish you would just **resign your offices** if you can not learn any better than to get such characters into your school houses. . . . I want to cuff you **Bishops** back and forth until you get your brains turned right side up. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 16, pages 17-19)

On page 20 of the same sermon Brigham Young stated:

I understand that the other night there was a school meeting in one of the wards of this city, and a party there—a poor miserable **apostate**—said, “We want a **free school**, and we want to have the name of establishing the **first free school in Utah**.” To call a person a poor miserable apostate may seem like a harsh word; but what shall we call a man who talks about **free schools** and who would have all the people taxed to support them, and yet would take his rifle and threaten to shoot the man who had the collection of the ordinary light taxes levied in this Territory—taxes which are lighter than any levied in any other portion of the country? (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 16, page 20)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives this information concerning the conflict that Mormons had with Gentiles over education:

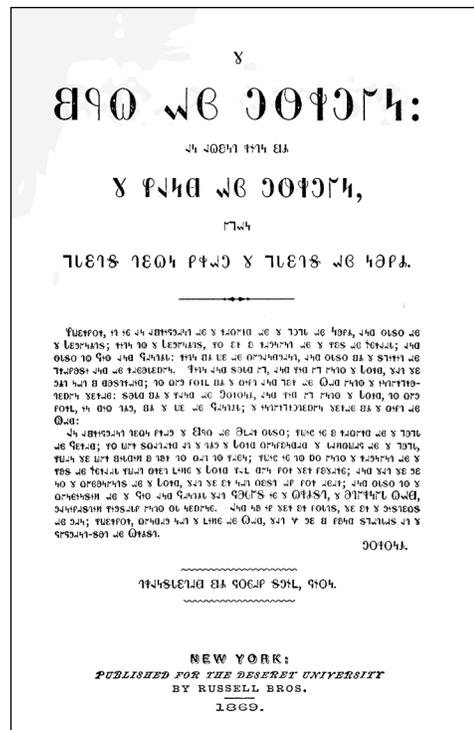
For many years a great advantage to Mormon as against gentile schools was the fact that they were allowed to use their meeting-houses for public school purposes. In 1880, when the legislature passed an act creating school districts, and authorized a tax for the erection and repair of school buildings, these meeting-houses were constituted legal district schools, though retained for religious purposes, the gentiles, none of whose children, with rare exceptions, attended them, being also taxed for this purpose. Hence, legal conflicts arose, the decision of the courts being that Mormon school trustees could not collect such taxes while the buildings stood on record as church property. (*History of Utah*, pages 708-709)

One thing of interest concerning education in early Utah is the fact that the Mormons tried to develop their own alphabet. This was known as the “Deseret Alphabet.” Below is a photograph of the first page of the Book of Mormon as printed in the Deseret Alphabet.

The historian Bancroft makes this statement concerning the “Deseret Alphabet”:

At a meeting of the board of regents, held in October 1853, Parley P. Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, and George D. Watt were appointed a committee to prepare a small school-book in characters founded on some new system of orthography, whereby the spelling and pronunciation of the English language might be made uniform and easily acquired. A further object was exclusiveness, a separate people wishing to have a separate language, and perhaps in time an independent literature. (*History of Utah*, page 712)

Nels Anderson made this comment concerning the Deseret Alphabet:



It used to be a sin to “approximate after the things of the world.” That was the justification for the Deseret alphabet—to shut out the intellectual influences of the Gentiles. There was no concern about approval of outsiders; in fact, disapproval was a compliment. (*Desert Saints*, page 443)

In 1868 Brigham Young made these statements concerning the Deseret Alphabet:

There are a few items I wish to lay before the Conference . . . One of these items is to present to the congregation the Deseret Alphabet. We have now many thousands of small books, called the first and second readers, adapted to school purposes, . . . We wish to introduce this alphabet into our schools, . . . It will also be very advantageous to our children. . . . years that are now required to learn to read and spell can be devoted to other studies. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 12, page 298)

Stanley P. Hirshon gives this information:

As it was, the Utah legislature was the only one in America whose members worshipped before one altar. . . . Early in 1872 the legislature even voted over \$6,000 to Pratt, the Speaker of the House, for translating The Book of Mormon into the Deseret Alphabet, which Young devised to draw his people closer together. The Gentile governor vetoed the bill. (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 310)

Although the Mormon leaders pressed for the adoption of the Deseret Alphabet, the project turned out to be a failure and has now been completely abandoned by the Mormon people.

In Utah the leaders of the Mormon Church completely did away with the idea that the church and state should be separated. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, made these statements:

Was the kingdom that the Prophets talked about, that should be set up in the latter times, going to be a Church? Yes. And a State? Yes, it was going to be both Church and State, to rule both **temporarily and spiritually**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 24)

We used to have a difference between Church and State, **but it is all one now**. Thank God, we have no more temporal and spiritual! (Ibid., vol. 5, page 266)

The Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt once remarked: “Ours is an **ecclesiastical church**, and an **ecclesiastical state**” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, page 105). Brigham Young became Governor of the Territory of Utah, and Heber C. Kimball boasted that all the members of the Legislature in Utah held the priesthood: “It is the best legislative body there is upon the face of the earth, because they hold the Priesthood, and there is **no person** there only those who hold it—the leading men of Israel” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 129). Klaus J. Hansen states that “Mormons regarded lawyers with great suspicion. None of the judicial officers of the State of Deseret, for instance,

had any legal training” (*Quest for Empire*, page 200, note 85). Although Heber C. Kimball (a member of the First Presidency) was not qualified, the Council of Fifty did not hesitate to appoint him as chief justice. In a discourse delivered August 30, 1857, Heber C. Kimball stated:

Well, it is reported that they have another Governor on the way now, . . . The United States design to force those officers upon us by the point of the bayonet . . .

If this people should consent to dispossess brother Brigham Young as our Governor, they are just as sure to go to hell as they live, and I know it; . . .

Suppose you acknowledge the man reported to be coming, what do you do? You reject your head, . . . Yes; and you will die just as quick as that, if you reject brother Brigham, your head.

We are the people of Deseret. She shall be Deseret; she shall be no more Utah: we will have our own name. Do you hear it? . . . this people, some time ago, appointed me Chief-Justice of the State of Deseret. . . . You also appointed me Lieutenant-Governor; I always told you I was going to be Lieutenant-Governor. This is a stump speech!

We are going to have our own Governor from henceforth. Brigham Young was then our Governor, Heber C. Kimball was Chief-Justice and Lieutenant-Governor. I was a big man then; I felt as big as brother Morley does in the Legislature. The fact is, he does not understand their gabble: if he does, he understands more than I do. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 160-162)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen frankly admits that “The priesthood that controlled the church also controlled the state” (*Quest for Empire*, page 36). The historian Bancroft made this observation: “The history of Utah is the history of the Mormon priesthood in its attempt to subordinate the state to the church, and make the authority of the priesthood superior to that of the United States government” (*History of Utah*, page 375).

Klaus J. Hansen shows that the church tried very hard to control early Utah through the Council of Fifty:

. . . even the first government in the Salt Lake Valley, established on October 3, 1847, reflected the political theory of the political kingdom of God, as the members of the Council of Fifty understood it. John Smith, who became president of the “municipal high council” in the valley, was a prominent member of that council. . . . by the autumn of 1848 the Mormons knew that their territory had been annexed to the United States. As a result the establishment of the “Kingdom of God and His Laws” in an independent government had become unfeasible if not impossible. The Saints had little choice but to seek affiliation with the United States.

On December 9, 1848, the Council of Fifty met at the house of Heber C. Kimball to deliberate on the advisability of petitioning Congress for a territorial government. . . . Not surprisingly, all the officers of the proposed government were members of the Council of Fifty, with Brigham Young as governor. . . . the fact is that the Saints had migrated to the West precisely for the purpose of setting up their own government. . . .

The Council of Fifty apparently established the State of Deseret in order to realize as many of the ideals of the political kingdom of God as possible before affiliation with the United States. . . .

The Council of Fifty, in creating the State of Deseret, paid lip service to the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and the democratic practices of a constitutional convention and free elections. Actually, the new government was formed through the highly centralized and autocratic control of its own organization. Significantly, all officers of the constitutional convention and all members of the various committees drafting the constitution were members of the Council. . . . At the election on March 12, 655 votes were cast for state officers, but no record of an election for the legislature has so far been found. Indeed, it is quite likely that no election occurred. Hosea Stout recorded in his diary that he was mystified by what procedure he had received his mandate. In view of the circumstances, the most likely explanation is that the Council of Fifty simply hand-picked the assembly. The executive and judicial branches of the new government were filled entirely by members of the Council of Fifty, a combination of facts seems to indicate that the probate courts acted as the extended arm of the Council, administering the laws of the kingdom of God on a local level. The probate judge himself had the greatest direct influence on county government in Deseret. It was his duty to choose the first officers of the county. . . . His position was non-elective, subject to appointment by the governor and the legislature. Since the Council of Fifty controlled both the executive and legislative branches of government, the leaders of the political kingdom of God, through the probate courts, could influence the administration of the counties. After the establishment of Utah Territory, the probate courts also assumed criminal jurisdiction to fill a temporary void created by the departure of the Gentile "runaway judges" in 1852. However, even after these unfriendly non-Mormons had been replaced by more sympathetic judges, the probate courts refused to yield their position of power to the district courts. Not until 1874, with the passing of the Poland Act, did the Council of Fifty lose this significant tool for controlling the political kingdom of God. . . .

When Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty initiated steps to gain either territorial status or become a state of the Union they did so not because they loved the United States, but because they had no choice. Failure to initiate the move undoubtedly would have aroused the suspicion of Washington. . . . The Council of Fifty, through its actions, revealed that it hoped to maintain as much control as possible while giving the appearance of fully cooperating with the government of the United States. . . . Had Deseret achieved statehood, the political control of the Council of Fifty quite likely would have continued with little outside interference. . . . Frank Cannon's assertion that the Mormons attempted to gain admission to the Union in order to escape its authority, as paradoxical as this may sound, is thus basically correct. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 123, 124, 126-128, 130-132, 134-135)

These are very revealing statements to be coming from a Mormon writer who did a great deal of his research at Brigham Young University.

The evidence clearly shows that Brigham Young considered himself king and that early Utah was controlled by Young and his "council of the **fifty princes**

in the kingdom." J. H. Beadle, an anti-Mormon writer, made this observation:

Thus it is the union of Church and State, or rather the absolute subservience of the State to the Church, the latter merely using the outside organization to carry into effect decrees already concluded in secret council, that makes Mormonism our enemy. . . . In short, it is not the social, immoral, or polygamic features that so chiefly concern us, but the hostile, the treasonable and the mutinous. (*Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, 1870, pages 400-401)

NO DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

In early Utah the Mormon people were taught to vote one way. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Church, made these statements:

In political matters we are pretty well united. At our elections **we generally vote as a unit.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 355)

Some people say, "You folks always vote together," we would **be poor coots if we did not, and just as bad as the rest of you.** Some folks here, a short time ago, got up a little political operation, and tried how it would answer to run one against another; but it did not work well and they had to quit. (*Ibid.*, vol. 15, page 219)

Brigham Young was very opposed to democratic elections. The following statements are taken from his discourses:

This is the plant or tree from which schism springs; and every government lays the foundation of its own downfall when it permits what are called **democratic elections.** If a party spirit is developed, the formation of one party will be speedily followed by another; and furthermore, the very moment that we admit this, we admit the existence of error and corruption somewhere. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, page 93)

This is one objection which outsiders have to the Latter-day Saints: they all go and vote one way. **Is it not right to do so?** Let us think about it. Suppose that we do all actually vote one way, or for one man for our delegate to Congress, and have no opposing candidate, and get the best there is, is that **not better** than having opposition? What does opposition bring? It certainly brings anger and strife; and of what use are they? They serve no good purpose. Then let us all **vote one way**, and think and act one way, and keep the commandments of God . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 13, page 219)

When we see a religion, and one which is claimed to be the religion of Christ, and it will **not govern men in their politics, it is a very poor religion**, it is very feeble, very faint in its effects, hardly perceptible in the life of a person. (*Ibid.*, vol. 14, page 159)

Stanley S. Ivins gives this information:

Under this divinely directed system, there could be little need for such democratic procedures as political parties and competing elections. . . .

For the first twenty years, political activity in Utah was based upon theocratic philosophy. Elections were held, but they did not mean much. A single list of properly selected candidates would be submitted to the people, who would go through the motions of voting for them. There was no law against voting for someone else, but the balloting was **not secret**, so that anyone not voting right could be easily identified and branded an apostate. And since apostacy was just about the greatest of sins, very few wanted to be charged with it.

So things political went much as they were supposed to go. The church publication, "The Millennial Star," explaining how such things were handled in Utah, said that if there was disagreement at a meeting for making nominations, "the Prophet of God, who stands at the head of the Church, decides. He nominates, the convention endorses, and the people accept the nomination." It added that there was free speech in the Territorial Legislature, "but any measure that cannot be unanimously decided on, is submitted to the President of the Church, who, by "the wisdom of God, decides the matter, and all the Councilors and Legislators sanction the decision. (M. S., vol. 29, page 746)

A check of the official returns from 18 annual elections in Utah, beginning in 1852, showed that there was little dissatisfaction with the approved candidates. The 1867 election was the only one which was unanimous, but there was only one dissenting vote in 1857, four in 1853, six in 1864, twelve in 1852, and fourteen in 1860. The largest opposition vote was 702 in 1869, with 622 of them coming from the Gentile city of Corinne, in Box Elder County. Next largest was 619 in 1866, when for some unknown reason, 517 Salt Lake County votes went to Horace S. Eldredge for Delegate to Congress. Of the 96, 107 votes cast, over this eighteen year period, 96 per cent went to the regular candidates. And if the known Gentile ballots are eliminated, the percentage rises to 97.4. (*The Moses Thatcher Case*, by Stanley S. Ivins, pages 2-3)

In his *History of Utah*, Hubert Howe Bancroft gives this information:

The people were instructed by their spiritual law-givers whom to elect as law-makers in matters temporal, and these were always the dignitaries of the church. Vote by ballot obtained, indeed, in name, but there was practically no freedom of election, and there were seldom even opposing candidates, the strife between political parties, as republican and democrat, being something unknown among them. It is this that the gentiles find fault with; though the Mormons boasted, they say, and still boast of this feature in their polity, as showing the harmony which prevails in their midst, it is in fact tyranny, and tyranny of the worst kind—an oligarchy with the form but without any of the spirit of republican institutions. Here we have one of the worst phases of Mormonism. (*History of Utah*, page 449)

By act approved January 3, 1853, it was ordered that general elections should be held annually in each precinct

on the first Monday in August, and in section five of this act each elector was required to provide himself with a vote containing the names of the persons he wished to be elected, and the offices he would have them fill, and present it folded to the judge of the election, who must number and deposit it the ballot-box; the clerk then wrote the name of the elector, and opposite to it the number of the vote. This measure, which **virtually abolished vote by ballot**, gave much ground of complaint to the anti-Mormons. (Ibid., page 483)

R. N. Baskin made this statement concerning this matter:

It was also evident that under the existing election law the Liberal party could not elect its ticket after it acquired a majority. A number of Liberal Mormons, especially among the younger members, from time to time expressed to me a desire to vote the Liberal ticket, but refrained from doing so because their marked ballots would disclose the fact and subject them to discipline or expulsion from the Mormon church, and injure their business in a way they could not afford. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, page 73)

Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

Since church members followed the advice of the hierarchy in matters both spiritual and temporal, the Council never had any difficulty in assuring election of its candidates. Nominations were made by leading church authorities; absence of the secret ballot assured that only the most recalcitrant would dare oppose the official slate. . . .

Casting a vote in opposition to approved candidates was severely frowned upon, but was not in and of itself grounds for disciplinary action. Running for political office without church approval, however, was a much more serious matter. In the Mormon colony of San Bernardino, California, B. F. Grouard and F. M. Van Leuven were disfellowshipped simply because they ran for political office against other church members nominated by the authorities, who, incidentally, also happened to be members of the Council of Fifty. Another case of wilful opposition to the political counsel of church leaders occurred in 1854. One of the candidates nominated as representative for Salt Lake County in the legislature, Albert P. Rockwood, had incurred the dislike of a group of voters, who nominated a candidate of their own, Stephen H. Hales, in opposition. According to John Hyde, Jr., a Mormon apostate, Hales obtained the majority; "Stephen Hales was accordingly sent for by Brigham, who gave him a severe reprimand for daring to allow his name to be used as an opponent of 'the church nomination.'" Hales was compelled to resign, and Rockwood seated instead. The most important fact of this incident, apparently unknown to Hales and his supporters, and to Hyde, was that Rockwood belonged to the Council of Fifty. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 137-138)

On page 40 of the same book, Klaus J. Hansen states:

For over fifty years, Mormon elections were hardly anything more than a “sustaining” of the official candidates. . . . If a man, therefore, opposed the official church candidate, he was questioning the divine sanction under which this candidate had been nominated. Such a man was clearly on the road to apostasy.

In 1853 Dr. Bernhisel was chosen as a delegate to Congress in the Mormon Tabernacle. Brigham Young stated:

If we wish to make political speeches, and it is necessary, for the best interest of the cause and kingdom of God, to make them on the Sabbath, we do it. . . .

Brother Kimball has seconded the motion, that Doctor Bernhisel be sent back to Washington, as our delegate. All who are in favour of it, raise your right hands. (More than two thousand hands were at once seen above the heads of the congregation.)

This has **turned into a caucus meeting**. It is all right. I would call for an opposite vote if I thought any person would vote. I will try it, however. (Not a single hand was raised in opposition.) (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 188)

Some years later Brigham Young stated:

We have sent a delegate to Congress during the past six years, and has there ever been an opposing vote in his election? NO. The people only want to know who the right man is, and then they will support him. Dr. Bernhisel is our delegate; and has it cost him thousands of dollars to gain his election? No; it has not cost him a single dollar; no, not so much as a red cent. We think that he is the most suitable man for us to send to Washington, and we say, “let us send him,” and he is unanimously elected. And if we had a thousand officers to elect—if we had to elect the President of the United States, you would **never see a dissenting vote**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 228)

It is interesting to note that Dr. Bernhisel was a member of the Council of Fifty. (*Quest for Empire*, page 227)

The Apostle George A. Smith made this statement: “In conversation, last winter, with ex-Governor Lane, of Oregon, (then a delegate in Congress,) on this principle, I told him of an election which occurred in one of our new counties, where the office of Sheriff was vacant, and by **accident there were two candidates and a close contest**” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 159). The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde observed:

The world dreaded the germs of greatness which they saw in the Saints. They dreaded the power that seemed to attend them. They were almost at war with us because we were united. They disliked the idea of our being **politically one. They wanted us to be different parties**. (Ibid., vol. 11, page 38)

Joseph F. Smith, who became the sixth President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

We move as a man, almost; we hearken to the voice of our leader; we are united in our faith and in our works, **whether politically or religiously**. (Ibid., vol. 12, page 328)

Brigham Young seemed to have no understanding of the value of the political system in America. He obviously wanted a dictatorship where the “dictator” would rule “to the day of his death.” The following statements are taken from Brigham Young’s sermons:

In our Government a President is elected for four years, and can be re-elected but once, thus limiting the time of any one person to but eight years at most. Would it not be better to extend that period during life or good behaviour; and when the people have elected the best man to that office, continue him in it as long as he will serve them?

Would it not be better for the States to elect their Governors upon the same principle; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 345)

Should they keep him in office only four years? Should they make a clause in their Constitution that a President shall serve at most for only two terms without a vacation in his services? That is an item that should not be found in the Constitution of the United States, nor in the constitution made by this or any other people. We should select the best man we could find, and centre our feelings upon him, and sustain him as our President, **dictator**, lawgiver, controller, and guide in a national capacity, and in every other capacity wherein he is a righteous example. . . .

Can the Constitution be altered? It can; and when we get a President that answers our wishes to occupy the executive chair, there let **him sit to the day of his death, and pray that he may live as long as Methuselah**; . . . (Ibid., vol. 7, pages 11 and 14)

It is hardly any secret that Brigham Young wanted to be the man who would “occupy the executive chair . . . to the day of his death.” The reader will remember that the historian Bancroft claimed that Brigham Young said that “he would **himself become President of the United States, or dictate who should be President**” (*History of Utah*, page 505).

Klaus J. Hansen feels that the “School of the Prophets” was used by the Council of Fifty to carry out its policies: “Although the School of the Prophets unquestionably played the major role in carrying out these various policies and programs, there is strong evidence that the policies themselves actually originated in the Council of Fifty. . . . in fact, it is highly probable that the Council of Fifty organized the School of the Prophets in order to carry out a vast economic program that could not depend for its immediate supervision on a mere fifty men” (*Quest for Empire*, pages 144-145). The “School of the Prophets” was certainly concerned with politics, for we find the following in the minutes of one of their meetings:

A. O. Smoot stated that it is proposed to take into consideration the nomination of candidates to be elected for county officers at the next General Election—that the men who should be elected should be sustained both here and at the Polls . . .

On Motion Wm. B. Pace was nominated [*sic*] as one of [the] represen[ta]tives to the Legislature and sustain[ed] as such. . . .

Pres. Young rose & spoke on oneness the inhabitants of the earth are divided in most all matters, . . . Some of the brethren think that the Priesthood should not govern us in political affairs but the priesthood is supreme; . . . I hope we **may never hear** of an opposition in this city or county again: . . . we will learn that the **priesthood must dictate**: . . . (“Minutes of the School of the Prophets,” Provo, Utah, 1868-1871, pages 60 and 62 of typed copy at Utah State Historical Society)

The Church’s political party was known as the “People’s Party.” Dean E. Mann states: “Operating later through the Council of Fifty and the People’s Party, the Church continued to exercise great influence over political affairs until that party’s abandonment in 1890” (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1967, page 45). Klaus J. Hansen gives this interesting information:

When the Gentiles, in 1870, threatened the political hegemony of the kingdom of God by forming the Liberal Party, the Mormons responded by organizing the People’s Party, which served as the political arm of the kingdom of God until 1892. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the chairman of the central committee of the People’s Party, John Sharp, was a member of the Council of Fifty. Significantly, the Mormon party never failed in obtaining the major political prize—the congressional seat in Washington—as long as the majority of Mormons had the franchise. William H. Hooper, who served the Mormons in Washington until 1872, belonged to the Council of Fifty. So did George Q. Cannon, who replaced Hooper and served until 1882, when he lost his seat under the Edmunds Act. (*Quest for Empire*, page 172)

The Mormon writer J. D. Williams gives this information:

Statehood for Utah was delayed because Congress was convinced that the Mormons had too many wives and too few political parties.

Prior to 1870, the parties were few enough, all right—just one. Called the “People’s Party,” it was the political vehicle of the Mormon leaders for such tasks as electing the territorial legislature and Utah’s Delegate to Congress. But this one-party system came under challenge in 1869, when a group of Brigham Young’s critics (headed by William Godbe) were excommunicated from the Church and moved almost at once to set up a party of their own. . . .

The absence of the Democratic and Republican parties on the Utah scene puzzled many in the Congress. The presence instead of a “Church Party” could be taken as proof that church and state had not yet been separated. And there was not much Congressional stomach for admitting a polygamous theocracy to the Union. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 36-37)

Some writers claim that because of persecution the Mormons were driven to vote one way. This is completely untrue; the non-Mormons were forced to form the Liberal Party because of the Church’s attempt to control early Utah. The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen states:

In the absence of conflict, so the argument runs, Mormon institutions would have been as democratic as those of the United States itself. . . . This explanation, however, is too simple, . . . An examination of the political theory of the Kingdom of God reveals that persecution or no persecution, the Saints were committed to political unity. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 72)

Speaking of the Mormon idea of “the Kingdom of God,” the Mormon writer Hyrum L. Andrus states:

To establish the Kingdom of God in its political authority would require a major concession on the part on non-Latter-day Saints: that of granting the appropriate **priesthood councils in Zion the power to name men to governmental office**, with the consent of the people. On the other hand, there were certain benefits the non-Latter-day Saint could expect to receive from accepting such a proposition. (*Joseph Smith and World Government*, page 33)

The early Mormon leaders could not seem to understand why the Gentiles were not willing to accept their rule. The *Valley Tan* printed an abstract of a sermon by Heber C. Kimball (a member of the First Presidency) which contains the following statements:

. . . Wonder if there is a Lawyer here? If there is I would like to know if I have committed treason; I was just going to pull my coat off and go into it in earnest—and I would if I hadn’t a calico shirt on. Don’t get mad friends, because we whipped the United States—you can’t blame us for it. They were coming to burn our houses, kill the men, and ravish the women. Well, we just stopped them till they got cooled off, and when they got tame and quiet we let them come in, and didn’t loose a man—I believe a horse was shot in the hoof. We will let them stay here as long as they behave themselves, but they must understand that the United States government and all hell combined can’t drive us from the tops of these mountains. I know you would say, “hold on Mr. Kimball, you’d better hold your tongue.” Well, I will—when I please.

The United States will have to answer for the blood of the Prophets and of the Saints. Earthquakes, famines, volcanoes, bloodshed and hideous pestilences will visit them from one end of the country to the other. Then will the American people prostrate themselves before the independent Saints of Deseret, and beg for food and protection; then will the nations of the earth bow themselves down to our prophets, and in humiliation ask from our hands deliverance. They will then be as meek and humble as the soldiers were when they came. They hung their heads and looked like sheep-stealing dogs. Maybe some of you don’t like this language. If you don’t like it, you can lump it, and if you don’t want to lump it, turn it over and thump it, for all I care. . . .

Are these Federal officers here our masters? No they are not. Brother Bernhisel, where are you? [Looking around, and seeing Bro. Bernhisel had evacuated, the speaker commanded in a tone of authority, “Come in here, Bro. Bernhisel, out of that vestry.—You always run when I get at it. Did we send you to Congress, Bro. Bernhisel, as our master, or as our servant?”]

Bro. Bernhisel.—As your servant.

That's what these Federal officers are sent here for, to wait upon us, to be our servants; and if they had done their duty they would have hung forty before this time for committing treason against Deseret—for violating the laws of this Territory. When we go to the States we obey their laws, and when they come here they ought to obey our laws. They ought to go to the polls and vote for the man who we want to elect to office. They ought to do as Romans do when they are among Romans. But do they do it? No, they are traitors to Deseret. (*Valley Tan*, September 14, 1859, page 2)

The Liberal Party, which was formed to combat the domination of the Mormon Church in politics, had a very difficult time at first. Even the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts has to admit that the Liberal Party received unjust treatment to begin with:

In the municipal election of 1870 the Liberal party cut but a sorry figure. Henry W. Lawrence was the candidate for mayor and there was a full aldermanic ticket nominated, but the party polled only an average of about three hundred votes, to an average vote of about two thousand for the ticket they opposed. One incident to be deeply regretted was the capture of a Liberal party meeting, by their opponents. On the 9th of February at the Masonic Hall representatives of the Liberal party met in caucus, effected an organization, appointed a central committee to serve one year, nominated a ticket for the city offices, appointed a mass meeting for the following night, February 10th, to ratify what had been done, and to exchange views on the questions before the people. Placards addressed to the people were posted in all parts of the city, giving information as to the purpose of the meeting—"the nomination of a people's free and independent ticket for mayor," etc., and closing with the often used "come one, come all" of such placards, and signed "Many Citizens." The *Deseret News*, of the 10th of February, called attention to these placards, and **perverted the intent** of them; and advised that since the object of the meeting was "one of general interest to all classes of our citizens, we hope," said the *News*, "there will be a crowded attendance. We want to see a good ticket nominated for city officers, and the occasion is one in which every citizen should be interested." On this hint some of the "citizens" acted, and the pity of it is that some of them were prominent men in civil and ecclesiastical life of the community. **They forcibly took possession of the meeting** over the protest of Mr. Eli B. Kelsey, who informed them that this was an adjourned meeting of which he was chairman. He was ignored, however, and a new chairman and secretary were elected. When nominations were called for, one by one the nominees of a previous meeting that had been held in the tabernacle, on the 5th of the same month, were brought forward and placed in nomination at this usurped meeting. The so-called party *coup d'etat* is utterly indefensible from every viewpoint, and was successful only because the party against whom the injustice was practiced was not strong enough to resist it by physical force. The injustice of the procedure was doubtless not appreciated at the time.

The minority party two days before the election made application for the appointment of one judge of election out of the three; and one clerk out of the two at the polls, but this was denied them by Mayor Wells, on the ground that the judges and clerks had already been appointed by the city council on the 1st of the month. . . .

The lateness of the application and the previous appointment of the election judges and the clerks may have justified the action of Mayor Wells, but of course minority parties must have the assurance of fair treatment at the polls by the presence of their representatives, rather than by the assurance, however, kindly, of their opponents; and that principle, of course, became recognized in the legislation of Utah as elsewhere, in time. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 307-309)

In a footnote on page 308 of the same volume, B. H. Roberts makes these statements concerning the "capture" of the meeting:

It has been suggested that the whole incident was but a practical joke, discourteous, perhaps, as most practical jokes are, but still a joke, etc.; but the evidence of the "joke" is entirely lacking, and of course was not seen in that light by those upon whom it was practiced, while the official dignity of those engaged in it would forbid acceptance of the theory. . . . Stenhouse states that Brigham Young sent his chief clerk the next morning to assume responsibility for the damage done to the hall and the broken benches, and adds that "it was very fortunate that only broken benches had to be settled for." He represents it as a serious incident and one that might easily have ended in a tragedy.

Stanley S. Ivins gives this information concerning the political situation in Utah toward the end of the 19th century:

Faced with the growing strength of the Liberal Party and the fact that, under the existing Mormon versus Gentile political division, the prospect of statehood for Utah was very dim, someone decided that it was time for a change. So, in the spring of 1891, the People's Party was disbanded, the Mormons were advised to divide on national party lines, and local Republican and Democratic organizations were formed. On the surface, this action suggested that the church was getting out of politics. (*The Moses Thatcher Case*, page 4)

J. D. Williams gives this information:

Then came the dramatic, now humorous, sequence of events in which theocracy served as midwife for the birth of democracy in Utah. Sometime in 1891 (a day uncertain) at a meeting of the leaders of the People's Party (the Church party), the First Counselor in the Church Presidency, George Q. Cannon, made an appearance. President Cannon informed the party officials that the First Presidency of the Church wanted the existing parties scrapped and the national parties instituted in their place. He then warned that the old religious warfare would be perpetuated under new labels if all the People's Party became Democrats and the Liberals became Republicans.

So the word went forth from that meeting that Mormons should join both national parties. And as the word moved down the hierarchy, some imaginative bishops at the ward level gave "practical translation" to the advice: They stood at the head of the chapel aisle and indicated that the Saints on one side (dare we say "right?") should become Republicans and those on the other (left?) should become Democrats.

The People's Party disbanded in 1891 as President Cannon had requested and the Liberal Party followed suit in December, 1893. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 37-38)

MOSES THATCHER

Wallace Turner made these statements in his book, *The Mormon Establishment*, pages 271-272:

Stanley S. Ivins has documented the very cruel way the First Presidency destroyed the ecclesiastical standing of one of the apostles who resisted the return to church domination of political life—Moses Thatcher. . . .

This case established quite clearly in the minds of all Mormon politicians that they must pay attention to the church leaders.

In his work, *The Moses Thatcher Case*, Stanley S. Ivins gives the following information concerning this matter:

Before the next election, things were happening which were to greatly alter the political affiliations of the Mormons. Some of the church leaders met with James G. Blaine and two other high ranking Republicans, and appealed to them for help in getting statehood for Utah. They were laughed at and told that they could not expect such help as long as there were so many Democrats in the Territory. Some time later, at a meeting of church officials in the Gardo House, it was decided that those church leaders who were Republicans would campaign for their party, and those who were Democrats would remain silent. The only objection to this decision came from Apostle Moses Thatcher, who on at least two occasions, had come out openly against participation of the church in politics. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1896)

When the 1892 campaign got under way, the high church officials of Republican persuasion went out to tell the Saints that the Brethren and the Lord wanted more Republicans. But their program was somewhat upset when Apostle Thatcher, B. H. Roberts and Charles W. Penrose, disregarding the decision of their brethren, campaigned for the Democrats. Both Utah and the nation went Democratic, and Grover Cleveland was the one who signed the enabling act making Utah a state.

The three brethren who had not kept quiet about their Democratic sympathies found themselves in trouble, as we learn from the journal kept by Apostle Marriner W. Merrill (*Utah Pioneer and Apostle Marriner W. Merrill and His Family*—Published by Melvin Clarence Merrill—1937). At a January 11, 1893 meeting of the Twelve Apostles, the president of the quorum, Lorenzo Snow, "referred to Moses Thatcher's recent course in not being in harmony with the First Presidency. Then Moses talked and was much agitated and affected and felt humble." Next day the Twelve met with the First Presidency "where matters relating to Apostle Thatcher's recent campaign speeches were discussed as not being with the Presidency in sentiment and feelings. After a six-hour meeting I moved that we all forgive one another and hereafter work in harmony with the First Presidency; seconded and carried unanimously." But full harmony did not follow, for on March 22nd, the Presidency again met with the Twelve, "and occupied the most of the time principally dwelling on their grievances against Apostle Moses Thatcher in the recent campaign." The meeting was adjourned until the following morning, when the "subject of Apostle Moses Thatcher, B. H. Roberts and C. W. Penrose

was discussed at length; they all went in direct opposition to the First Presidency policy in the last fall political campaign." After a long discussion, "it was decided that those Brethren should see their wrong, repent, and make confessions to their Quorums and the Presidency. We all partook of bread and wine at 3:30 p. m. and adjourned at 4:30 p. m. to meet again on Monday, April 3rd. It was agreed that the Brethren above named should not attend the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple until they made matters right."

The Saints had been forty years building this Temple, and its dedication was to be a very important event. Faced with being barred from participating in it, Roberts and Penrose apparently repented, but Thatcher held out to the end. At the April 3rd meeting of the Twelve, he was still "being very defiant and justifying himself in his course." The evening before the dedication, the Twelve met "in the President's office to again consider Apostle Moses Thatcher's case, he being present but not at the Conference. Brother Thatcher made a plea for himself in which he justified his course, but after hearing from all the Quorum, 10 in number, he made a very humble acknowledgement and said he had done wrong and asked forgiveness, and all voted to forgive him freely." So everyone took part in the April 6th dedication, and at an April 20th meeting of "the Priesthood, First Presidency, Twelve, Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, and Presiding Bishopric, in the Temple," all those present agreed to sustain the First Presidency "in all things, political as well as all other matters." So it appeared that harmony and the unquestioned political authority of the Presidency had been restored. But future events did not bear this out.

Although the national administration was now Democratic, the church leaders continued their work for the Republicans and, in the 1893 election, they won control of the Legislature by a narrow margin. Before the 1894 election, the Liberal Party had been disbanded, and the Republicans again won, and also elected a majority of the delegates to the convention which was to meet the following spring to write a constitution for the State of Utah.

The use of church influence in behalf of the Republicans had been no secret, but the Democrats had not chosen to make an issue of it, thinking that to do so would do their cause more harm than good. However, with the approach of the 1895 election, which was to choose the first state officials, they decided that they would try to use the church a little. So they nominated B. H. Roberts for Representative to Congress, and announced that if they won control of the Legislature, Utah's first two Senators would be Moses Thatcher and Joseph L. Rawlins. But this action back-fired on them. During the October general conference of the church, a special priesthood meeting was held in the Assembly Hall, at which Joseph F. Smith strongly rebuked Thatcher and Roberts for accepting political nomination without the consent of the Presidency. He was backed up by George Q. Cannon and President Wilford Woodruff. This meant that the church was officially opposed to the Democratic ticket, and it so alarmed the party leaders that they reconvened their convention to consider the problem. Some wanted to withdraw all their candidates in protest, but this idea was rejected, and it was decided to make an open issue of church influence in politics. An eight column *Address to the People* was prepared and published in the *Salt Lake Herald*. It began with an attack upon the union of church and state, then reviewed at length the activities of high church officials in behalf of the Utah Republicans. The campaign became a contest between the Democrats and the church, as represented by its highest leaders. The Republicans won, but by a smaller margin than in 1894.

The involvement of Thatcher and Roberts in this campaign spelled more trouble for them. The *Deseret News* of November 9th carried a long editorial, "Application of Church Discipline," explaining that church members must be subject to discipline in temporal affairs, and that those who were critical of this principle were in rebellion against divine authority. And from Apostle Merrill's journal, we learn that, at a February 13, 1896 meeting of the First Presidency, Twelve and First Seven Presidents of Seventies, the question of Roberts' "conduct in the last fall's political campaign" was taken up. He defended his course and refused "to make reconciliation" with his brethren. At a March 5th meeting of the same three quorums, his case was again considered, and "After 5 hours' labor with Brother Roberts he was dropped from his Quorum for 3 weeks and suspended from the exercise of the Priesthood for that time, and if no repentance is shown in that time then the action of the Presidency and Apostles and the six Presidents is to be final in his case. The meeting adjourned for 3 weeks." When the adjourned meeting was reconvened, on March 26th, Roberts "made a full confession and was forgiven by all present, and a time of tears and rejoicing was indulged in by all."

In the meantime, "because of events which have happened during the late political contest," a document, which came to be called a political manifesto, had been prepared. It was a long declaration of church policy in political matters, which was to be signed by the general authorities and presented to the April conference for approval. It stated that the church had never tried to interfere in affairs of State, and that it had always been understood that men holding high church positions should not accept political office without first obtaining the approval of "those who preside over them." In line with this policy, the signers of the manifesto agreed that, before any "leading official" of the church accepted a political position, or nomination for such a position, he should apply to the "proper authorities" for permission. It was denied that this rule represented a desire to interfere in the affairs of state government. (*Deseret News*, April 6, 1896)

After being labored with for weeks, Mr. Roberts agreed to sign the manifesto, but it was apparently not shown to Moses Thatcher until the day on which it was to be presented to the general conference. That morning it was taken to his home, where he was ill. He asked for time to study it and was given an hour and a half. He saw it as a misleading statement of the past and present attitude of church leaders in political matters, and as a step toward giving those leaders more political power. When his time was up, he returned it, with a written statement that he did not feel that he could sign it without "stultifying" himself. That afternoon, when the general church authorities were presented to the conference to be sustained, the name of Apostle Thatcher was omitted, without a word of explanation. This unorthodox, and rather underhanded, punishment of Thatcher was unfavorably looked upon by many of the Saints, as shown by the reception given the political manifesto when it was presented to the different Stakes and Wards. At the Cache Stake Conference, three members of the High Council refused to approve it. When it was presented at Provo, many of the congregation would not vote, a few walked out, and one man stood up and very emphatically voted against it. When presented at the morning session of the Tooele Stake Conference, it received three negative votes. One of them was cast by J. C. DeLaMare, an alternate member of the High Council. At the afternoon meeting, Apostle Francis M. Lyman declared the

manifesto to be a revelation, and asked the congregation to vote to suspend Elder DeLaMare from his church position. Between 20 and 25 voted for suspension and 8 or 10 against it, but most of the 250 to 300 who were present refused to vote.

There was so much criticism of the action against Thatcher that, at an October 5th meeting of the Presidency and Twelve, "it was decided to explain Moses Thatcher's case at the Conference at 2 p. m." (Merrill Journal). So, at the afternoon meeting, seven speakers defended the church action and charged that Thatcher had been out of harmony with his fellows for four years. Next day President George Q. Cannon, speaking upon the same subject, declared that not since "the great apostasy in Kirtland," had there been so much criticism of church leadership. He warned that this was a sign of apostasy, and that those who continued with such criticism would lose the Holy Spirit and "go into darkness." When the church authorities were presented, the name of Thatcher was again omitted . . .

On July 9th the Quorum of Twelve Apostles had charged their fellow Apostle with apostasy, but on account of his poor health and other delaying circumstances no final action in the matter had been taken.

In the meantime, another election campaign was under way . . .

Soon after the election, a *Salt Lake Tribune* reporter visited Moses Thatcher and asked him if he was a candidate for the Senate. He replied that he would not work for the office, but if "young Utah" felt that his election would vindicate the principles for which he had contended and help prevent "the forging of chains upon the people of Utah," he would accept the position if it were offered him. This interview was reported in the November 15th [1897] issue of the *Tribune*. Four days later the *News* contained a notice that, at a November 19th meeting of the Council of Twelve Apostles, Brother Thatcher had been dropped from that quorum. Apostle Merrill wrote that he was expelled for insubordination and apostasy.

The prospect of the choice of Thatcher to represent Utah in the Senate brought a strong reaction from the church authorities. On five successive days, beginning November 17th, the *News* featured violent anti-Thatcher editorials. It declared that his candidacy was "an assault upon the doctrines and organic existence" of the church, and that his election would mean that the Democrats wanted to "wound a vital principle of the discipline of the most numerous religious body in this State," and thereby flagrantly insult "that entire religious society." It denied what it called the hysterical implications of the *Tribune* and *Herald*, that the *News* was threatening Thatcher, and insisted that his candidacy was a religious, not a political, question. It was against him because "he stands upon a platform which, fairly interpreted, means nothing more nor less than war against a religious society." (*The Moses Thatcher Case*, by Stanley S. Ivins, pages 4-8)

Stanley S. Ivins goes on to show that Moses Thatcher was defeated, and later the Mormon Church tried to excommunicate him. J. D. Williams calls this a "classic case in the use of church discipline":

At the time when Church leaders were trying to "force feed" the Republican Party, three General Authorities ignored orders and campaigned strenuously for the Democratic ticket in 1892—Elders Moses Thatcher

(an Apostle), Brigham H. Roberts, and Charles W. Penrose. The sanction of excluding them from the long-awaited dedication of the Salt Lake Temple brought them to “repentance” and back into good graces once again.

But not for long. . . . A “Political Manifesto” was drafted which attested that the Church had not been involved in politics . . . For his refusal to sign, Elder Thatcher was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve for insubordination and apostasy—a classic case in the use of church discipline against an Apostle who violated the established rules. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 39-40)

ATTACK ON AMERICA

Brigham Young taught that the Mormon people were to become “free and independent from all other kingdoms” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 98). This teaching created a great deal of friction between the Mormon people and the United States Government. The Mormon leaders became very bitter against the U. S. Government and its officials. The Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt made this statement:

What else does he say? “My Church shall be free and independent of all creatures beneath the celestial world.” Have we been free from the United States? No, we have not; but we are to be made free from every government upon the face of the earth; and wherever there is any dominion that is beneath that of the celestial world, we are to be free from it. . . . The American continent never was designed for such a corrupt Government as the United States’ to flourish or prosper long upon it. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 204)

Joseph Young stated: “The administrators of the Government that we live under are just as **insane as they can be**” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 207). Bishop Lorenzo D. Young made this statement: “I have long prayed that the Lord Almighty would **destroy** the nation that gave me birth, unless the rulers thereof repent. Yes, I pray that it may be broken to pieces and become like an old vessel that is broken and thrown out to rot and to return to its native elements” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 225). Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made these statements about the U. S. Government:

. . . our Government is controlled by ignorance; and thousands who are ignorant of the true principles of correct government are placed in important positions, and every department is more or less governed by ignorance, folly, and weakness. More **imbecility** has been manifested in the management of public affairs, of late, than ought to be manifested by any government. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 64)

The nation is becoming imbecile and weak; they are as unstable as water; they do not seem to have the wisdom of a child; . . . (Ibid., vol. 8, page 226)

That Government known as the United States’ has become **like water spilled on the ground**, and other governments will follow. (Ibid., vol. 8, page 336)

The present Government of the United States is self-destroying, as they are now proving. (Ibid., vol. 9, page 321)

I shall take the liberty of talking as I please about the President of the United States, and I expect that I know his character better than he knows it himself. . . . he is bound on every side, and they make him do as they please. Is he obliged to do so? No.

Is a man fit to be President of the United States, who will bow and succumb to the whims of the people? No. (Ibid., vol. 5, page 126)

I have just as good a right to say that President Taylor is in hell, as to say that any other miserable sinner is there. (Ibid., vol. 2, page 183)

. . . while we were doing our best to leave their borders, the poor, low, degraded curses sent a requisition for five hundred of our men to go and fight their battles! That was President Polk; and he is now weltering in hell with old Zachary Taylor, where the present administrators will soon be, if they do not repent. (Ibid., vol. 5, page 232)

Brigham Young also made some unfavorable comments about Abraham Lincoln:

Our present President, what is his strength? It is like a rope of sand, or like a rope made of water. **He is as weak as water**. What can he do? Very little . . . Of late, at times, I have almost wished that I had been born in a foreign nation. I feel disgraced in having been born under a government that has so little power, disposition, and influence for truth and right; but I cannot help it. What is the cause of their weakness and imbecility? They have left the paths of truth and virtue, . . . Shame, shame on the rulers of the nation! I feel myself disgraced to hail such men as my countrymen, . . . (Ibid., vol. 9, page 4)

The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith made this statement about Abraham Lincoln:

Mr Lincoln now is put into power by that priestly influence; and the presumption is, should he not find his hands full by the secession of the Southern States, the spirit of priestcraft would force him, in spite of his good wishes and intentions, to **put to death**, if it was in his power, **every man that believes in the divine mission of Joseph Smith**, or that bears testimony of the doctrines he preached. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, page 18)

Stanley P. Hirshon quotes Brigham Young as making the following statements in 1869:

“Who goes to the White House in these days?” Young had inquired. “A gambler and a drunkard. And the Vice-President is the same. And no man can get either office unless he is a gambler and a drunkard or a thief. And who goes to Congress? You may hunt clear through the Senate and House, and if you can find any men that are not liars, thieves, whoremongers, gamblers, and drunkards, I tell you they are mighty few, for no other kind of men can get in there.” (*The Lion of the Lord*, pages 278-279)

Daniel H. Wells, who was a member of the First Presidency, made this statement concerning the U. S. Government: “I do not think there is a more corrupt government upon the face of the earth” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, page 374). John Taylor, who became the third President of the Church, stated:

I have vowed in my own mind, over and over again, if I was in Utah, the United States might stand over me until doomsday, before I would do anything for them, unless I was paid for it beforehand. Excuse me, Governor Young, if I am **not very patriotic**. No man need call upon me to do anything in Utah for the United States, unless they pay me the money down. I won't trust them. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 117)

Mean as the Americans are, they will not, many of them, hire for soldiers. (Ibid., vol. 6, page 27)

The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde said:

Just so with the Constitution of the United States. It was framed by the inspiration of the Almighty, we readily grant. . . . It has served and fulfilled its purpose. . . . Under the Constitution there are all kinds of trade, traffic, and commerce carried on in a political view. The Constitution now **serves but little purpose** other than a cloak for political gamblers, merchants, and hucksters.

The Almighty looks down from heaven and sees it impossible to save the Constitution, . . . Although it was framed by his wisdom and skill, and his power and goodness, yet with as much cheerfulness will it be **overthrown** as it was erected or framed. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 153)

Nels Anderson gives this information:

In July of 1862, . . . Stephen S. Harding arrived to take his post as governor of Utah. . . . Some of the leaders were still smarting under a lecture he had administered to the legislature in his message of December, 1862. On the score of patriotism Harding said: “I am sorry to say that since my sojourn amongst you, I have heard no sentiments, either publicly or privately expressed, that would lead me to believe that much sympathy is felt by any number of your people in favor of the Government of the United States, now struggling for its very existence.” (*Deseret Saints*, pages 224-225)

Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

Ursulia B. Hascall, in 1849, expressed the opinion that “the destruction of the states as a nation is just as sure as the sun will ever rise and set. It is near at hand. It is all ready to burst upon it.” Such sentiments were not

isolated expressions by members of the Mormon rank and file. Rather, they were inculcated by the leaders. Brigham Young predicted: “God Almighty will give the United States a pill that will put them to death, and that is worse than lobelia. I am prophet enough to prophesy the downfall of the government that has driven us out. . . . Wo [*sic*] to the United States: I see them going to Death and destruction. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 116-117)

“The time is not far distant,” he [Brigham Young] wrote to the staunch friend of the Mormons in 1858, “when Utah shall be able to assume her rights and place among the family of nations.” Official documents of the period, no doubt purposefully, are dated “State of Deseret,” not “Territory of Utah.” One letter, directed to Col. Thomas Ellerbeck of the Nauvoo Legion, was signed by Thomas Tauner [*sic*] as “Captain of the Royal Artillery, Deseret.” . . . understandably, the Civil War quickened Mormon expectations for the deliverance of Zion. . . .

Certain enemies of the Mormons, nevertheless, charged the Saints with desiring a confederate victory. What the Mormons, however, really seem to have expected—at least during the beginning of the war—was a mutual destruction of both sides. Such expectations found expression in the diary of Charles Walker who, in 1861, wrote: “The Virginians are preparing to seize the capital at Washington, . . . Bro. Brigham spoke of the things in the East said he hoped they would both gain the victory said he had as much sympathy for them as the Gods and Angels had for the Devils in Hell.” . . .

In keeping with this idea of preparedness, the Council of Fifty held itself in readiness to take over when other earthly governments would crumble. After it had failed to obtain statehood for its revived State of Deseret in 1862, the Council nevertheless continued the state organization in the enigmatic meetings of the so-called ghost legislature of Deseret, which convened the day after the close of each session of the territorial legislature during the 1860's. . . . When Lee surrendered . . . it became only too obvious that the anticipations of the Saints and God's foreknowledge once again had not coincided. Nevertheless, more than a year after the cessation of hostilities, Frances P. Dyer could write to her father that apostle John Taylor “could not finish” an address to the Saints “without running on to the one string that they all harp on all the time till I get sick of it, that is the down fall of the United States government and the building up of Mormonism.” (Ibid., pages 165-169)

Things have changed a great deal since the early Mormon leaders have left the scene. Davis Bitton made this observation:

The Church entered the twentieth century in anxious pursuit of respectability. The Mormons had long been accused of being immoral and un-American. . . . At last the Saints could be “respectable,” . . . They became not only loyal Americans but patriots, determined to prove their Americanism to any doubter. Soon after the turn of the century the new Boy Scouts of America program was adopted by the Church with great enthusiasm. Thousands of Mormon boys could now pledge to do their duty to God and country, with none of the old schizophrenia. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 126)

Although Mormons are now considered to be very patriotic, some of them seem to lack a real understanding of the meaning of freedom. Dr. Waldemar P. Read made these interesting observations:

Why? I asked myself. Why should I have the effrontery to talk to my own people about their bondage? If I feel that I must examine a specific culture, why not choose that of Cuba, Formosa, Communist China, East Germany or Spain? It would be different, of course, if I were about to take a slow boat to China—if I had accepted a position with the University of Calcutta or Teheran, or if for some other reason I contemplated leaving these valleys of the mountains; but, since I am not contemplating any such move, why not let sleeping people lie?

Just when I was engaged in these reflections of uncertainty I heard for the first time the sound of the Nauvoo bell, and heard the enthusiastic explanation by the television announcer that throughout the world, wherever this bell is heard by persons who know its history, its tones will have a special significance. It rings for freedom!

Now, this surprised me, to say the least. A very significant claim was being made for the local culture. Uncertainty about the propriety of my assignment eased. Since such a claim of special significance for the culture is made, it is surely admissible that the appropriateness of that claim be reflected upon. . . .

I must begin by mentioning freedoms that are so taken for granted that we are apt to forget them. In Utah we enjoy the political and civil liberties that are characteristic of America. . . . There is no gestapo in Utah nor secret police, and no concentration camps. . . . There is little doubt but that most people of Utah regard the freedoms they enjoy as ideal for the world.

However, the freedoms I have mentioned are not distinctive for Utah. Rather, they are characteristic of America as a whole. With respect to them we but participate in the common American heritage. In themselves they scarcely justify the distinctive claim made for the Nauvoo bell. Such justification would seem to require that this culture and its people have a greater than usual appreciation of these freedoms, and a greater than usual zeal for their protection, preservation and enhancement. It has been my impression that such has not been the case. . . .

I think the record will show, for instance, that during the rise of Naziism Utahns were not distinctively clairvoyant nor concerned with respect to the nature and seriousness of its threat to freedom. On the contrary, reports came from missionaries laboring in Germany and from the president of that mission—reports amounting almost to boasting—that though the Catholic and Protestant clergies were having difficulties with Hitler, the Nazis saw nothing in the activities of the Mormon missionaries to alarm them. In retrospect it would seem that this fact of history can be reconciled with the claim now made for the Nauvoo bell only if the freedom for which the latter tolls is understood to have an eschatological (i.e., other worldly) reference and to have nothing to do with the political freedoms and civil liberties of the here and now. (*What Freedom is Found in the Local Culture?* by Waldemar P. Read, a paper presented on “The Great Issues Forum” program at the University of Utah on April 4, 1962, pages 1 and 2)

DECLINE OF KINGDOM

The Mormon writer Richard D. Poll states:

As for the doctrine of “separation of church and state,” only when the end of the nineteenth century saw the political kingdom indefinitely postponed did it become an operating principle within the Mormon community. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 137)

Frank J. Cannon was a man who labored very hard to break down the control which the Mormon Church had over the people of Utah. J. D. Williams states:

Republican Frank Cannon, son of George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency, had been Utah’s Territorial Delegate in Congress, and became in 1896 one of the state’s first two Senators. . . .

Finding himself opposed by another Democrat, whose candidacy was championed by an Apostle, Heber J. Grant, Senator Cannon rented the Salt Lake Theater and delivered a tirade against church interference in politics. The Senator was then called to Church President Lorenzo Snow’s home. The Prophet told the Senator that it was the “will of the Lord” that he should step aside gracefully to permit his father, George Q. Cannon, President Snow’s first counselor, and a Republican, to be elected to Cannon’s seat. The Senator refused to follow the dictate; the Democratic Legislature refused to elect father or son; and Utah suffered the ignominy of being represented by only one Senator from 1899 to 1901. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 40-41)

Frank J. Cannon made these statements concerning this matter:

President Snow was then living with his youngest wife in a house a few blocks from the offices of the Presidency. . . . President Snow opened the door to me himself, received me with his usual engaging smile, . . .

This memory of him sticks in my mind as one of the most extraordinary pictures of my experience. I knew that I had come there to hear my own or some other person’s political death sentence. I knew that he would not have invited me at such an hour, with such secrecy, unless the issue of our conference was to be something dark and fatal. . . .

He sat down in his chair, composing himself with an air that might have distinguished one of the ancient kings. “I have sent for you to talk about the Senatorial situation. May I speak plainly to you?” . . .

“It would be most unfortunate,” he said, “for us, as a people, if we failed to elect a Senator. . . . I think you would not willingly permit our situation to become more difficult.” . . . “Last night,” he continued, “lying on my bed, I had a vision. I saw this work of God injured by the political strife of the brethren. And the voice of the Lord came to me, directing me to see that your father was elected to the Senate.” He studied me a moment before he added: “What have you to say?”

I answered: "It seems to me impossible. This legislature is strongly Democratic. My father's a Republican. It seems to me not only impracticable but very unwise—if it could be done.

"Never mind that," he said. "The Lord will take care of the event. I want you to withdraw from the race and throw your strength to your father. It is the will of the Lord that you do so."

"Have you a revelation to that effect also?" I asked.

He answered, pontifically, "Yes."

"You'll publish it to the world, then, the same as other revelations?"

"No," he replied. "No."

"Then I'll not obey it," I said, "because if God is ashamed of it, I am."

His air of prophetic authority changed to one of combative resolution. He explained that one of the other candidates, a strong Democrat, had agreed to accept the revelation if I would; that the two of us could give our strength to the church candidate; that the Church would turn to my father the votes that it had already in command for McCune, and my father's election would be carried. (*Under the Prophet in Utah*, pages 227-231)

Just after the turn of the century the Mormon leaders found themselves in serious trouble because of their attempt to control politics in Utah. Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

In 1903, a powerful group of senators instigated proceedings to remove Reed Smoot, a Mormon apostle, from his senate seat, on the grounds that the Mormon hierarchy still controlled political affairs in Utah, that separation of church and state were only practiced superficially, and that Smoot was therefore an emissary of the Mormon priesthood as well as a representative of the state. Most of the leading Mormon authorities were subpoenaed to appear before the senate committee. Alleged church control of politics and attempts to establish a political kingdom of God were the major charges levelled against the Mormons. President Joseph F. Smith averred that the church, and not Smoot, was on trial. These hearings, more than anything else, forced Mormon leaders to come to a decision on church influence in politics, and on the future of the political kingdom of God. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 183-184)

After this investigation the Mormon leaders were forced to be more careful in their attempt to gain political power. The Mormon writer J. D. Williams states that "today, with the normal power imperatives of any large organization with much at stake, the L.D.S. Church remains in politics" (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 34). J. D. Williams also gives this interesting information:

More subterranean, and less official, were the endorsement tactics used in the heated Thomas-Bennett election for the U.S. Senate during 1950. A "watch-and-ward society" called the Law Observance and Enforcement Committee had become appended to the

Church hierarchy prior to this time. Its primary job was to report to the First Presidency on violations of liquor, tobacco and prostitution laws in Salt Lake County. But in 1950 this committee extended itself in publishing a list of candidates who would support Church standards. Attached to a mimeographed talk which was to be read in the monthly Fast and Testimony Meeting, the list began with the candidates for Senator and Congressman and ran on through thirty-two local offices. Seventeen of the thirty-four Democrats had been crossed out, two of the thirty-four Republicans.

Like Moses Thatcher of old, Mormon Democrats felt their Church had betrayed them. In the ensuing crossfire, the First Presidency issued a disclaimer through the Salt Lake press declaring that they had neither approved a list of acceptable candidates nor directed the circulation of such a list. But the list, and other gratuitous insults against Thomas had their effect. He was defeated in November by the prominent Utah businessman-Churchman, Wallace F. Bennett. . . .

On occasion, more covert actions to influence the electorate are tried than front-page editorials and sermons from the pulpit. One thinks particularly of the efforts made by key Church people in 1954 to secure a favorable referendum vote on a one-senator-per-county reapportionment amendment.

To secure that vote in populous Salt Lake County (which would thereby cost the county six out of its seven state senators), a political committee of the Apostles was formed under the co-chairmanship of Elders Henry D. Moyle and Harold B. Lee. They authorized Stake President Junius Jackson to form the Salt Lake Valley Stake Presidents Committee as the campaign vehicle. Under the aegis of that committee, pro-reapportionment pamphlets were prepared and then distributed by Deseret Industry trucks, ward teachers, Beehive girls—by anyone who carried the "Church stamp" so as to convey the impression of Church endorsement of the proposal.

But in the end, the ground was cut from beneath the entire effort by the release of a letter to the press which the First Presidency had written to Professor Frank Jonas, plainly saying that "the Church takes no position with reference to it. . . . No one is authorized to align us with either side of the controversy." The effort to use Church channels for political campaigning was thereby successfully interdicted and the proposed constitutional amendment went down to defeat on election day. . . .

But the practice of Church officials' making suggestions to public administrators and law makers has never died. As a case in point, one thinks of the Law Observance and Enforcement Committee during the 1940's when it reported to Second Counselor David O. McKay. Word from the Committee about a grocery store's selling cigarettes or beer to minors would lead to a "high level" call to Public Safety Commissioner Ben Lingenfelter, and the police would then check out the offending grocer.

Up until recent times, there were close ties between Church headquarters and city and county planning and zoning officers to assure the reservation of lots for new ward houses as subdivision plats were filed. But the responsibility has now shifted to the ward bishops to negotiate with subdividers.

In the legislative area, relations between Church officials and lawmakers are still very direct. Some are out-in-the open for the public to see; others are behind the scenes. Communiques to members of Congress are periodically sent by the First Presidency. Two famous ones were the 1946 admonition to the Utah Congressional delegation to oppose a peacetime draft and the 1965 letter to all Mormons in Congress to resist the repeal of “right-to-work” laws. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 43, 45, 46 and 47)

The “Law Observance and Enforcement Committee” of the Mormon Church—mentioned by J. D. Williams found itself in trouble with the law in 1966. The following appeared in the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, published at the University of Utah:

Colonel Elmer G. Thomas of Salt Lake City’s Twenty-four Stakes of Zion Law Enforcement and Observance Committee has again stepped in the middle of a muddy puddle.

Summer ‘66 found Thomas and the League on the path of righteousness, this time in pursuance of the area’s alcohol vendors. The league apparently found a nineteen-year-old Kaysville youth to pose at being of legal age who would try to purchase liquor from area package stores. . . .

When the league finished its research and released the findings based on the youth’s visits to Salt Lake liquor stores, they no doubt thought they had rid the Valley of an undesirable element.

A Salt Lake area package agency was closed by the Utah State Liquor Control Commission and a clerk was fired and subsequently charged with illegal sale of liquor to a minor. . . .

Utah’s Attorney General Phil Hansen considerably dampened the effect of the league’s victory with his decision that regardless of the intent of the league’s actions it had violated state statutes in urging a minor to break the liquor laws.

Since Hansen’s decision became public, the youth has been charged with illegal purchase of an alcoholic beverage, his father, also a member of the league has been charged with aiding and abetting the illegal purchase. County Attorney Grover A. Giles hinted his office may file additional charges against “groups” who may have aided, abetted or counceled the Kaysville youth’s actions. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, September 23, 1966, page 2)

Wallace Turner gives this information:

So on June 22, 1965, President McKay and his two counselors, Hugh B. Brown and Nathan Eldon Tanner, wrote a letter to three United States senators and eight representatives in Congress urging them to vote against President Lyndon B. Johnson’s attempt to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act because this would repeal the nineteen state right to work laws. Only the Mormon members of Congress got the letters; the First Presidency ignored the Gentiles there. . . .

Five of the Democratic members—Senator Moss, Representatives Moss, Dyal Hanna and Udall—all signed a joint letter. They said that they would not heed the

attempt of the Mormon president to give them religious instruction on casting their votes. They wrote:

We yield to none of our brothers in our dedication to the protection of the God-given rights of our fellow citizens. While we respect and revere the offices held by the members of the First Presidency of the church, we cannot yield to others our responsibilities to our constituency, nor can we delegate our own Free Agency to any but ourselves. We know that each of you will agree that in this instance we act in conformity with the highest principles of our church in declining to be swayed by the views expressed in the communications.

In signing the letter, Udall also said that he was going to vote the way the First Presidency indicated, but only because Arizona had a right to work law and he felt compelled to uphold it. (*The Mormon Establishment*, pages 292-293)

During the past few years there has been a great deal of controversy in the Mormon Church with regard to Ezra Taft Benson’s political activities. Mr. Benson is an Apostle in the Mormon Church, and although he is not a member of the John Birch Society, his activities on their behalf have caused the Mormon Church leaders a great deal of embarrassment. On January 4, 1964, Drew Pearson made the following comment concerning Ezra Taft Benson:

Benson has praised the man who says Mr. Eisenhower was a dedicated agent of communism—Robert Welch; while Reed Benson, Ezra’s son, has become a paid organizer for Welch’s John Birch Society.

Benson has become so extreme in his views that the Mormon Church, of which he is one of the Twelve Apostles, has quietly transferred him abroad to head the church’s European mission. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1964, Third Section, page 21)

On February 21, 1964, the *Deseret News* reported that the President of the Mormon Church had denied that Ezra Taft Benson was sent away because of his support of the John Birch Society:

BOISE (UPI)—President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints denied in a letter released here Friday he sent Elder Ezra Taft Benson to Europe because of Elder Benson’s alleged activities with the John Birch Society. (*Deseret News*, February 21, 1964, page 8A)

The *Idaho State Journal* let the “cat out of the bag,” however, when they published two letters written to Rep. Ralph R. Harding. One of them was written by Joseph Fielding Smith, who has since become President of the Mormon Church, and the other was written by Robert McKay, who is the son of the late President David O. McKay. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reprinted parts of these letters on Friday, February 21, 1964:

The paper then quoted Mr. Smith's letter as saying: "I am glad to report to you that it will be some time before we hear anything from Brother Benson, who is now on his way to Great Britain where I suppose he will be at least for the next two years. When he returns, **I hope his blood will be purified.**"

Robert McKay's letter, the paper said, expressed a similar sentiment.

"We shall all be relieved when Elder Benson **ceases to resist counsel** and returns to a concentration on those affairs befitting his office," he wrote. "It is my feeling that there will be an **immediate and noticeable curtailment** of his **Birch Society activities.**" . . .

There was speculation last December when Mr. Benson was sent to Europe by the church that he was being **exiled** for his political views. The LDS Church officially denied the rumors. . . .

President Smith, when contacted in his Salt Lake apartment Thursday afternoon, said he had written to Rep. Harding late last year stating that Elder Benson was on his way to Great Britain to serve as a mission president.

"I **don't** recall writing 'When he returns, I hope his blood will be purified.' If I did write such a statement, I meant that **when he returned he would be free of all political ties,**" President Smith declared.

The church official said his letter was personal to Rep. Harding and was not intended for publication. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 21, 1964, page 4-A)

In his book, *The Mormon Establishment*, Wallace Turner shows that Benson has continued his activities for the Birch Society and that this has caused a great deal of controversy in the Mormon Church.

In this chapter we have shown that the Council of Fifty had a great deal of power in early Utah. Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

An examination of Utah territorial legislatures from 1851 to 1896 reveals that not until the 1880's, when the influx of Gentiles into the territory in large numbers began to crack Mormon political hegemony, did the Council of Fifty lose its political influence. (*Quest for Empire*, page 137)

The reorganization of the Council of Fifty in 1880 suggests that it may have been dormant for a period, possibly since the death of Brigham Young or perhaps

even longer. . . . On Monday, March 29, Nuttall recorded in his diary that he "went this morning with Elder Franklin D. Richards at his office and examined the records of the council of 50 or Kingdom of God and made out lists of members now living."

The reorganization of the Council took place immediately after the general conference of the church in April. . . . On April 21, the Council again convened at the city hall. At this meeting, Feramorz Little, Mayor of Salt Lake City, was "admitted as a member." . . . The Council of Fifty, organized by Joseph Smith himself through revelation, apparently could not simply be pushed aside. (*Ibid.*, pages 173-174)

We know that the Council of Fifty was still in existence in 1884, for Abraham H. Cannon recorded the following in his diary:

At 10 a. m. I attended a meeting in the Social Hall with S. B. Young, John W. Taylor and John Q., and was introduced to 50. "The Kingdom of God and its laws, and the keys thereof, and judgment in the hands of His servant, Ahman Christ." ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," October 9, 1884, vol. 5, page 24)

It is interesting to note that the "Minutes of the Council of Fifty," for 1880 list Joseph F. Smith as a member (*Quest for Empire*, page 226). Joseph F. Smith became the sixth President of the Mormon Church, and his son, Joseph Fielding Smith, recently became the tenth President.

Several years ago we discussed the Council of Fifty with a man who had been a member of the Church's "Law Enforcement and Observance Committee." He stated that this committee was not part of the Council of Fifty, but he told us of a conversation he had with B. H. Roberts in which Roberts claimed that the Council of Fifty was established by revelation and would always be a part of the Church. J. D. Williams, however, feels that the Council of Fifty is no longer in existence:

While the laity have no sure knowledge of its demise, one presumes that the Council, like polygamy, was abandoned about the time of statehood as the full machinery of civil government replaced the vestiges of theocracy. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 47)

6. MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

Because of the persecution the Mormon Church received in Missouri and Illinois, some members of the Church became very bitter against their enemies. The Mormon leaders went so far as to blame the United States Government for their troubles. The Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt wrote the following in 1845: “Brethren awake!—be determined to get out from this **evil nation** next spring. We do not want one saint to be left in the United States after that time. Let every branch in the East, West, North, and South, be determined to flee out of Babylon, . . .” (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, page 1043).

The following statements from the *Latter-Day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 7, show the feelings that the Mormons had against the United States Government in 1846:

And now when the Saints cannot remain any longer, they are willing to go. This is also necessary in order that the judgments of God might be poured out upon that guilty nation that is already drunk with the blood of the Saints. The church must come out from the midst of the Gentiles. . . . There is no safety under the government of the United States. . . . let the Saints arise and go out of her midst. . . .

Elder Thomas Ward rose to express his feelings on the present occasion. . . . It is not meet that the Saints should any longer be subject to a government that has neither the power nor the will to protect them. . . . Providence and circumstances compel the church to come from that Gentile race, to become a people and nation themselves, and to transact business with nations instead of the people that have oppressed us. (*Latter-Day Saints’ Millennial Star*, vol. 7, pages 1-2)

. . . duty calls our beloved brother Woodruff from the presidency of the church in Britain, to join his brethren in their exodus from the United States . . . from an unprotecting and oppressive government. (Ibid., page 10)

. . . we behold the results of the wickedness and **imbecility** of the United States’ government, in withholding the common rights of humanity, and the protection due to all her citizens, . . . thrusting them out from Gentile thralldom, to occupy their right position among the nations of the earth, . . . (Ibid., page 613)

. . . we leave Nauvoo and the United States next Spring . . . As brother Young says, “We don’t owe this nation another gospel sermon, they are left to feel the wrath of an angry God.” (Ibid., pages 38-39)

. . . the wrath of an avenging God must fall upon the nation, and it is necessary for his people to be gathered

away, that they be not partakers of the plagues that will assuredly come upon that guilty land. (Ibid., page 60)

. . . her [America’s] own children are ashamed of their birthright. . . . they will go forth shaking off the dust of their feet upon her, and leaving their curse upon the doomed and fated people and rulers of the United States. . . . The cup of the iniquity of that nation is full unto the brim, and the blood of the Saints crieth from the ground for vengeance, and it is nigh at hand, even at the door. That guilty nation, that hath vaunted herself above all nations, shall bite the dust and come to naught, the elements of destruction are within herself, . . . shameful shall be thy fall! (Ibid., pages 200-201)

On December 1, 1845, W. W. Phelps wrote a letter in which he stated:

“Sir: The Quorum of the Twelve solicited me to write to you . . . we have concluded to let this **rotten government** alone, and shall not petition at Washington.” (*Oliver Cowdery—Second Elder and Scribe*, page 249)

On May 14, 1848, Oliver B. Huntington reported the following in his diary:

. . . the spirit of God rested upon **Brigham and he cursed the nation by the authority and power of God and the priesthood** given him and all the Saints said amen. He was never known to curse so much in his life as on that day. The nation, the land of Missouri, that sickness should not allow any but the righteous to live upon it, and old Colonel Miller, an Indian agent for his meanness and abuse to the Saints. All the Saints said amen. (“Oliver B. Huntington Diary,” May 14, 1848, as cited in *The Lion of the Lord*, page 88)

Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary:

Friday 26th [1845] . . . The company . . . were addressed by Lieu Gen Young . . . I never intend to winter in the United States except on a visit we do not owe this country a single Sermon we calculated to go all the while for I do not intend to Stay in such an Hell of a Hole and if this bee your mind signify it by saying Hie—which was loudly responded to by the assembly—they are continually accusing us of stealing they [their?] horses & cattle—I wish some of the brethren would steal & kill them . . . They are as corrupt as Hell from the president down clean through the priest and the people are all as corrupt as the Devil . . . (*On the Mormon Frontier—The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 73)

Wednesday May the 27th 1846. . . . Green Taylor, . . . said there was a war between the United States and Mexico . . . I confess that I was glad to learn of war against the United States and was in hopes that it might never end untill they were entirely destroyed . . . (Ibid., pages 163-164)

In 1857 Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, made these comments:

Thank God, I say, that we are delivered from that Christian nation. Deliver me from their Christianity, and from them. . . .

I will tell you the day of our separation has come, and we are a free and an independent people, isolated a thousand miles from the Christian nation; and thanks be to our God for ever. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, pages 130 and 133)

THE UTAH WAR

Brigham Young had hoped to take the Mormons “beyond the boundaries of the United States,” but the Mexican War “changed these calculations” (*Quest for Empire*, page 115). Therefore, the Mormon leaders found themselves still under the power of the United States government. Although Brigham Young was allowed the privilege of being Governor, the federal government appointed a number of officials that displeased the Mormon leaders. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, stated:

I said, We have been outrageously imposed upon by United States’ officials. They send out every rag-tag and bob-tail, and every mean nincompoop they can scrape up from the filth and scum of society, and dub him a United States’ officer; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 118)

Although Brigham Young’s idea of establishing a kingdom was bound to bring him into conflict with the government of the United States, it should be acknowledged that the officials sent by the government were not perfect. Stanley P. Hirshon observes:

Unfortunately some of Utah’s federal appointees deserved such treatment. “Money is my God,” Drummond bragged to Remy and Julius Brenchley, “and you may put this down in your journals if you like.” Abandoning his wife without support, Drummond brought with him to Utah a prostitute he had picked up in Washington and passed off as his wife. In court she sat beside him. (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 160)

In his zeal to establish a kingdom Brigham Young was ready to capitalize on any mistake made by the federal government. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives this information: “At the tabernacle elders waxed bold, and all their remonstrances and overtures of peace being now rejected, they openly avowed, sometimes in braggart phrase, their contempt for the United States government and its army, and declared that Israel should now be free” (*History of Utah*, pages 523-524). Stanley P. Hirshon states that “Young’s methods reinforced the Gentile belief that the Mormons seriously threatened the federal government” (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 142). The Mormon writer

William E. Berrett made this statement: “Misunderstandings between the Saints and Federal appointees and the subsequent ill feelings and abusive actions on both sides, fill many pages of Utah history” (*The Restored Church*, 1956, page 446). On May 4, 1855, Brigham Young was reported as saying the following by the *New York Herald*:

. . . It is reported that I have said that whoever the President appoints, I am still Governor. I repeat it, all hell cannot remove me. (Cries of “Amen.”) I am still your Governor. (Cries of “Glory to God.”) I will still rule this people until God himself permits another to take my place. I wish I could say as much for the other officers of the government. The greater part of them are a gambling, drinking, whoring set. . . . Do you think I’ll obey or respect them? No! I’ll say as I did the other day, when the flag was hauled down from before the military quarters—“Let them take down the American flag; we can do without it.” (Great applause, stamping of feet and yells.) (*New York Herald*, May 4, 1855, as cited in *The Lion of the Lord*, pages 158-159)

On September 6, 1857, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary: “President B. Young in his Sermon declared that the **thre[a]d was cut between us and the U.S.** and that the Almighty recognised us as a free and independent people and that **no officer** appointed by government (sent to [crossed out]) should come and rule over us from this time forth (*On the Mormon Frontier; The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 636). Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, made these statements in 1857:

Is there a collision between us and the United States? No; we have not collashed: that is the word that sounds nearest to what I mean. But now **the thread is cut** between them and us, . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 251)

There is no man that can rule over this people but Brigham Young. . . . we never will have any other man so long as he liveth; . . .

We have **declared our independence** . . . when the time of the test comes, as the Lord God Almighty lives, if you then leave us or betray us, **that is the end of you**. . . .

This year’s trouble will not be much. It is not going to amount to a great deal; but it will amount to this—a collision between this people and the United States; and the gate will be shut down between us and them. This is already done to a certain extent; but many of you do not see it. (Ibid., pages 274-275)

Some of the Mormon people were worried about committing treason, but John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, stated:

There are others of you that have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States; and some of you, not understanding correct principles, may, perhaps, feel qualms of conscience, and think, probably, that if we undertake to resist the powers that are seeking to make aggression upon us, we are doing wrong. No such thing. You let your conscience sleep at ease; let it be quiet: it is not us who are doing wrong; it is others who are committing a wrong upon us. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 149)

One of the main incidents that triggered the Utah War was a raid the Mormons made on the office of Judge George P. Stiles. Nels Anderson states:

Stiles took the position that the United States marshal and not the territorial marshal should have jurisdiction over serving writs and impaneling juries. The former office was usually a Gentile; the latter, a Mormon, an important factor in selecting jurors. Because of his opposition, three Mormon lawyers—James Ferguson, J. C. Little, and Hosea Stout—in February, 1857, created a disturbance in the court of Judge Stiles. Not satisfied with breaking up the court and forcing its adjournment, these lawyer-Saints raided the office of Judge Stiles, took possession of some of his books, and carried some of his documents and papers to an outhouse and burned them. (*Desert Saints*, page 160)

The reader will notice that Nels Anderson states that Hosea Stout was involved in this disturbance. In his diary Hosea Stout recorded the following under the date of December 30, 1856:

Last night the Law library of Judge Stiles & T. S. Williams was broken open and the books and papers thereof taken away. A privy near by was filled with books a few thousand shingles and laths added and the concern set on fire and consumed. *Sic transit Lex non Scripti* (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 613)

In a footnote on the same page, Juanita Brooks states:

As on October 12, 1855, when persons unknown broke into the office of Almon W. Babbitt and carried away all the official papers, now again some zealots looted the offices of Judge Stiles, lately excommunicated, and Thomas S. Williams, also out of favor with the church. Later these books were found and returned, the burning of the privy and some papers being only a trick to anger and deceive the judge. *Sic transit lex non Scripti*—“Thus passeth away the unwritten law.”

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives the following information concerning this matter:

... the judge issued certain writs, which it was found impossible to serve, and when the question of jurisdiction was brought before the court, several Mormon lawyers entered and insulted the judge, threatening him with violence unless he decided in their favor. ... A short time afterwards the records of the United States district courts were taken from the judge's office during his absence, and a few moments before his return a bonfire was made of the books and papers in his office. He, of course, supposed that the records were also consumed, and so made affidavit on his return to Washington in the spring of 1857. Meanwhile the business of the courts was suspended. The records had, in fact, been removed, and were in safe-keeping; but this silly freak was noised abroad throughout the land with many exaggerations, and excited much adverse comments. (*History of Utah*, pages 488-489)

After the departure of Drummond, the only gentile official remaining in the territory was Garland Hurt, the Indian agent, and none were found willing to accept office in a territory where it was believed they could only perform their duty at peril of their lives. (*Ibid.*, page 492)

It was now established, as was supposed, on sufficient evidence, that the Mormons refused obedience to gentile law, that federal officials had been virtually driven from Utah, that one, at least, of the federal judges had been threatened with violence while his court was in session, and that the records of the court had been destroyed or concealed. With the advice of his cabinet, therefore, and yielding perhaps not unwillingly to the outcry of the republican party, President Buchanan determined that Brigham should be superseded as governor, and that a force should be sent to the territory, ostensibly as a posse comitatus, to sustain the authority of his successor. (*Ibid.*, page 495)

Nels Anderson gives this information:

Senator Stephen A. Douglas made a speech on June 12, 1857, ... He spoke with authority of reports which indicated that the Mormons were not loyal to the government. He charged that nine out of ten of Utah's inhabitants were aliens, that Mormons were bound to their leader by “horrid oaths,” that the church was inciting the Indians to acts of hostility, and that the Danites, or “Destroying Angels,” were robbing and killing American citizens.

On June 26 Lincoln made a speech, also at Springfield; and he also touched the Mormon question. He ventured the opinion that perhaps territorial status should be repealed and Utah placed under the judicial control of neighboring states. The Mormons, he said, “ought somehow [to] be called into obedience.” ...

President Buchanan felt impelled to take action against the Mormons, ... He met the situation by calling the Mormon problem one of civil disobedience. ...

On June 29 General Scott dispatched orders to General W. S. Harney at Fort Leavenworth, instructing him to outfit a detachment of 2,600 men and officers, for garrison service in Utah to restore order and support civil authority. (*Desert Saints*, pages 167-168)

Instead of submitting to the federal government, the Mormon leaders decided to resist it. Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, made these statements:

Listen to the counsel of God and those men that are placed here; ... our enemies shall be overcome every time before they cross that Big Mountain, if we have to do it ourselves. ... We intend to **kill** the poor curses ourselves, before they get to the Big Mountain. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 135)

Will we have manna? Yes. The United States have 700 waggons loaded with about 2 tons to each waggon with all kinds of things, and then 7,000 head of cattle; and there are said to be 2,500 troops with this, and that, and the other. That is all right. Suppose the troops **don't get here, but all these goods and cattle come**. Well, that would be a mighty help to us; that would clothe up the boys and the girls, and make them comfortable; and then, remember, there are 15 months' provisions besides. I am only talking about this. ... the **President** of the United States, ... shall be **cursed**, in the name of Israel's God, ...

Send 2,500 troops here, our brethren, to make a desolation of this people! God Almighty helping me, I will fight until there is not a drop of blood in my veins. Good God! I have wives enough to whip out the United States; for they will whip themselves. Amen. (*Ibid.*, pages 94-95)

. . . we shall never be ruled over by them from this day forth, . . . You ladies, too, will certainly have to do your part, or back out. I told you last Sunday to **arm yourselves**; and if you cannot do it any other way, sell some of your fine bonnets, fine dresses, and buy yourselves a good dirk, a pistol, or some other instrument of war. Arm your boys and arm yourselves universally, and that, too, with the weapons of war; . . . I have said, again and again, that if we live our religion, and do as we are told, those men will never come over those mountains; for **we shall slay the poor devils** before they get there. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 162-163)

The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith was sent south, and according to his own statement, his preaching was of a military nature:

On the following day, I addressed the Saints at their meeting-house. I never had greater liberty of speech to proclaim to the people my feelings and views; and in spite of all I could do, I found myself preaching a **military discourse**; . . .

I then went to Harmony, Brother Dame preached to the military, and I to the civil powers; and I must say that my discourse partook of **the military more than the religious**. But it seemed that I was perfectly **running over with it**, and hence I had to say something about it. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 221-222)

As we shall see later, the visit to the southern settlements by George A. Smith has a very important relationship to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. On page 224 of the volume cited above, George A. Smith stated: "But I am perfectly aware that all the settlements I visited in the south, Fillmore included one single sentence is enough to put every man in motion."

At this time the Mormon leaders did everything they could to turn their people against the U. S. Government and to stir them up to resist the troops sent by the President. Brigham Young, for instance, told the people that the federal government's request for the "Mormon Battalion" in 1846 was an act of persecution: "There **cannot be a more damnable, dastardly order** issued . . . the poor, **low, degraded curses** sent a requisition for five hundred of our men . . . That was President Polk; and he is now weltering **in hell**. . . . And the very act of James K. Polk in taking five hundred of our men. . . . would have **hung him between the heavens and the earth**, if the laws had been faithfully executed" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 231, 232 and 235). This accusation was, of course, completely untrue; actually, the federal government did this as a "special favor" for the Mormon people, and the Mormons themselves had requested it (see *The Case Against Mormonism*, vol. 1, pages 27-34).

The Mormon leaders also misrepresented the intentions of the U.S. Government by stating that the troops were going to kill them and steal the women. Stanley P. Hirshon stated: "As Kimball saw it, Buchanan had sent troops to kill brother Brigham and me; and to take the young women to the States. . . ." (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 172). On September 27, 1857, Heber C. Kimball stated: ". . . they [the troops] exulted over us and sang all manner of songs, telling how they were going

to kill brother Brigham and all those who would uphold 'Mormonism;' and they seemed to be as crazy as fools. They swore that they would use every woman in this place at their own pleasure—that they would slay old Brigham and old Heber; . . ." (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 274). Charles L. Walker recorded the following in his diary: "Sunday, Jan. 24, 1858. . . . Went to the Tabernacle. Bro. E. T. Benson . . . said the U. S. were all gaping full of fear about the Mormons and were shipping troops around by California. Said it was their intention to **destroy every man, woman and child that was a Mormon and wipe us out of existence**" ("Diary of Charles L. Walker," 1855-1902, excerpts typed, page 2).

The following statements by the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft show that the accusations by the Mormon leaders were without foundation:

. . . every precaution was taken to avoid, if possible, the shedding of blood. "The instructions of the commanding officer," writes the secretary of war, "were deliberately considered and carefully drawn, and he was charged not to allow any conflict to take place between the troops and the people of the territory, except only he should be called upon by the governor for soldiers to act as a posse comitatus in enforcing obedience to the laws." (*History of Utah*, page 497)

On page 537 of the same book, Bancroft shows that when the Mormons finally allowed the troops to come in they did not commit the crimes which the Mormon leaders claimed they would commit: "During the march of the army not a house was disturbed, not a citizen harmed or molested, and during its sojourn of nearly two years in the territory, instances were rare indeed of gross misconduct on the part of the soldiery."

When the Mormon leaders told their people that the troops were coming to destroy them and take their women it caused a great deal of fear. Under the direction of Brigham Young the Mormon people prepared to fight the U. S. Government troops. On September 15, 1857, Brigham Young issued a proclamation in which he stated:

Therefore, I, Brigham Young, governor, and superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory of Utah, in the name of the people of the United States in the territory of Utah,

1st—Forbid all armed forces, of every description, from coming into this territory under any pretense whatever.

2nd—That all the forces in said territory hold themselves in readiness to march, at a moments notice, to repel any and all such invasion.

3d—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this territory, from and after the publication of this proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or re-pass into, or through, or from this territory, without a permit from the proper officer. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 274)

In simple language Brigham Young's "proclamation" meant that he intended to resist the U. S. troops when they tried to enter the territory of Utah. In his *History of Utah*, the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives the following information concerning the "Utah War":

But the sequel will show that instead of the troops living on the Mormons, the Mormons lived on the troops, stampeding their cattle, **plundering or destroying** their provision trains, and only after all fear of active hostilities had been removed, selling them surplus grain at exorbitant rates. (*History of Utah*, page 499)

Then war became the universal theme. Fire-arms were manufactured or repaired; scythes were turned into bayonets; long-unused sabres were burnished and sharpened, and from all parts of the earth the saints were summoned to the defence of Zion. (*Ibid.*, page 505)

. . . I cannot do better than quote a few lines from a despatch addressed soon afterward by the lieutenant-general of the Nauvoo legion to Major Joseph Taylor, and signed, "your brother in Christ, Daniel H. Wells." "On ascertaining the locality or route of the troops, proceed at once to annoy them in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping, by night surprises; blockade the road by felling trees or destroying the river fords where you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass on their windward, so as, if possible, to envelop their trains. Leave no grass before them that can be burned. Keep your men concealed as much as possible, and guard against surprise." . . . later General Wells, in command of 1,250 men, supplied with thirty days' rations, established his head-quarters at Echo Canon. . . . Through this canon, the Mormons supposed, lay the path of the invading army. . . . On the western side of the canon dams and ditches were constructed, by means of which the road could be submerged to a depth of several feet; at the eastern side stone heaps were collected and bowlders loosened from the overhanging rocks, so that a slight leverage would **hurl them on the passing troops**, and parapets were built as a protection for sharp-shooters. . . . Wells determined to open the campaign, a plan of which had been before arranged at Salt Lake City. Inviting to dinner Major Lot Smith, . . . he asked him whether he could take some forty men, . . . and, passing in rear of the foe, turn back or burn the supply trains still on the road. "I think I can," replied Lot Smith; and the next evening he started out. . . . he approached them at dusk, while encamped at a spot known as Simpson's Hollow, on Green River, and there lay in ambush for several hours. Meanwhile he ascertained, as he relates, that there were two trains, each of twenty-six wagons—there being, in fact, three, with seventy-five wagons in all. . . . When all the wagons were fairly in a blaze, the Mormons rode away, telling their panic-stricken captives that they would return as soon as they had delivered the spoils to their comrades near by, and instantly shoot any one who should attempt to extinguish the flames. . . .

On the 11th of October the troops commenced their march. . . . Meanwhile bands of Mormons, under their nimble and ubiquitous leaders, hung on their flanks, just out of rifle-shot, harassing them at every step, 700 oxen being captured and driven to Salt Lake City on the 13th. . . .

The march commenced on the 6th of November, and on the previous night 500 of the strongest oxen had been **stolen** by the Mormons. . . .

A[t] length the army of Utah arrived at Fort Bridger—to find that the buildings in and around it, together with

those at Fort Supply, twelve miles distant, had been burned to the ground by Mormons, and the grain or other provisions removed or destroyed. . . . The trains destroyed at Simpson Hollow, for instance, were laden entirely with provisions, while three others that followed contained the tents and all the clothing. Fortunately the latter did not fall into the hands of the Mormons, though when unpacked it was found that they contained more of utterly useless supplies than of what was really needed. . . .

Thus did the army of Utah pass the winter of 1857-8, amid privations no less severe than those endured at Valley Forge, eighty-one years before; . . . (*Ibid.*, pages 511, 513-520, and 522)

. . . Buchanan was induced to stop the threatened war, and on the 6th of April signed a proclamation promising amnesty to all who returned to their allegiance. After dwelling at length on the past offences of the Mormons and the malign influence of their leaders, he declares the territory to be in a state of rebellion. "This rebellion," he continues, "is not merely a violation of your legal duty; it is without just cause, without reason, without excuse. You never made a complaint that was not listened to with patience. You never exhibited a real grievance that was not redressed as promptly as it could be But being anxious to save the effusion of blood, and to avoid the indiscriminate punishment of a whole people for crimes of which it is not probable that all are equally guilty, I offer now a free and full pardon to all who will submit themselves to the authority of the government."

The proclamation, though it served its purpose gave offence to both parties. . . . the Mormon authorities admitted the burning of the army trains and the stampeding of cattle, and for those acts accepted the president's pardon. All other charges they denied. (*Ibid.*, pages 529-532)

The Utah war was an ill-advised measure on the part of the United States government. . . . The Utah war cost several hundred lives, and at least \$15,000,000, at a time in the nation's history when men and money could least be spared, and accomplished practically nothing, save that it exposed the president and his cabinet to much well-deserved ridicule. (*Ibid.*, page 538)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts says that the Mormons did not wish to shed blood, but he admits that they destroyed government property as well as their own property when they thought it might fall into the hands of the army:

A council of war was held by the Nauvoo Legion officers at Fort Bridger on the afternoon of the 3rd of October. It was decided in the council to begin active operations against the "Expedition." . . . Fort Bridger was burned on the 3rd of October, quarter-master-general of the territory, Lewis Robison, applying the torch. "It burned very rapidly and made a great fire." The property destroyed amounted to about \$2,000. Two or three days later Fort Supply was burned, by the Utah militia. The mills, buildings and other property destroyed were estimated at a value of \$50,000. . . . General Wells ordered Major Lot Smith to take a small company of men and intercept the supply trains then advancing from South Pass and either turn them back or burn them. . . .

While Smith's command was burning the first train a guard from the second came up to see what was going on.

. . . **Fifty-one** wagons and their contents were completely destroyed in this first burning. . . . There were twenty-five wagons in this third train, and allowing the teamsters and Captain Simpson to load up two of the wagons with provisions and clothing for their personal use, the rest of the train was burned. . . .

The amount of property destroyed in burning these seventy-four wagons was considerable, and appears in detail in Commissary Clarke's report in the House Documents of the 35th Congress. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 278-279, 280-281, 283, 285)

It is very interesting to note that when indictments were issued against the Mormon leaders and others for treason, the notorious "Destroying Angels" Bill Hickman and Orrin Porter Rockwell were included. The Mormon writer Harold Schindler states:

A grand jury empanelled by the "court" returned a true bill against twenty Mormons by name . . .

A glance at the first eight names on the blanket indictment showed Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, John Taylor, George D. Grant, Lot Smith, Porter Rockwell, and William A. Hickman. All were charged with treason, in that they "wickedly, maliciously and traitorously levied war against the United States." (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 282)

. . . in Washington Buchanan was directing a team of peace commissioners to proceed to Utah with a proclamation of full pardon for all deeds committed during the "war." Its language swept away treason indictments returned by the grand jury at Camp Scott. So long as he accepted the terms, Rockwell, among others, had no need to fear reprisals for military actions during the so-called rebellion. (*Ibid.*, page 286)

On December 6, 1858, President Buchanan delivered a message to the Senate and House of Representatives in which he stated:

The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one year ago is a subject for congratulation. It was then in a state of open rebellion, . . . I appointed a new governor instead of Brigham Young, and other Federal officers to take the place of those who, consulting their personal safety, had found it necessary to withdraw from the Territory. . . .

On the 15th of September, 1857, Gov. Young issued his proclamation, in the style of an independent sovereign, announcing his purpose to resist, by force of arms, the entry of the United States troops into our own Territory of Utah. . . . These proved to be no idle threats. Forts Bridger and Supply were vacated and burnt down by the Mormons, to deprive our troops of a shelter after a long and fatiguing march. Orders were issued by Daniel H. Wells, styling himself "Lieutenant General, Nauvoo Legion," to stampede the animals of the United States troops on their march, to set fire to their trains, . . . the Mormons captured and burned on Green river, three

of our supply trains, consisting of seventy-five wagons loaded with provisions and tents for the army, and drove away several hundred animals. This diminished the supply of provisions so materially that Gen. Johnston was obliged to reduce the ration, and even with this precaution there was only sufficient left to subsist the troops until the first of June. . . . I deemed it advisable, in April last, to despatch two distinguished citizens . . . with a proclamation addressed by myself to the inhabitants of Utah, dated on the sixth day of that month, warning them of their true condition, and how hopeless it was on their part to persist in rebellion against the United States, and offering all those who should submit to the laws a full pardon for their past seditions and treasons. . . .

The instructions these agents, as well as a copy of the proclamation, and their reports, are herewith submitted. It will be seen by their report [*sic*] of the third of July last, that they have fully confirmed the opinion expressed by General Johnston in the previous October, as to the necessity of sending reinforcements to Utah. In this they state that they "are firmly impressed with the belief that the presence of the army here and the large additional force that had been ordered to this Territory, were the chief inducements that caused the Mormons to abandon the idea of resisting the authority of the United States. A less decisive policy would probably have resulted in a long, bloody and expensive war." (*Valley Tan*, Great Salt Lake City, December 28, 1858)

Although the Mormons did not shed the blood of the United States troops, they robbed and destroyed their provisions and thus caused hardships that undoubtedly led to the death of many soldiers. The historian Bancroft states that the Utah war "cost several hundred lives." It would, of course, be hard to determine just how many of these men would have lived if the Mormons had not destroyed their provisions. While the Mormons were reluctant to fire upon the U. S. troops, they killed a large number of innocent civilians in Utah at this time. The Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Aiken Massacre and a number of other cruel murders were committed during this period of rebellion.

THE MASSACRE

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts called the Mountain Meadows Massacre "the most lamentable episode in Utah history, and in the history of the church" (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 139). The details of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are as follows: In 1857 a company of emigrants led by Charles Fancher was passing through Utah. Joseph Fielding Smith states:

. . . —About the time the news arrived in Salt Lake City of the coming of an army, there was passing through the city under command of Captain Fancher, a company of emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri. This company consisted of about thirty families, numbering one hundred and thirty-seven persons. The Arkansas

emigrants appeared to be respectable and well-to-do. With them there traveled a rough and reckless company calling themselves “Missouri Wild Cats,” who conducted themselves in keeping with the name. (*Essentials in Church History*, page 513)

Juanita Brooks states:

This group all arrived in Salt Lake City on August 3 and 4, and knowing the fate of the Donner Party the year before, decided to take the southern route. They followed a few days behind President George A. Smith on his journey south ordering the people to keep their grain and **not to sell a kernel to any Gentiles**. This, of course, was hard on travelers who faced the desert and had expected to replenish their stores in Utah. The Fancher train was well-to-do; they had cash to pay or goods to trade, **but no one would sell**. (*John D. Lee*, page 203)

The Mormon writer William E. Berrett gives this information:

During this period of Utah’s history there was a constant string of emigrant trains passing through the territory on their way to California. The feeling between such emigrants and the Saints was not always a wholesome one. . . .

A crisis in feeling was reached during the time that a large company of Arkansas emigrants were on their way to California via southern Utah, in 1857. . . .

The evidence concerning their actions in passing through the southern settlements is so conflicting that it is difficult to determine the entire truth. . . .

The Indians were thoroughly aroused. All the accumulated insults of the many caravans caused them to seek vengeance. . . .

Ordinarily the influence of the settlers was exerted to keep the peace, and at any cost prevent an attack upon emigrant trains. **At this time it appears that his restraint was not used**. (*The Restored Church*, 1956, pages 466-467)

Brigham Young warned Captain Van Vliet that if the government persisted in sending the army he would “not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer”:

“If the government persists in sending an army to destroy us, in the name of the Lord, we shall conquer them. If they dare to force the issue, I shall NOT hold the Indians by the wrist any longer, for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and **do as they please**. If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across this continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it.” (*History of Brigham Young*, Ms., Sept. 9, 1857, as cited in *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 155, note 32)

B. H. Roberts claims that this statement by Young was made a few days after the Mountain Meadows Massacre and therefore had nothing to do with the massacre. He also states that it “constituted a warning instead of a threat.”

However this may be, as the company passed through Utah, the feelings became very bitter. Juanita Brooks states:

At Parowan, the gates of that fort were closed and the company passed by the town. Here one man, William Leany, recognized a member of the company, William Aiden, as the son of a man who had befriended him while he was on a mission. He gave Aiden some vegetables from his garden, knowing well that he was acting in direct opposition to the official orders. A few days later he was called out of his house and struck over the head by one of the local police on the charge that he had rendered “aid and comfort to the enemy.” He was left for dead, and indeed never did recover fully from the blow.

At Cedar City, the last place on the road where they could get provisions, the conduct of some of the Missourians was such that the local police tried to arrest them, only to be laughed at with scorn. Since the people would not sell nor trade any foodstuff at all, some of the emigrants proceeded to help themselves; thus as they left the town, a trail of hate and resentment remained behind them. (*John D. Lee*, page 206)

Prior to the arrival of the emigrants the Mormon Church leaders had been very strongly preaching the doctrine of “blood atonement.” Juanita Brooks observes: “There was much preaching of ‘blood atonement’. . .” (*John D. Lee*, page 188). John D. Lee stated:

The Mormons nearly all, and I think every one of them in Utah, previous to the massacre at Mountain Meadows, **believed in blood atonement**. It was taught by the leaders and believed by the people that the Priesthood were inspired and could not give a wrong order. It was the belief of all that I ever heard talk of these things—and I have been with the Church since the dark days in Jackson County—that the authority that ordered a murder committed, was the only responsible party, that the man who did the killing was only an instrument, working by command of a superior, and hence could have no ill will against the person killed, but was only acting by authority and committed no wrong. In other words, if Brigham Young or any of his apostles, or any of the Priesthood, gave an order to a man, the act was the act of the one giving the order, and the man doing the act was only an instrument of the person commanding—just as much of an instrument as the knife that was used to cut the throat of the victim. This being the belief of all good Mormons, it is easily understood why the orders of the Priesthood were so blindly obeyed by the people. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 279-280)

John D. Lee’s statements with regard to the teachings of the Mormon leaders are certainly true. Heber C. Kimball, First Counsellor to Brigham Young, definitely taught that the people should follow the leaders whether they were right or wrong:

. . . learn to do as you are told, if you are told by your leader to do a thing, do it. **None of your business whether it is right or wrong**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 32)

If you do things according to counsel and **they are wrong, the consequences will fall on the heads of those who counseled you, so don’t be troubled**. (*William Clayton’s Journal*, page 334)

Now, according to the teachings of Brigham Young, the emigrants had committed at least one sin which was worthy of death—i.e., they had stolen some food at Cedar City. Brigham Young made this statement concerning thieves: “If you want to know what to do with a thief that you may find stealing, **I say kill him on the spot**, and never suffer him to commit another iniquity” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 108).

The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde made these statements a few years before the Mountain Meadows Massacre:

Suppose the shepherd should discover a wolf approaching the flock, what would he be likely to do? Why, we should suppose, if the wolf was within proper distance, that he would **kill** him at once with the weapons of defence which he carries; in short, that he would **shoot him down, kill him on the spot**. If the wolf was not within shot, we would naturally suppose he would set the dogs on him; and you are aware, I have no doubt, that these shepherd dogs have very pointed teeth, and they are very active, very sensitive to know when the flock is in danger. It is sometimes the case, perhaps, that the shepherd has not with him the necessary arms to destroy the wolf, but in such a case he would set his faithful dogs on him, and by that means accomplish his destruction. . . .

Now don't say that brother Hyde has taught strong things, for I have only told you what takes place between the shepherd and the flock, when the sheep have to be protected.

If you say that the **Priesthood** or **authorities of the Church** here are the shepherd, and the **Church** is the flock, you can make your own application of this figure. It is not at all necessary for me to do it.

It is all the same to me whether they want to destroy the flock, or destroy, **steal**, and carry off the property of the flock. . . . my feelings are these—the best way to sanctify ourselves, and please God our heavenly Father in these days, is to rid ourselves of every thief, and sanctify the people from every vile character. . . . It would have a tendency to place a terror on those who leave these parts, that may prove their salvation when they see the **heads taken off, or shot down** before the public. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pages 72-73)

Now, the emigrants had not only stolen some food from the Mormons, but they claimed they had persecuted them in Missouri and Illinois. Brigham Young made this statement concerning those who had persecuted the Mormons: “. . . in regard to those who have persecuted this people . . . we could take the same law they have taken, viz., mobocracy, and if any miserable scoundrels come here, **cut their throats**” (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 311). On another occasion Brigham Young stated:

I will tell you how much I love those characters. If they had any respect to their own welfare, they would come forth and say, whether Joseph Smith was a Prophet or not, “We shed his blood, and now let us **atone for it**,” and they would be willing to have their **heads chopped off, that their blood might run** upon the ground, and the smoke of it rise before the Lord as an incense for their sins. I love them that much. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 186)

The reader will remember that the Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded in his journal that Joseph F. Smith, who became the sixth President of the Mormon

Church, was about to murder a man with his “pocket knife” if he even expressed approval of the murder of Joseph Smith:

. . . a dark cloud seemed t[ro]. S. was oppressed by a most horrible feeling as he waited for a reply. After a brief pause the man answered, “Just as I have always looked upon it—that it was a d—d cold-blooded murder.” The cloud immediately lifted from Bro. Smith and he found that he had his **open pocket knife grasped in his hand** in his pocket, and he believes that had this man given his approval to that murder of the prophets **he would have immediately struck him to the heart**. (“Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon,” December 6, 1889, page 206; see photograph on page 50 of this volume)

In the same journal we find that George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency, admitted that when “he had his endowments in Nauvoo that he took an oath against the murderers of the Prophet Joseph as well as other prophets, and if he had ever met any of those who had taken a hand in that massacre he would undoubtedly have attempted to avenge the blood of the martyrs” (*Ibid.*, page 205).

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admits that much of the boasting of the emigrants may have been “mere bravado,” but he states that these statements placed them in a dangerous position:

Though much of their boasting about participation in the Missouri and Illinois “Mormon” troubles may have been the mere bravado of the “Missouri Wildcats,” and their threats against the then presiding “Mormon” leaders, and their expressed intention to return in force and destroy the Latter-day Saint settlements, may have been but vain ranting of the reckless spirits of the camp, yet it was suicidal to indulge in that bravado and such ranting. . . . to make these boasts, and to indulge in these threats at a time when great excitement prevailed in the “Mormon” settlements, and the war spirit of the people was aroused by reports of the approach of an invading army . . . was, under all the circumstances, to invite calamity. . . . fear became a weighty argument in determining the fate of the emigrant company. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 154-155)

The reader will also remember that the Mormon leaders had told the people that the army was coming to destroy them and take their women, and that the Apostle George A. Smith went south preaching war. According to his own statement, when he preached at Harmony his “discourse partook of **the military more than the religious**.” He also stated that “one single sentence is enough to put every man in motion.”

What made it worse for the emigrants was that one of them boasted that he had a gun which was used to shoot Joseph Smith. Although this statement probably had no basis in fact, it helped to seal the fate of the emigrants.

Juanita Brooks states that after “the Sunday service at Cedar City on September 6” was over “a special priesthood meeting was called at which the problems connected with the Fancher Train were discussed.” Mrs. Brooks quotes part of the discussion as follows:

“. . . I think they should be done away with, at least the one that bragged that he carried the gun . . . I think that we are all bound by our covenants to see that he does not live to do any more damage.”

“There were others just as bad as he was.”

“But how will you get them? They are all well armed, and we would lose more than we would gain. Any attempt to take one of them would mean the lives of the posse that went after him.”

So the discussion went on, some in favor of “doing away with” the men who had been the chief offenders, others preferring to let them all go . . .

Thus events followed one another, leading inexorably to the final tragedy. . . . Strong hatred, deep-seated beliefs, and greed were all combined in the drama. That this was a wealthy train with good wagons and ox teams and horses; with a large herd of cattle; and with loads of household goods and necessities was without doubt a factor with some who were involved. Their own deep religious convictions increased in potency—that “the blood of the Prophet should be avenged” and that by their own covenants, taken in the Nauvoo Temple or in the Endowment House, they were bound to help to carry out God’s will. (*John D. Lee*, pages 207-208)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admits that such a meeting was held:

It was customary for the local leading men at Cedar and from the smaller settlements in its vicinity to gather in a council meeting after the close of the regular Sunday services of the church, to consider questions of local community interest. At such a meeting on the 6th of September the question concerning the conduct of, and what ought to be done with, the Arkansas emigrants was brought up and debated. Some in the council were in favor of destroying them, and others were not. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 149)

Juanita Brooks states that the Mormons wanted the Indians to attack the emigrant train:

Here again all the offenses of the emigrants, real and imagined, were gone over; here again was summarized all the evidence that those in authority in the church would approve of the destruction of the emigrant train, if it could be done by the Indians. Lee had accompanied George A. Smith in his travels through the southern settlements, and from the various conversations along the road as well as from the public speeches, convinced himself that this action would be in harmony with the course to be taken in the approaching war. . . .

As a result of the conversation that night, it was agreed that they would stir up the Indians further and encourage them to attack the company and rob them of their cattle and goods. At this point there was no decision to exterminate them. Everything was to be done by the Indians, under the direction of a few white men. (*Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 54; page 77 of 1962 reprint)

On page 67 (page 95 of 1962 reprint) of the same book, Mrs. Brooks states:

Lee’s statement that the original plan was to stir up the Indians to the attack seems to be true, with the Mormons brought in later when it became evident that the Indians alone could not commit the crime. Certainly the final responsibility must rest squarely upon the Mormons, William H. Dame as commander, and those under him who helped to form the policy and to carry out the orders.

Garland Hurt made this statement concerning the Indians: “They acknowledged having participated in the massacre of the emigrants, but said that the Mormons

persuaded them into it” (Senate Executive Document 42, 36 Cong., 1 sess., 94-95, as cited in *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 194; page 252 of 1962 edition). On page 36 (pages 56-57 of 1962 reprint) of her book, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Juanita Brooks states:

The Indians, being “the battle-ax of the Lord,” could logically do the work, for they had no qualms about shedding blood, even innocent blood. Since the Big Mormon Chief wanted them to help with this war, here was a good place to begin. So the natives had followed and annoyed the company, happy in the sense of Mormon approval; they sent out runners to other bands for reinforcements in this exciting and thrilling game.

Joseph Fielding Smith, the tenth President of the Mormon Church, gives this account of what followed:

. . . —Early in September the emigrant train of the Arkansas and Missouri companies camped in the little valley known as the Mountain Meadows. There they contemplated remaining for several days. In the meantime their conduct had aroused the Indian tribes who now surrounded their camp in hostile attitude. As near as can be ascertained, on the morning of the 7th of September at the break of day, the attack upon the emigrants began. . . . The Indians sent runners throughout the surrounding country calling for reinforcements from among their tribes and for John D. Lee, who had been in close touch with Indian affairs as their farmer, to come and lead them to victory. . . . Later, other **white men** appeared upon the scene, . . . Some of them remained, willingly or by coercion, to participate in the massacre which followed. . . . The victims discovered that **white men were in league with the Indians**, and this knowledge sealed their fate. It was determined by those making the attack that no emigrant should live who could tell the tale.

On the morning of Friday the 11th, Lee induced the emigrants to surrender under promise of protection and conveyance to a place of safety. They were led to a place where the Indians were in ambush, and at a given signal a volley of shots rang out, both Indians and **white men participating in the outrage**. Seventeen children of tender years—ranging in age from a few months to seven years—were all that were spared. (*Essentials in Church History*, pages 515- 516)

The Mormon writer William E. Berrett gives this description of the massacre:

It was a **deliberately planned massacre, treacherously carried into execution**. On the morning of September 11, **a flag of truce was sent to the emigrant camp and terms of surrender proposed. The emigrants were to give up their arms**. The wounded were to be loaded into wagons, followed by the women and children, and the men to bring up the rear, single file. Thus they were to be conducted by the whites to Cedar City. This was agreed to, and the march began. . . . **The white men** at a given signal, **fell upon the unarmed emigrant men**. . . . Only the smallest children were spared. (*The Restored Church*, pages 468-469)

The pages which follow contain John D. Lee’s own account of the massacre as published in *Mormonism Unveiled* in 1880. The reader will remember that Lee served in the Council of 50 under Brigham Young.

LAST CONFESSION AND STATEMENT OF JOHN D. LEE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WRITTEN AT HIS DICTATION AND DELIVERED TO WILLIAM W. BISHOP,
ATTORNEY FOR LEE, WITH A REQUEST THAT THE
SAME BE PUBLISHED.

AS A DUTY to myself, my family, and mankind at large, I propose to give a full and true statement of all that I know and all that I did in that unfortunate affair, which has cursed my existence, and made me a wanderer from place to place for the last nineteen years, and which is known to the world as the MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.

I have no vindictive feeling against any one; no enemies to punish by this statement; and no friends to shield by keeping back, or longer keeping secret, any of the facts connected with the Massacre.

I believe that I must tell all that I do know, and tell everything just as the same transpired. I shall tell the truth and permit the public to judge who is most to blame for the crime that I am accused of committing. I did not act alone; I had many to assist me at the Mountain Meadows. I believe that most of those who were connected with the Massacre, and took part in the lamentable transaction that has blackened the character of all who were aiders or abettors in the same, were acting under the impression that they were performing a religious duty. I know all were acting under the orders and by the command of their Church leaders; and I firmly believe that the most of those who took part in the proceedings, considered it a religious duty to unquestioningly obey the orders which they had received. That they acted from a sense of duty to the Mormon Church, I never doubted. Believing that those with me acted from a sense of religious duty on that occasion, I have faithfully kept the secret of their guilt, and remained silent and true to the oath of secrecy which we took on the bloody field, for many long and bitter years. I have never betrayed those who acted with me and participated in the crime for which I am convicted, and for which I am to suffer death.

My attorneys, especially Wells Spicer and Wm. W. Bishop, have long tried, but tried in vain, to induce me to tell all I knew of the massacre and the causes which led to it. I have heretofore refused to tell the tale. Until the last few days I had intended to die, if die I must, without giving one word to the public concerning those who joined willingly, or unwillingly, in the work of destruction at Mountain Meadows.

To hesitate longer, or to die in silence, would be unjust and cowardly. I will not keep the secret any longer as my own, but will tell all I know.

At the earnest request of a few remaining friends, and by the advice of Mr. Bishop, my counsel, who has defended me thus far with all his ability, notwithstanding my want of money with which to pay even his expenses while attending to my case, I have concluded to write facts as I know them to exist.

I cannot go before the Judge of the quick and the dead without first revealing all that I know, as to what was done, who ordered me to do what I did do, and the motives that led to the commission of that unnatural and bloody deed.

The immediate orders for the killing of the emigrants came from those in authority at Cedar City. At the time of the massacre, I and those with me, acted by virtue of positive orders from Isaac C. Haight and his associates at Cedar City. Before I started on my mission to the Mountain Meadows, I was told by Isaac C. Haight that his orders to me were the result of full

consultation with Colonel William H. Dame and all in authority. It is a new thing to me, if the massacre was not decided on by the head men of the Church, and it is a new thing for Mormons to condemn those who committed the deed. . . .

About the 7th of September, 1857. I went to Cedar City from my home at Harmony, by order of President Haight. I did not know what he wanted of me, but he had ordered me to visit him and I obeyed. If I remember correctly, it was on Sunday evening that I went there. When I got to Cedar City, I met Isaac C. Haight on the public square of the town. Haight was then President of that Stake of Zion, and the highest man in the Mormon priesthood in that country, and next to Wm. H. Dame in all of Southern Utah, and as Lieutenant Colonel he was second to Dame in the command of the Iron Military District. The word and command of Isaac C. Haight were the law in Cedar City, at that time, and to disobey his orders was certain death; be they right or wrong, no Saint was permitted to question them, their duty was obedience or death.

When I met Haight, I asked him what he wanted with me. He said he wanted to have a long talk with me on private and particular business. We took some blankets and went over to the old Iron Works, and lay there that night, so that we could talk in private and in safety. After we got to the Iron Works, Haight told me all about the train of emigrants. He said (and I then believed every word that he spoke, for I believed it was an impossible thing for one so high in the Priesthood as he was, to be guilty of falsehood) that the emigrants were a rough and abusive set of men. That they had, while traveling through Utah, been very abusive to all the Mormons they met. That they had insulted, outraged, and ravished many of the Mormon women. That the abuses heaped upon the people by the emigrants during their trip from Provo to Cedar City, had been constant and shameful; that they had burned fences and destroyed growing crops; that at many points on the road they had poisoned the water, so that all people and stock that drank of the water became sick, and many had died from the effects of poison. That these vile Gentiles publicly proclaimed that they had the very pistol with which the Prophet, Joseph Smith, was murdered, and had threatened to kill Brigham Young and all of the Apostles. That when in Cedar City they said they would have friends in Utah who would hang Brigham Young by the neck until he was dead, before snow fell again in the Territory. They also said that Johnston was coming, with his army, from the East, and they were going to return from California with soldiers, as soon as possible, and would then desolate the land, and kill every d—d Mormon man, woman and child that they could find in Utah. That they violated the ordinances of the town of Cedar, and had, by armed force, resisted the officers who tried to arrest them for violating the law. That after leaving Cedar City the emigrants camped by the company, or cooperative field, just below Cedar City, and burned a large portion of the fencing, leaving the crops open to the large herds of stock in the surrounding country. Also that they had given poisoned meat to the Corn Creek tribe of Indians, which had killed several of them, and their Chief, Konosh, was on the trail of the emigrants, and would soon attack them. All of these things, and much more of a like kind, Haight told me as we lay in the dark at the old Iron Works. I believed all that he said, and, thinking that he had full right to do all that he wanted to do, I was easily induced to follow his instructions.

Haight said that unless something was done to prevent it, the emigrants would carry out their threats and rob every one of the out-lying settlements in the South, and that the whole Mormon people were liable to be butchered by the troops that the emigrants would bring back with them from California. I was then told that the Council had held a meeting that day, to consider

the matter, and that it was decided by the authorities to arm the Indians, give them provisions and ammunition, and send them after the emigrants, and have the Indians give them a brush, and if they killed part or all of them, so much the better.

I said, "Brother Haight, who is your authority for acting in this way?"

He replied, "It is the will of all in authority. The emigrants have no pass from any one to go through the country, and they are liable to be killed as common enemies, for the country is at war now. No man has a right to go through this country without a written pass."

We lay there and talked much of the night, and during that time Haight gave me very full instructions what to do, and how to proceed in the whole affair. He said he had consulted with Colonel Dame, and every one agreed to let the Indians use up the whole train if they could. Haight then said:

"I expect you to carry out your orders."

I knew I had to obey or die. I had no wish to disobey, for I then thought that my superiors in the Church were the mouthpieces of Heaven, and that it was an act of godliness for me to obey any and all orders given by them to me, without my asking any questions.

My orders were to go home to Harmony, and see Carl Shirts, my son-in-law, an Indian interpreter, and send him to the Indians in the South, to notify them that the Mormons and Indians were at war with the "Mericals" (as the Indians called all whites that were not Mormons) and bring all the Southern Indians up and have them join with those from the North, so that their force would be sufficient to make a successful attack on the emigrants.

It was agreed that Haight would send Nephi Johnson, another Indian interpreter, to stir up all the other Indians that he could find, in order to have a large enough force of Indians to give the emigrants a good lusk. He said, "These are the orders that have been agreed upon by the Council, and it is in accordance with the feelings of the entire people."

I asked him if it would not have been better to first send to Brigham Young for instructions, and find out what he thought about the matter.

"No," said Haight, "that is unnecessary, we are acting by orders. Some of the Indians are now on the war-path, and all of them must be sent out; all must go, so as to make the thing a success."

It was then intended that the Indians should kill the emigrants, and make it an Indian massacre, and not have any whites interfere with them. No whites were to be known in the matter, it was to be all done by the Indians, so that it could be laid to them, if any questions were ever asked about it. I said to Haight:

"You know what the Indians are. They will kill all the party, women and children, as well as the men, and you know we are sworn not to shed innocent blood."

"Oh h—ll!" said he, "there will not be one drop of innocent blood shed, if every one of the d—d pack are killed, for they are the worse lot of out-laws and ruffians that I ever saw in my life."

We agreed upon the whole thing, how each one should act, and then left the iron works, and went to Haight's house and got breakfast.

After breakfast I got ready to start, and Haight said to me:

"Go, Brother Lee, and see that the instructions of those in authority are obeyed, and as you are dutiful in this, so shall your reward be in the kingdom of God, for God will bless those who willingly obey counsel, and make all things fit for the people in these last days."

I left Cedar City for my home at Harmony, to carry out the

instructions that I had received from my superior.

I then believed that he acted by the direct order and command of William H. Dame, and others even higher in authority than Colonel Dame. One reason for thinking so was from a talk I had only a few days before, with Apostle George A. Smith, and he had just then seen Haight, and talked with him, and I knew that George A. Smith never talked of things that Brigham Young had not talked over with him before-hand. Then the Mormons were at war with the United States, and the orders to the Mormons had been all the time to kill and waste away our enemies, but lose none of our people. These emigrants were from the section of country most hostile to our people, and I believed then as I do now, that it was the will of every true Mormon in Utah, at that time, that the enemies of the Church should be killed as fast as possible, and that as this lot of people had men amongst them that were supposed to have helped kill the Prophets in the Carthage jail, the killing of all of them would be keeping our oaths and avenging the blood of the Prophets.

In justice to myself I will give the facts of my talk with George A. Smith.

In the latter part of the month of August, 1857, about ten days before the company of Captain Fancher, who met their doom at Mountain Meadows, arrived at that place, General George A. Smith called on me at one of my homes at Washington City, Washington County, Utah Territory, and wished me to take him round by Fort Clara, via Pinto Settlements, to Hamilton Fort, or Cedar City. He said,

"I have been sent down here by the old Boss, Brigham Young,

to instruct the brethren of the different settlements not to sell any of their grain to our enemies. And to tell them not to feed it to their animals, for it will all be needed by ourselves. I am also to instruct the brethren to prepare for a big fight, for the enemy is coming in large force to attempt our destruction. But Johnston's army will not be allowed to approach our settlements from the east. God is on our side and will fight our battles for us, and deliver our enemies into our hands. Brigham Young has received revelations from God, giving him the right and the power to call down the curse of God on all our enemies who attempt to invade our Territory. Our greatest danger lies in the people of California—a class of reckless miners who are strangers to God and his righteousness. They are likely to come upon us from the south and destroy the small settlements. But we will try and outwit them before we suffer much damage. The people of the United States who oppose our Church and people are a mob, from the President down, and as such it is impossible for their armies to prevail against the Saints who have gathered here in the mountains."

He continued this kind of talk for some hours to me and my friends who were with me.

General George A. Smith held high rank as a military leader. He was one of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and as such he was considered by me to be an inspired man. His orders were to me sacred commands, which I considered it my duty to obey, without question or hesitation.

I took my horses and carriage and drove with him to either Hamilton Fort or Cedar City, visiting the settlements with him, as he had requested. I did not go to hear him preach at any of our stopping places, nor did I pay attention to what he said to the leaders in the settlements.

The day we left Fort Clara, which was then the headquarters of the Indian missionaries under the presidency of Jacob Hamblin, we stopped to noon at the Clara River. While there the Indians gathered around us in large numbers, and were quite saucy and impudent. Their chiefs asked me where I was going and who I had with me. I told them that he was a big captain.

"Is he a Mericat Captain?"

"No," I said, "he is a Mormon."

The Indians then wanted to know more. They wanted to have a talk.

The General told me to tell the Indians that the Mormons were their friends, and that the Americans were their enemies, and the enemies of the Mormons, too; that he wanted the Indians to remain the fast friends of the Mormons, for the Mormons were all friends to the Indians; that the Americans had a large army just east of the mountains, and intended to come over the mountains into Utah and kill all of the Mormons and Indians in Utah Territory; that the Indians must get ready and keep ready for war against all of the Americans, and keep friendly with the Mormons and obey what the Mormons told them to do—that this was the will of the Great Spirit; that if the Indians were true to the Mormons and would help them against their enemies, then the Mormons would always keep them from want and sickness and give them guns and ammunition to hunt and kill game with, and would also help the Indians against their enemies when they went into war.

This talk pleased the Indians, and they agreed to all that I asked them to do.

I saw that my friend Smith was a little nervous and fearful of the Indians, notwithstanding their promises of friendship. To relieve him of his anxiety I hitched up and started on our way, as soon as I could do so without rousing the suspicions of the Indians.

We had ridden along about a mile or so when General Smith said,

"Those are savage looking fellows. I think they would make it lively for an emigrant train if one should come this way."

I said I thought they would attack any train that would come in their way. Then the General was in a deep study for some time, when he said,

"Suppose an emigrant train should come along through this southern country, making threats against our people and bragging of the part they took in helping kill our Prophets, what do you think the brethren would do with them? Would they be permitted to go their way, or would the brethren pitch into them and give them a good drubbing?"

I reflected a few moments, and then said,

"You know the brethren are now under the influence of the late reformation, and are still red-hot for the gospel. The brethren believe the government wishes to destroy them. I really believe that any train of emigrants that may come through here will be attacked, and probably all destroyed. I am sure they would be wiped out if they had been making threats against our people. Unless emigrants have a pass from Brigham Young, or some one in authority, they will certainly never get safely through this country."

My reply pleased him very much, and he laughed heartily, and then said,

"Do you really believe the brethren would make it lively for such a train?"

I said, "Yes, sir, I know they will, unless they are protected by a pass, and I wish to inform you that unless you want every train captured that comes through here, you must inform Governor Young that if he wants emigrants to pass, without being molested, he must send orders to that effect to Colonel Wm. H. Dame or Major Isaac C. Haight, so that they can give passes to the emigrants, for their passes will insure safety, but nothing else will, except the positive orders of Governor Young, as the people are all bitter against the Gentiles, and full of religious zeal, and anxious to avenge the blood of the Prophets."

The only reply he made was to the effect that on his way down from Salt Lake City he had had a long talk with Major Haight

on the same subject, and that Haight had assured him, and given him to understand, that emigrants who came along without a pass from Governor Young could not escape from the Territory.

We then rode along in silence for some distance, when he again turned to me and said,

"Brother Lee, I am satisfied that the brethren are under the full influence of the reformation, and I believe they will do just as you say they will with the wicked emigrants that come through the country making threats and abusing our people."

I repeated my views to him, but at much greater length, giving my reasons in full for thinking that Governor Young should give orders to protect all the emigrants that he did not wish destroyed. I went into a full statement of the wrongs of our people, and told him that the people were under the blaze of the reformation, full of wild fire and fanaticism, and that to shed the blood of those who would dare to speak against the Mormon Church or its leaders, they would consider doing the will of God, and that the people would do it as willingly and cheerfully as they would any other duty. That the apostle Paul, when he started forth to persecute the followers of Christ, was not any more sincere than every Mormon was then, who lived in Southern Utah.

My words served to cheer up the General very much; he was greatly delighted, and said,

"I am glad to hear so good an account of our people. God will bless them for all that they do to build up His Kingdom in the last days."

General Smith did not say one word to me or intimate to me, that he wished any emigrants to pass in safety through the Territory. But he led me to believe then, as I believe now, that he did want, and expected every emigrant to be killed that undertook to pass through the Territory while we were at war with the Government. I thought it was his mission to prepare the people for the bloody work.

I have always believed, since that day, that General George A. Smith was then visiting Southern Utah to prepare the people for the work of exterminating Captain Fancher's train of emigrants, and I now believe that he was sent for that purpose by the direct command of Brigham Young.

I have been told by Joseph Wood, Thomas T. Willis, and many others, that they heard George A. Smith preach at Cedar City during that trip, and that he told the people of Cedar City that the emigrants were coming, and he told them that they must not sell that company any grain or provisions of any kind, for they were a mob of villains and outlaws, and the enemies of God and the Mormon people.

Sidney Littlefield, of Panguitch, has told me that he was knowing to the fact of Colonel Wm. H. Dame sending orders from Parowan to Maj. Haight, at Cedar City, to exterminate the Fancher outfit, and to kill every emigrant without fail. Littlefield then lived at Parowan, and Dame was the Presiding Bishop. Dame still has all the wives he wants, and is a great friend of Brigham Young.

The knowledge of how George A. Smith felt toward the emigrants, and his telling me that he had a long talk with Haight on the subject, made me certain that it was the wish of the Church authorities that Fancher and his train should be wiped out, and knowing all this, I did not doubt then, and I do not doubt it now, either, that Haight was acting by full authority from the Church leaders, and that the orders he gave to me were just the orders that he had been directed to give, when he ordered me to raise the Indians and have them attack the emigrants.

I acted through the whole matter in a way that I considered it my religious duty to act, and if what I did was a crime, it was a crime of the Mormon Church, and not a crime for which I

feel individually responsible.

I must here state that Klingensmith was not in Cedar City that Sunday night. Haight said he had sent Klingensmith and others over towards Pinto, and around there, to stir up the Indians and force them to attack the emigrants.

On my way from Cedar City to my home at Harmony, I came up with a large band of Indians under Moquetas and Big Bill, two Cedar City Chiefs; they were in their war paint, and fully equipped for battle. They halted when I came up and said they had had a big talk with Haight, Higby and Klingensmith, and had got orders from them to follow up the emigrants and kill them all, and take their property as the spoil of their enemies.

These Indians wanted me to go with them and command their forces. I told them that I could not go with them that evening, that I had orders from Haight, the *big Captain*, to send other Indians on the war-path to help them kill the emigrants, and that I must attend to that first; that I wanted them to go on near where the emigrants were and camp until the other Indians joined them; that I would meet them the next day and lead them.

This satisfied them, but they wanted me to send my little Indian boy, Clem, with them. After some time I consented to let Clem go with them, and I returned home.

When I got home I told Carl Shirts what the orders were that Haight had sent to him. Carl was naturally cowardly and was not willing to go, but I told him the orders must be obeyed. He then started off that night, or early next morning, to stir up the Indians of the South, and lead them against the emigrants. The emigrants were then camped at Mountain Meadows.

The Indians did not obey my instructions. They met, several hundred strong, at the Meadows, and attacked the emigrants Tuesday morning, just before daylight, and at the first fire, as I afterwards learned, they killed seven and wounded sixteen of the emigrants. The latter fought bravely, and repulsed the Indians, killing some of them and breaking the knees of two war chiefs, who afterwards died.

The news of the battle was carried all over the country by Indian runners, and the excitement was great in all the small settlements. I was notified of what had taken place, early Tuesday morning, by an Indian who came to my house and gave me a full account of all that had been done. The Indian said it was the wish of all the Indians that I should lead them, and that I must go back with him to the camp.

I started at once, and by taking the Indian trail over the mountain, I reached the camp in about twelve miles from Harmony. To go round by the wagon road it would have been between forty and fifty miles.

When I reached the camp I found the Indians in a frenzy of excitement. They threatened to kill me unless I agreed to lead them against the emigrants, and help them kill them. They also said they had been told that they could kill the emigrants without danger to themselves, but they had lost some of their braves, and others were wounded, and unless they could kill all the "*Mericats*," as they called them, they would declare war against the Mormons and kill every one in the settlements.

I did as well as I could under the circumstances. I was the only white man there, with a wild and excited band of several hundred Indians. I tried to persuade them that all would be well, that I was their friend and would see that they had their revenge, if I found out that they were entitled to revenge.

My talk only served to increase their excitement, and being afraid that they would kill me if I undertook to leave them, and I would not lead them against the emigrants, so I told them that I would go south and meet their friends, and hurry them up to help them. I intended to put a stop to the carnage if I had the power, for I believed that the emigrants had been sufficiently

punished for what they had done, and I felt then, and always have felt that such wholesale murdering was wrong.

At first the Indians would not consent for me to leave them, but they finally said I might go and meet their friends.

I then got on my horse and left the Meadows, and went south.

I had gone about sixteen miles, when I met Carl Shirts with about one hundred Indians, and a number of Mormons from the southern settlements. They were going to the scene of the conflict. How they learned of the emigrants being at the Meadows I never knew, but they did know it, and were there fully armed, and determined to obey orders.

Amongst those that I remember to have met there, were Samuel Knight, Oscar Hamblin, William Young, Carl Shirts, Harrison Pearce, James Pearce, John W. Clark, William Slade, Sr., James Matthews, Dudley Leavitt, William Hawley, (now a resident of Fillmore, Utah Territory,) William Slade, Jr., and two others whose names I have forgotten. I think they were George W. Adair and John Hawley. I know they were at the Meadows at the time of the massacre, and I think I met them that night south of the Meadows, with Samuel Knight and the others.

The whites camped there that night with me, but most of the Indians rushed on to their friends at the camp on the Meadows.

I reported to the whites all that had taken place at the Meadows, but none of them were surprised in the least. They all seemed to know that the attack was to be made, and all about it. I spent one of the most miserable nights there that I ever passed in my life. I spent much of the night in tears and at prayer. I wrestled with God for wisdom to guide me. I asked for some sign, some evidence that would satisfy me that my mission was of Heaven, but I got no satisfaction from my God.

In the morning we all agreed to go on together to Mountain Meadows, and camp there, and then send a messenger to Haight, giving him full instructions of what had been done, and to ask him for further instructions. We knew that the original plan was for the Indians to do all the work, and the whites to do nothing, only to stay back and plan for them, and encourage them to do the work. Now we knew the Indians could not do the work, and we were in a sad fix.

I did not then know that a messenger had been sent to Brigham Young for instructions. Haight had not mentioned it to me. I now think that James Haslem was sent to Brigham Young, as a sharp play on the part of the authorities to protect themselves, if trouble ever grew out of the matter.

We went to the Meadows and camped at the springs, about half a mile from the emigrant camp. There was a larger number of Indians there then, fully three hundred, and I think as many as four hundred of them. The two Chiefs who were shot in the knee were in a bad fix. The Indians had killed a number of the emigrants' horses, and about sixty or seventy head of cattle were lying dead on the Meadows, which the Indians had killed for spite and revenge.

Our company killed a small beef for dinner, and after eating a hearty meal of it we held a council and decided to send a messenger to Haight. I said to the messenger, who was either Edwards or Adair, (I cannot now remember which it was), "Tell Haight, for my sake, for the people's sake, for God's sake, send me help to protect and save these emigrants, and pacify the Indians."

The messenger started for Cedar City, from our camp on the Meadows, about 2 o'clock P. M.

We all staid on the field, and I tried to quiet and pacify the Indians, by telling them that I had sent to Haight, the *Big Captain*, for orders, and when he sent his order I would know what to do. This appeared to satisfy the Indians, for said they,

"The *Big Captain* will send you word to kill all the *Mericats*."

Along toward evening the Indians again attacked the emi-

grants. This was Wednesday. I heard the report of their guns, and the screams of the women and children in the corral.

This was more than I could stand. So I ran with William Young and John Mangum, to where the Indians were, to stop the fight. While on the way to them they fired a volley, and three balls from their guns cut my clothing. One ball went through my hat and cut my hair on the side of my head. One ball went through my shirt and leaded my shoulder, the other cut my pants across my bowels. I thought this was rather warm work, but I kept on until I reached the place where the Indians were in force. When I got to them, I told them the Great Spirit would be mad at them if they killed the women and children. I talked to them some time, and cried with sorrow when I saw that I could not pacify the savages.

When the Indians saw me in tears, they called me "Yaw Guts," which in the Indian language means "cry baby," and to this day they call me by that name, and consider me a coward.

Oscar Hamblin was a fine interpreter, and he came to my aid and helped me to induce the Indians to stop the attack. By his help we got the Indians to agree to be quiet until word was returned from Haight. (I do not know now but what the messenger started for Cedar City, after this night attack, but I was so worried and perplexed at that time, and so much has happened to distract my thoughts since then, that my mind is not clear on that subject.)

On Thursday, about noon, several men came to us from Cedar City. I cannot remember the order in which all of the people came to the Meadows, but I do recollect that at this time and in this company Joel White, William C. Stewart, Benjamin Arthur, Alexander Wilden, Charles Hopkins and — Tate, came to us at the camp at the springs. These men said but little, but every man seemed to know just what he was there for. As our messenger had gone for further orders, we moved our camp about four hundred yards further up the valley on to a hill, where we made camp as long as we staid there.

I soon learned that the whites were as wicked at heart as the Indians, for every little while during that day I saw white men taking aim and shooting at the emigrants' wagons. They said they were doing it to keep in practice and to help pass off the time.

I remember one man that was shooting, that rather amused me, for he was shooting at a mark over a quarter of a mile off, and his gun would not carry a ball two hundred yards. That man was Alexander Wilden. He took pains to fix up a seat under the shade of a tree, where he continued to load and shoot until he got tired. Many of the others acted just as wild and foolish as Wilden did.

The wagons were corraled after the Indians had made the first attack. On the second day after our arrival the emigrants drew their wagons near each other and chained the wheels one to the other. While they were doing this there was no shooting going on. Their camp was about one hundred yards above and north of the spring. They generally got their water from the spring at night.

Thursday morning I saw two men start from the corral with buckets, and run to the spring and fill their buckets with water, and go back again. The bullets flew around them thick and fast, but they got into their corral in safety.

The Indians had agreed to keep quiet until orders returned from Haight, but they did not keep their word. They made a determined attack on the train on Thursday morning about daylight. At this attack the Clara Indians had one brave killed and three wounded. This so enraged that band that they left for home that day and drove off quite a number of cattle with them. During the day I said to John Mangum,

"I will cross over the valley and go up on the other side, on

the hills to the west of the corral, and take a look at the situation."

I did go. As I was crossing the valley I was seen by the emigrants, and as soon as they saw that I was a white man they ran up a white flag in the middle of their corral, or camp. They then sent two little boys from the camp to talk to me, but I could not talk to them at that time, for I did not know what orders Haight would send back to me, and until I did know his orders I did not know how to act. I hid, to keep away from the children. They came to the place where they had last seen me and hunted all around for me, but being unable to find me, they turned and went back to the camp in safety.

While the boys were looking for me several Indians came to me and asked for ammunition with which to kill them. I told them they must not hurt the children—that if they did I would kill the first one that made the attempt to injure them. By this act I was able to save the boys.

It is all false that has been told about little girls being dressed in white and sent out to me. There never was anything of the kind done.

I staid on the west side of the valley for about two hours, looking down into the emigrant camp, and feeling all the torture of mind that it is possible for a man to suffer who feels merciful, and yet knows, as I then knew, what was in store for that unfortunate company if the Indians were successful in their bloody designs.

While I was standing on the hill looking down into the corral, I saw two men leave the corral and go outside to cut some wood; the Indians and whites kept up a steady fire on them all the time, but they paid no attention to danger, and kept right along at their work until they had it done, and then they went back into camp. The men all acted so bravely that it was impossible to keep from respecting them.

After staying there and looking down into the camp until I was nearly dead with grief, I returned to the company at camp. I was worn out with trouble and grief; I was nearly wild waiting for word from the authorities at Cedar City. I prayed for word to come that would enable me to save that band of suffering people, but no such word came. It never was to come.

On Thursday evening John M. Higbee, Major of the Iron Militia, and Philip K. Smith, as he is called generally, but whose name is Klingensmith, Bishop of Cedar City, came to our camp with two or three wagons, and a number of men all well armed. I can remember the following as a portion of the men who came to take part in the work of death which was so soon to follow, viz.: John M. Higbee, Major and commander of the Iron Militia, and also first counselor to Isaac C. Haight; Philip Klingensmith, Bishop of Cedar City; Ira Allen, of the High Council; Robert Wiley, of the High Council; Richard Harrison, of Pinto, also a member of the High Council; Samuel McMurdy, one of the Counselors of Klingensmith; Charles Hopkins, of the City Council of Cedar City; Samuel Pollock; Daniel McFarland, a son-in-law of Isaac C. Haight, and acting as Adjutant under Major Higbee; John Ure, of the City Council; George Hunter, of the City Council; and I honestly believe that John McFarland, now an attorney-at-law at St. George, Utah, was there—I am not positive that he was, but my best impression is that he was there: Samuel Jukes; Nephi Johnson, with a number of Indians under his command; Irvin Jacobs; John Jacobs; E. Curtis, a Captain of Ten; Thomas Cartwright of the City Council and High Council; William Bateman, who afterwards carried the flag of truce to the emigrant camp; Anthony Stratton; A. Loveridge; Joseph Clews; Jabez Durfey; Columbus Freeman, and some others whose names I cannot remember. I know that our total force was fifty-four whites and over three hundred Indians.

As soon as these persons gathered around the camp, I demand-

ed of Major Higbee what orders he had brought. I then stated fully all that had happened at the Meadows, so that every person might understand the situation.

Major Higbee reported as follows: "It is the orders of the President, that all the emigrants must be *put out of the way*. President Haight has counseled with Colonel Dame, or has had orders from him to put all of the emigrants out of the way; none who are old enough to talk are to be spared."

He then went on and said substantially that the emigrants had come through the country as our enemies, and as the enemies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. That they had no pass from any one in authority to permit them to leave the Territory. That none but friends were permitted to leave the Territory, and that as these were our sworn enemies, they must be killed. That they were nothing but a portion of Johnston's army. That if they were allowed to go on to California, they would raise the war cloud in the West, and bring certain destruction upon all the settlements in Utah. That the only safety for the people was in the utter destruction of the whole rascally lot.

I then told them that God would have to change my heart before I could consent to such a wicked thing as the wholesale killing of that people. I attempted to reason with Higbee and the brethren. I told them how strongly the emigrants were fortified, and how wicked it was to kill the women and children. I was ordered to be silent. Higbee said I was resisting authority.

He then said, "Brother Lee is afraid of shedding innocent blood. Why, brethren, there is not a drop of innocent blood in that entire camp of Gentile outlaws; they are set of cut-throats, robbers and assassins; they are a part of the people who drove the Saints from Missouri, and who aided to shed the blood of our Prophets, Joseph and Hyrum, and it is our orders from all in authority, to get the emigrants from their stronghold, and help the Indians kill them."

I then said that Joseph Smith had told us never to betray any one. That we could not get the emigrants out of their corral unless we used treachery, and I was opposed to that.

I was interrupted by Higbee, Klingensmith and Hopkins, who said it was the orders of President Isaac C. Haight to us, and that Haight had his orders from Colonel Dame and the authorities at Parowan, and that all in authority were of one mind, and that they had been sent by the Council at Cedar City to the Meadows to counsel and direct the way and manner that the company of emigrants should be disposed of.

The men then in council, I must here state, now knelt down in a prayer circle and prayed, invoking the Spirit of God to direct them how to act in the matter.

After prayer, Major Higbee said, "Here are the orders," and handed me a paper from Haight. It was in substance that it was the orders of Haight to *decoy* the emigrants from their position, and kill all of them that could talk. This order was in writing. Higbee handed it to me and I read it, and then dropped it on the ground, saying,

"I cannot do this."

The substance of the orders were that the emigrants should be *decoyed* from their strong-hold, and all exterminated, so that no one would be left to tell the tale, and then the authorities could say it was done by the Indians.

The words *decoy* and *exterminate* were used in that message or order, and these orders came to us as the orders from the Council at Cedar City, and as the orders of our military superior, that we were bound to obey. The order was signed by Haight, as commander of the troops at Cedar City.

Haight told me the next day after the massacre, while on the Meadows, that he got his orders from Colonel Dame.

I then left the Council, and went away to myself, and bowed

myself in prayer before God, and asked Him to overrule the decision of that Council. I shed many bitter tears, and my tortured soul was wrung nearly from the body by my great suffering. I will here say, calling upon Heaven, angels, and the spirits of just men to witness what I say, that if I could then have had a thousand worlds to command, I would have given them freely to save that company from death.

While in bitter anguish, lamenting the sad condition of myself and others, Charles Hopkins, a man that I had great confidence in, came to me from the Council, and tried to comfort me by saying that he believed it was all right, for the brethren in the Priesthood were all united in the thing, and it would not be well for me to oppose them.

I told him the Lord must change my heart before I could ever do such an act willingly. I will further state that there was a reign of terror in Utah, at that time, and many a man had been put out of the way, on short notice, for disobedience, and I had made some narrow escapes.

At the earnest solicitation of Brother Hopkins, I returned with him to the Council. When I got back, the Council again prayed for aid. The Council was called The City Counselors, the Church or High Counselors; and all in authority, together with the private citizens, then formed a circle, and kneeling down, so that elbows would touch each other, several of the brethren prayed for Divine instructions.

After prayer, Major Higbee said, "I have the evidence of God's approval of our mission. It is God's will that we carry out our instructions to the letter."

I said, "My God! this is more than I can do. I must and do refuse to take part in this matter."

Higbee then said to me, "Brother Lee, I am ordered by President Haight to inform you that you shall receive a crown of Celestial glory for your faithfulness, and your eternal joy shall be complete." I was much shaken by this offer, for I had full faith in the power of the Priesthood to bestow such rewards and blessings, but I was anxious to save the people. I then proposed that we give the Indians all of the stock of the emigrants, except sufficient to haul their wagons, and let them go. To this proposition all the leading men objected. No man there raised his voice or hand to favor the saving of life, except myself.

The meeting was then addressed by some one in authority, I do not remember who it was. He spoke in about this language: "Brethren, we have been sent here to perform a duty. It is a duty that we owe to God, and to our Church and people. The orders of those in authority are that all the emigrants *must* die. Our leaders speak with inspired tongues, and their orders come from the God of Heaven. We have no right to question what they have commanded us to do; it is our duty to obey. If we wished to act as some of our weak-kneed brethren desire us to do, it would be impossible; the thing has gone too far to allow us to stop now. The emigrants know that we have aided the Indians, and if we let them go they will bring certain destruction upon us. It is a fact that on Wednesday night, two of the emigrants got out of camp and started back to Cedar City for assistance to withstand the Indian attacks; they had reached Richards' Springs when they met William C. Stewart, Joel White and Benjamin Arthur, three of our brethren from Cedar City. The men stated their business to the brethren, and as their horses were drinking at the Spring, Brother Stewart, feeling *unusually* full of zeal for the glory of God and the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on earth, shot and killed one of the emigrants, a young man by the name of Aden. When Aden fell from his horse, Joel White shot and wounded the other Gentile; but he unfortunately got away, and returned to his camp and reported that the Mormons were helping the Indians in all that they were doing against the emigrants. Now the emigrants will report these facts in California if we let them go. We must kill them

all, and our orders are to get them out by treachery if no other thing can be done to get them into our power."

Many of the brethren spoke in the same way, all arguing that the orders must be carried out.

I was then told the plan of action had been agreed upon, and it was this: The emigrants were to be decoyed from their strong-hold under a promise of protection. Brother William Bateman was to carry a flag of truce and demand a parley, and then I was to go and arrange the terms of the surrender. I was to demand that all the children who were so young they could not talk should be put into a wagon, and the wounded were also to be put into a wagon. Then all the arms and ammunition of the emigrants should be put into a wagon, and I was to agree that the Mormons would protect the emigrants from the Indians and conduct them to Cedar City in safety, where they should be protected until an opportunity came for sending them to California.

It was agreed that when I had made the full agreement and treaty, as the brethren called it, the wagons should start for Hamblin's Ranch with the arms, the wounded and the children. The women were to march on foot and follow the wagons in single file; the men were to follow behind the women, they also to march in single file. Major John M. Higbee was to stand with his militia company about two hundred yards from the camp, and stand in double file, open order, with about twenty feet space between the files, so that the wagons could pass between them. The drivers were to keep right along, and not stop at the troops. The women were not to stop there, but to follow the wagons. The troops were to halt the men for a few minutes, until the women were some distance ahead, out into the cedars, where the Indians were hid in ambush. Then the march was to be resumed, the troops to form in single file, each soldier to walk by an emigrant, and on the right-hand side of his man, and the soldier was to carry his gun on his left arm, ready for instant use. The march was to continue until the wagons had passed beyond the ambush of the Indians, and until the women were right in the midst of the Indians. Higbee was then to give the orders and words, "Do Your Duty." At this the troops were to shoot down the men; the Indians were to kill all of the women and larger children, and the drivers of the wagons and I were to kill the wounded and sick men that were in the wagons. Two men were to be placed on horses near by, to overtake and kill any of the emigrants that might escape from the first assault. The Indians were to kill the women and large children, so that it would be certain that no Mormon would be guilty of shedding innocent blood—if it should happen that there was any innocent blood in the company that were to die. Our leading men all said that there was no innocent blood in the whole company.

The Council broke up a little after daylight on Friday morning. All the horses, except two for the men to ride to overtake those who might escape, and one for Dan McFarland to ride as Adjutant, so that he could carry orders from one part of the field to another, were turned out on the range. Then breakfast was eaten, and the brethren prepared for the work in hand.

I was now satisfied that it was the wish of all of the Mormon priesthood to have the thing done. One reason for thinking so was that it was in keeping with the teachings of the leaders, and as Utah was then at war with the United States we believed all the Gentiles were to be killed as a war measure, and that the Mormons, as God's chosen people, were to hold and inhabit the earth and rule and govern the globe. Another, and one of my strongest reasons for believing that the leaders wished the thing done, was on account of the talk that I had with George A. Smith, which I have given in full in this statement. I was satisfied that Smith had passed the emigrants while on his way from Salt Lake City, and I then knew this was the train that he meant

when he spoke of a train that would make threats and illtreat our people, etc.

The people were in the full blaze of the reformation and anxious to do some act that would add to their reputation as zealous Churchmen.

I therefore, taking all things into consideration, and believing, as I then did, that my superiors were inspired men, who could not go wrong in any matter relating to the Church or the duty of its members, concluded to be obedient to the wishes of those in authority. I took up my cross and prepared to do my duty.

Soon after breakfast Major Higbee ordered the two Indian interpreters, Carl Shurts and Nephi Johnson, to inform the Indians of the plan of operations, and to place the Indians in ambush, so that they could not be seen by the emigrants until the work of death should commence.

This was done in order to make the emigrants believe that we had sent the Indians away, and that we were acting honestly and in good faith, when we agreed to protect them from the savages.

The orders were obeyed, and in five minutes not an Indian could be seen on the whole Meadows. They secreted themselves and lay still as logs of wood, until the order was given for them to rush out and kill the women.

Major Higbee then called all the people to order, and directed me to explain the whole plan to them. I did so, explaining just how every person was expected to act during the whole performance.

Major Higbee then gave the order for his men to advance. They marched to the spot agreed upon, and halted there. William Bateman was then selected to carry a flag of truce to the emigrants and demand their surrender, and I was ordered to go and make the treaty after some one had replied to our flag of truce. (The emigrants had kept a white flag flying in their camp ever since they saw me cross the valley.)

Bateman took a white flag and started for the emigrant camp. When he got about half way to the corral, he was met by one of the emigrants, that I afterwards learned was named Hamilton. They talked some time, but I never knew what was said between them.

Brother Bateman returned to the command and said that the emigrants would accept our terms, and surrender as we required them to do.

I was then ordered by Major Higbee to go to the corral and negotiate the treaty, and superintend the whole matter. I was again ordered to be certain and get all the arms and ammunition into the wagons. Also to put the children and the sick and wounded in the wagons, as had been agreed upon in council. Then Major Higbee said to me:

"Brother Lee, we expect you to faithfully carry out all the instructions that have been given you by our council."

Samuel McMurdy and Samuel Knight were then ordered to drive their teams and follow me to the corral to haul off the children, arms, etc.

The troops formed in two lines, as had been agreed upon, and were standing in that way with arms at rest, when I left them.

I walked ahead of the wagons up to the corral. When I reached there I met Mr. Hamilton on the outside of the camp.

He loosened the chains from some of their wagons, and moved one wagon out of the way, so that our teams could drive inside of the corral and into their camp. It was then noon, or a little after.

I found that the emigrants were strongly fortified; their wagons were chained to each other in a circle. In the centre was a rifle-pit, large enough to contain the entire company. This had served to shield them from the constant fire of their enemy, which had been poured into them from both sides of the valley,

from a rocky range that served as a breastwork for their assailants. The valley at this point was not more than five hundred yards wide, and the emigrants had their camp near the center of the valley. On the east and west there was a low range of rugged, rocky mountains, affording a splendid place for the protection of the Indians and Mormons, and leaving them in comparative safety while they fired upon the emigrants. The valley at this place runs nearly due north and south.

When I entered the corral, I found the emigrants engaged in burying two men of note among them, who had died but a short time before from the effect of wounds received by them from the Indians at the time of the first attack on Tuesday morning. They wrapped the bodies up in buffalo robes, and buried them in a grave inside the corral. I was then told by some of the men that seven men were killed and seventeen others were wounded at the first attack made by the Indians, and that three of the wounded men had since died, making ten of their number killed during the siege.

As I entered the fortifications, men, women and children gathered around me in wild consternation. Some felt that the time of their happy deliverance had come, while others, though in deep distress, and all in tears, looked upon me with doubt, distrust and terror. My feelings at this time may be imagined (but I doubt the power of man being equal to even imagine how wretched I felt.) No language can describe my feelings. My position was painful, trying and awful; my brain seemed to be on fire; my nerves were for a moment unstrung; humanity was overpowered, as I thought of the cruel, unmanly part that I was acting. Tears of bitter anguish fell in streams from my eyes; my tongue refused its office; my faculties were dormant, stupefied and deadened by grief. I wished that the earth would open and swallow me where I stood. God knows my suffering was great. I cannot describe my feelings. I knew that I was acting a cruel part and doing a damnable deed. Yet my faith in the godliness of my leaders was such that it forced me to think that I was not sufficiently spiritual to act the important part I was commanded to perform. My hesitation was only momentary. Then feeling that duty compelled *obedience to orders*, I laid aside my weakness and my humanity, and became an instrument in the hands of my superiors and my leaders. I delivered my message and told the people that they must put their arms in the wagon, so as not to arouse the animosity of the Indians. I ordered the children and wounded, some clothing and the arms, to be put into the wagons. Their guns were mostly Kentucky rifles of the muzzle-loading style. Their ammunition was about all gone—I do not think there were twenty loads left in their whole camp. If the emigrants had had a good supply of ammunition they never would have surrendered, and I do not think we could have captured them without great loss, for they were brave men and very resolute and determined.

Just as the wagons were loaded, Dan. McFarland came riding into the corral and said that Major Higbee had ordered great haste to be made, for he was afraid that the Indians would return and renew the attack before he could get the emigrants to a place of safety.

I hurried up the people and started the wagons off towards Cedar City. As we went out of the corral I ordered the wagons to turn to the left, so as to leave the troops to the right of us. Dan. McFarland rode before the women and led them right up to the troops, where they still stood in open order as I left them. The women and larger children were walking ahead, as directed, and the men following them. The foremost man was about fifty yards behind the hindmost woman.

The women and children were hurried right on by the troops. When the men came up they cheered the soldiers as if they be-

lieved that they were acting honestly. Higbee then gave the orders for his men to form in single file and take their places as ordered before, that is, at the right of the emigrants.

I saw this much, but about this time our wagons passed out of sight of the troops, over the hill. I had disobeyed orders in part by turning off as I did, for I was anxious to be out of sight of the bloody deed that I knew was to follow. I knew that I had much to do yet that was of a cruel and unnatural character. It was my duty, with the two drivers, to kill the sick and wounded who were in the wagons, and to do so when we heard the guns of the troops fire. I was walking between the wagons; the horses were going in a fast walk, and we were fully half a mile from Major Higbee and his men, when we heard the firing. As we heard the guns, I ordered a halt and we proceeded to do our part.

I here pause in the recital of this horrid story of man's inhumanity, and ask myself the question, Is it honest in me, and can I clear my conscience before my God, if I screen myself while I accuse others? No, never! Heaven forbid that I should put a burden upon others' shoulders, that I am unwilling to bear my just portion of. I am not a traitor to my people, nor to my former friends and comrades who were with me on that dark day when the work of death was carried on in God's name, by a lot of deluded and religious fanatics. It is my duty to tell facts as they exist, and I will do so.

I have said that all of the small children were put into the wagons; that was wrong, for one little child, about six months old, was carried in its father's arms, and it was killed by the same bullet that entered its father's breast; it was shot through the head. I was told by Haight afterwards, that the child was killed by accident, but I cannot say whether that is a fact or not. I saw it lying dead when I returned to the place of slaughter.

When we had got out of sight, as I said before, and just as we were coming into the main road, I heard a volley of guns at the place where I knew the troops and emigrants were. Our teams were then going at a fast walk. I first heard one gun, then a volley at once followed.

McMurdy and Knight stopped their teams at once, for they were ordered by Higbee, the same as I was, to help kill all the sick and wounded who were in the wagons, and to do it as soon as they heard the guns of the troops. McMurdy was in front; his wagon was mostly loaded with the arms and small children. McMurdy and Knight got out of their wagons; each one had a rifle. McMurdy went up to Knight's wagon, where the sick and wounded were, and raising his rifle to his shoulder, said: "*O Lord, my God, receive their spirits, it is for thy Kingdom that I do this.*" He then shot a man who was lying with his head on another man's breast; the ball killed both men.

I also went up to the wagon, intending to do my part of the killing. I drew my pistol and cocked it, but somehow it went off prematurely, and I shot McMurdy across the thigh, my pistol ball cutting his buck-skin pants. McMurdy turned to me and said:

"Brother Lee, keep cool, you are excited; you came very near killing me. Keep cool, there is no reason for being excited."

Knight then shot a man with his rifle; he shot the man in the head. Knight also brained a boy that was about fourteen years old. The boy came running up to our wagons, and Knight struck him on the head with the butt end of his gun, and crushed his skull. By this time many Indians reached our wagons, and all of the sick and wounded were killed almost instantly. I saw an Indian from Cedar City, called Joe, run up to the wagon and catch a man by the hair, and raise his head up and look into his face; the man shut his eyes, and Joe shot him in the head. The Indians then examined all of the wounded in

the wagons, and all of the bodies, to see if any were alive, and all that showed signs of life were at once shot through the head. I did not kill any one there, but it was an accident that kept me from it, for I fully intended to do my part of the killing, but by the time I got over the excitement of coming so near killing McMurdy, the whole of the killing of the wounded was done. There is no truth in the statement of Nephi Johnson, where he says I cut a man's throat.

Just after the wounded were all killed I saw a girl, some ten or eleven years old, running towards us, from the direction where the troops had attacked the main body of emigrants; she was covered with blood. An Indian shot her before she got within sixty yards of us. That was the last person that I saw killed on that occasion.

About this time an Indian rushed to the front wagon, and grabbed a little boy, and was going to kill him. The lad got away from the Indian and ran to me, and caught me by the knees; and begged me to save him, and not let the Indian kill him. The Indian had hurt the little fellow's chin on the wagon-bed, when he first caught hold of him. I told the Indian to let the boy alone. I took the child up in my arms, and put him back in the wagon, and saved his life. This little boy said his name was Charley Fancher, and that his father was Captain of the train. He was a bright boy. I afterwards adopted him, and gave him to Caroline. She kept him until Dr. Forney took all the children East. I believe that William Sloan, alias Idaho Bill, is the same boy.

After all the parties were dead, I ordered Knight to drive out on one side, and throw out the dead bodies. He did so, and threw them out of his wagon at a place about one hundred yards from the road, and then came back to where I was standing. I then ordered Knight and McMurdy to take the children that were saved alive, (sixteen was the number, some say seventeen, I say sixteen,) and drive on to Hamblin's ranch. They did as I ordered them to do. Before the wagons started, Nephi Johnson came up in company with the Indians that were under his command, and Carl Shirts I think came up too, but I know that I then considered that Carl Shirts was a coward, and I afterwards made him suffer for being a coward. Several white men came up too, but I cannot tell their names, as I have forgotten who they were.

Knight lied when he said I went to the ranch and ordered him to go to the field with his team. I never knew anything of his team, or heard of it, until he came with a load of armed men in his wagon, on the evening of Thursday. If any one ordered him to go to the Meadows, it was Higbee. Every witness that claims that he went to the Meadows without knowing what he was going to do, has lied, for they all knew, as well as Haight or any one else did, and they all voted, every man of them, in the Council, on Friday morning, a little before daylight, to kill all the emigrants.

After the wagons, with the children, had started for Hamblin's ranch, I turned and walked back to where the brethren were. Nephi Johnson lies when he says he was on horse-back, and met me, or that I gave him orders to go to guard the wagons. He is a perjured wretch, and has sworn to every thing he could to injure me. God knows what I did do was bad enough, but he has lied to suit the leaders of the Church, who want me out of the way.

While going back to the brethren, I passed the bodies of several women. In one place I saw six or seven bodies near each other; they were stripped perfectly naked, and all of their clothing was torn from their bodies by the Indians.

I walked along the line where the emigrants had been killed, and saw many bodies lying dead and naked on the field, near by where the women lay. I saw ten children; they had been killed

close to each other; they were from ten to sixteen years of age. The bodies of the women and children were scattered along the ground for quite a distance before I came to where the men were killed.

I do not know how many were killed, but I thought then that there were some fifteen women, about ten children, and about forty men killed, but the statement of others that I have since talked with about the massacre, makes me think there were fully one hundred and ten killed that day on the Mountain Meadows, and the ten who had died in the corral, and young Aden killed by Stewart at Richards' Springs, would make the total number one hundred and twenty-one.

When I reached the place where the dead men lay, I was told how the orders had been obeyed. Major Higbee said, "The boys have acted admirably, they took good aim, and all of the d—d Gentiles but two or three fell at the *first fire*."

He said that three or four got away some distance, but the men on horses soon overtook them and cut their throats. Higbee said the Indians did their part of the work well, that it did not take over a minute to finish up when they got fairly started. I found that the first orders had been carried out to the letter.

Three of the emigrants did get away, but the Indians were put on their trail and they overtook and killed them before they reached the settlements in California. But it would take more time than I have to spare to give the details of their chase and capture. I may do so in my writings hereafter, but not now.

I found Major Higbee, Klingensmith, and most of the brethren standing near by where the largest number of the dead men lay. When I went up to the brethren, Major Higbee said,

"We must now examine the bodies for valuables."

I said I did not wish to do any such work.

Higbee then said, "Well, you hold my hat and I will examine the bodies, and put what valuables I get into the hat."

The bodies were all searched by Higbee, Klingensmith and Wm. C. Stewart. I did hold the hat a while, but I soon got so sick that I had to give it to some other person, as I was unable to stand for a few minutes. The search resulted in getting a little money and a few watches, but there was not much money. Higbee and Klingensmith kept the property, I suppose, for I never knew what became of it, unless they did keep it. I think they kept it all.

After the dead were searched, as I have just said, the brethren were called up, and Higbee and Klingensmith, as well as myself, made speeches, and ordered the people to keep the matter a secret from the *entire world*. Not to tell their wives, or their most intimate friends, and we pledged ourselves to keep everything relating to the affair a secret during life. We also took the most binding oaths to stand by each other, and to always insist that the massacre was committed by Indians alone. This was the advice of Brigham Young too, as I will show hereafter.

The men were mostly ordered to camp there on the field for that night, but Higbee and Klingensmith went with me to Hamblin's ranch, where we got something to eat, and staid there all night. I was nearly dead for rest and sleep; in fact I had rested but little since the Saturday night before. I took my saddle-blanket and spread it on the ground soon after I had eaten my supper, and lay down on the saddle-blanket, using my saddle for a pillow, and slept soundly until next morning.

I was awakened in the morning by loud talking between Isaac C. Haight and William H. Dame. They were very much excited, and quarrelling with each other. I got up at once, but was unable to hear what they were quarrelling about, for they cooled down as soon as they saw that others were paying attention to them.

I soon learned that Col. Dame, Judge Lewis of Parowan, and Isaac C. Haight, with several others, had arrived at the Hamb-

lin ranch in the night, but I do not know what time they got there.

After breakfast we all went back in a body to the Meadows, to bury the dead and take care of the property that was left there.

When we reached the Meadows we all rode up to that part of the field where the women were lying dead. The bodies of men, women and children had been stripped entirely naked, making the scene one of the most loathsome and ghastly that can be imagined.

Knowing that Dame and Haight had quarreled at Hamblin's that morning, I wanted to know how they would act in sight of the dead, who lay there as the result of their orders. I was greatly interested to know what Dame had to say, so I kept close to them, without appearing to be watching them.

Colonel Dame was silent for some time. He looked all over the field, and was quite pale, and looked uneasy and frightened. I thought then that he was just finding out the difference between giving and executing orders for wholesale killing. He spoke to Haight, and said:

"I must report this matter to the authorities."

"How will you report it?" said Haight.

Dame said, "I will report it just as it is."

"Yes, I suppose so, and implicate yourself with the rest?" said Haight.

"No," said Dame. "I will not implicate myself, for I had nothing to do with it."

Haight then said, "That will not do, for you know a d—d sight better. You ordered it done. Nothing has been done except by your orders, and it is too late in the day for you to order things done and then go back on it, and go back on the men who have carried out your orders. You cannot *sow pig* on me, and I will be d—d if I will stand it. You are as much to blame as any one, and you know that we have done nothing except what you ordered done. I know that I have obeyed orders, and by G—d I will not be lied on."

Colonel Dame was much excited. He choked up, and would have gone away, but he knew Haight was a man of determination, and would not stand any foolishness.

As soon as Colonel Dame could collect himself, he said:

"I did not think there were so many of them, or I would not have had anything to do with it."

I thought it was now time for me to chip in, so I said:

"Brethren, what is the trouble between you? It will not do for our chief men to disagree."

Haight stepped up to my side, a little in front of me, and facing Colonel Dame. He was very mad, and said:

"The trouble is just this: Colonel Dame *counseled* and *ordered* me to do this thing, and now he wants to back out, and go back on me, and by G—d, he shall not do it. He shall not lay it all on me. He cannot do it. He must not try to do it. I will *blow him to h—l* before he shall lay it all on me. He has got to stand up to what he did, like a little man. He knows he ordered it done, and I dare him to deny it."

Colonel Dame was perfectly cowed. He did not offer to deny it again, but said:

"Isaac, I did not know there were so many of them."

"That makes no difference," said Haight, "you ordered me to do it, and you have got to stand up for your orders."

I thought it was now time to stop the fuss, for many of the young brethren were coming around. So I said:

"Brethren, this is no place to talk over such a matter. You will agree when you get where you can be quiet, and talk it over."

Haight said, "There is no more to say, for he knows he ordered it done, and he has got to stand by it."

That ended the trouble between them, and I never heard of Colonel Dame denying the giving of the orders any more, until after the Church authorities concluded to offer me up for the sins of the Church.

We then went along the field, and passed by where the brethren were at work covering up the bodies. They piled the dead bodies up in heaps, in little gullies, and threw dirt over them. The bodies were only lightly covered, for the ground was hard, and the brethren did not have sufficient tools to dig with. I suppose it is true that the first rain washed the bodies all out again, but I never went back to examine whether it did or not.

We then went along the field to where the corral and camp had been, to where the wagons were standing. We found that the Indians had carried off all of the wagon covers, and the clothing, and the provisions, and had emptied the feathers out of the feather-beds, and carried off all the ticks.

After the dead were covered up or buried (but it was not much of a burial,) the brethren were called together, and a council was held at the emigrant camp. All the leading men made speeches; Colonel Dame, President Haight, Klingensmith, John M. Higbee, Hopkins and myself. The speeches were first—Thanks to God for delivering our enemies into our hands; next, thanking the brethren for their zeal in God's cause; and then the necessity of always saying the Indians did it alone, and that the Mormons had nothing to do with it. The most of the speeches, however, were in the shape of exhortations and commands to keep the whole matter secret from every one but Brigham Young. It was voted unanimously that any man who should divulge the secret, or tell who was present, or do anything that would lead to a discovery of the truth, should suffer death.

The brethren then all took a most solemn oath, binding themselves under the most dreadful and awful penalties, to keep the whole matter secret from every human being, as long as they should live. No man was to know the facts. The brethren were sworn not to talk of it among themselves, and each one swore to help kill all who proved to be traitors to the Church or people in this matter.

It was then agreed that Brigham Young should be informed of the whole matter, by some one to be selected by the Church Council, after the brethren had returned home.

It was also voted to turn all the property over to Klingensmith, as Bishop of the Church at Cedar City, and he was to take care of the property for the benefit of the Church, until Brigham Young was notified, and should give further orders what to do with it.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONFESSION CONTINUED AND CONCLUDED, MARCH 16, 1877, SEVEN DAYS PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

COLONEL DAME then blest the brethren and we prepared to go to our homes. I took my little Indian boy, Clem, on the horse behind me, and started home. I crossed the mountains and returned the same way I had come.

When I got in about two miles of Harmony, I overtook a body of about forty Indians, on their way home from the massacre. They had a large amount of bloody clothing, and were driving several head of cattle that they had taken from the emigrants.

The Indians were very glad to see me, and said I was their Captain, and that they were going to Harmony with me as my men. It was the orders from the Church authorities to do everything we could to pacify the Indians, and make them the fast friends of the Mormons, so I concluded to humor them.

I started on and they marched after me until we reached the fort at Harmony. We went into the fort and marched round inside, after which they halted and gave their whoop of victory, which means much the same with them as the *cheers* do with the whites. I then ordered the Indians to be fed; my family gave them some bread and melons, which they eat, and then they left me and went to their tribe.

I will here state again that on the field, before and after the massacre, and again at the council at the emigrant camp, the day after the massacre, orders were given to keep everything *secret*, and if any man told the secret to any human being, he was to be killed, and I assert as a fact that if any man had told it then, or for many years afterwards, he would have died, for some "*Destroying Angel*" would have followed his trail and sent him over the "*rim of the basin*."

From that day to this it has been the understanding with all concerned in that massacre, that the man who divulged the secret should die; he was to be killed, wherever he was found, for treason to the men who killed the emigrants, and for his treason to the Church. No man was at liberty to tell his wife, or any one else, nor were the brethren permitted to talk of it *even among themselves*. Such were the orders and instructions, from Brigham Young down to the lowest in authority. The orders to lay it all to the Indians, were just as positive as they were to keep it all secret. This was the counsel from all in authority, and for years it was faithfully observed.

The children that were saved were taken to Cedar City, and other settlements, and put out among different families, where they were kept until they were given up to Dr. Forney, the Agent of the United States, who came for them.

I did not have anything to do with the property taken from the emigrants, or the cattle, or anything else, for some three months after the massacre, and then I only took charge of the cattle because I was ordered to do so by Brigham Young.

There were eighteen wagons in all at the emigrant camp. They were all wooden axles but one, and that was a light iron axle; it had been hauled by four mules. There were something over five hundred head of cattle, but I never got the half of them. The Indians killed a large number at the time of the massacre, and drove others to their tribes when they went home from Mountain Meadows. Klingensmith put the Church brand on fifty head or more, of the best of the cattle, and then he and Haight and Higbee drove the cattle to Salt Lake City and sold them for goods that they brought back to Cedar City to trade on.

The Indians got about twenty head of horses and mules. Samuel Knight, one of the witnesses on my trial, got a large sorrel mare; Haight got a span of average American mules; Joel White got a fine mare; Higbee got a good large mule; Klingensmith got a span of mules. Haight, Higbee and Allen each took a wagon. The people all took what they wanted, and they had divided and used up much over half of it before I was put in charge.

The first time I heard that a messenger had been sent to Brigham Young for instructions as to what should be done with the emigrants, was three or four days after I had returned home from the Meadows. Then I heard of it from Isaac C. Haight, when he came to my house and had a talk with me. He said:

"We are all in a muddle. Haslem has returned from Salt Lake City, with orders from Brigham Young to let the emigrants pass in safety."

In this conversation Haight also said:

"I sent an order to Higbee to save the emigrants, after I had sent the orders for killing them all, but for some reason the message did not reach him. I understand the messenger did not go to the Meadows at all."

I at once saw that we were in a bad fix, and I asked Haight

what was to be done. We talked the matter over again.

Haight then told me that it was the orders of the Council that I should go to Salt Lake City and lay the whole matter before Brigham Young. I asked him if he was not going to write a report of it to the Governor, as he was the right man to do it, for he was in command of the militia in that section of country, and next to Dame in command of the whole district. I told him that it was a matter which really belonged to the military department, and should be so reported.

He refused to write a report, saying:

"You can report it better than I could write it. You are like a member of Brigham's family, and can talk to him privately and confidentially. I want you to take all of it on yourself that you can, and not expose any more of the brethren than you find absolutely necessary. Do this, Brother Lee, as I order you to do, and you shall receive a celestial reward for it, and the time will come when all who acted with us will be glad for the part they have taken, for the time is near at hand when the Saints are to enjoy the riches of the earth. And all who deny the faith and doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints shall be slain—the sword of vengeance shall shed their blood; their wealth shall be given as a spoil to our people."

At that time I believed everything he said, and I fully expected to receive the celestial reward that he promised me. But now I say, *Damn all such "celestial rewards"* as I am to get for what I did on that fatal day.

It was then preached every Sunday to the people that the Mormons were to conquer the earth at once, and the people all thought that the millennium had come, and that Christ's reign upon earth would soon begin, as an accomplished fact.

According to the orders of Isaac C. Haight, I started for Salt Lake City to report the whole facts connected with the massacre, to Brigham Young. I started about a week or ten days after the massacre, and I was on the way about ten days. When I arrived in the city I went to the President's house and gave to Brigham Young a full, detailed statement of the whole affair, from first to last—only I took rather more on myself than I had done.

He asked me if I had brought a letter from Haight, with his report of the affair. I said:

"No, Haight wished me to make a verbal report of it, as I was an eye witness to much of it."

I then went over the whole affair and gave him as full a statement as it was possible for me to give. I described everything about it. I told him of the orders Haight first gave me. I told him everything. I told him that "Brother McMurdy, Brother Knight and myself killed the wounded men in the wagons, with the assistance of the Indians. We killed six wounded men."

He asked me many questions, and I told him every particular, and everything that I knew. I described everything very fully. I told him what I had said against killing the women and children.

Brigham then said:

"Isaac (referring to Haight) has sent me word that if they had killed every man, woman and child in the outfit, there would not have been a drop of innocent blood shed by the brethren; for they were a set of murderers, robbers and thieves."

While I was still talking with him, some men came into his house to see him, so he requested me to keep quiet until they left. I did as he directed.

As soon as the men went out, I continued my recital. I gave him the names of every man that had been present at the massacre. I told him who killed various ones. In fact I gave him *all the information there was to give*.

When I finished talking about the matter, he said:

"This is the most unfortunate affair that ever befel the Church.

I am afraid of treachery among the brethren that were there. If any one tells this thing so that it will become public, it will work us great injury. I want you to understand now, that you are never to tell this again, not even to Heber C. Kimball. It must be kept a secret among ourselves. When you get home, I want you to sit down and write a long letter, and give me an account of the affair, charging it to the Indians. You sign the letter as Farmer to the Indians, and direct it to me as Indian Agent. I can then make use of such a letter to keep off all damaging and troublesome enquiries."

I told him that I would write the letter. (I kept my word; but, as an evidence of his treachery, that same letter that he ordered me to write, he has given to Attorney Howard, and he has introduced it in evidence against me on my trial.)

Brigham Young knew when he got that letter just as well as I did, that it was not a true letter, and that it was only written according to his orders to throw the public off of the right trail. He knew that it was written simply to cast all the blame on the Indians, and to protect the brethren. In writing that letter I was still obeying my orders and earning that Celestial reward that had been promised to me.

He then said, "If only men had been killed, I would not have cared so much; but the killing of the women and children is the sin of it. I suppose the men were a hard set, but it is hard to kill women and children for the sins of the men. This whole thing stands before me like a horrid vision. I must have time to reflect upon it."

He then told me to withdraw and call next day, and he would give me an answer. I said to him,

"President Young, the people all felt, and I know that I believed I was obeying orders, and acting for the good of the Church, and in strict conformity with the oaths that we have all taken to avenge the blood of the Prophets. You must either sustain the people for what they have done, or you must release us from the oaths and obligations that we have taken."

The only reply he made was,

"Go now, and come in the morning, and I will give you an answer."

I went to see him again in the morning. When I went in, he seemed quite cheerful. He said,

"I have made that matter a subject of prayer. I went right to God with it, and asked Him to take the horrid vision from my sight, if it was a righteous thing that my people had done in killing those people at the Mountain Meadows. God answered me, and at once the vision was removed. I have evidence from God that He has overruled it all for good, and the action was a righteous one and well intended.

The brethren acted from pure motives. The only trouble is they acted a little prematurely; they were a little ahead of time. I sustain you and all of the brethren for what they did. All that I fear is treachery on the part of some one who took a part with you, but we will look to that."

I was again cautioned and commanded to keep the whole thing as a sacred secret, and again told to write the report as Indian Farmer, laying the blame on the Indians. That ended our interview, and I left him, and soon started for my home at Harmony.

Brigham Young was then satisfied with the purity of my motives in acting as I had done at the Mountain Meadows. Now he is doing all he can against me, but I know it is nothing but cowardice that has made him turn against me as he has at last.

.....

There is another falsehood generally believed in Utah, especially among the Mormons. It is this. It has generally been reported that Brigham Young was anxious to help Judge Cradlebaugh arrest all the guilty parties. There is not one word of truth in the whole statement. Brigham Young knew the name

of every man that was in any way implicated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. He knew just as much about it as I did, except that he did not see it, as I had seen it.

If Brigham Young had wanted one man, or fifty men, or five hundred men arrested, all he would have had to do would have been to say so, and they would have been arrested instantly. There was no escape for them if he ordered their arrest. Every man who knows anything of affairs in Utah at that time knows this is so.

It is true that Brigham made a great parade at the time, and talked a great deal about bringing the guilty parties to justice, but he did not mean a word of it—not a word. He did go South with Cradlebaugh, but he took good care that Cradlebaugh caught no person that had been in the massacre.

I know that I had plenty of notice of their coming, and so did all the brethren. It was one of Brigham Young's cunning dodges to blind the government. That this is true I can prove by the statement of what he did at Cedar City while out on his trip with Judge Cradlebaugh to investigate the matter and arrest (?) the guilty parties.

Judge Cradlebaugh and his men were working like faithful men to find out all about it, but they did not learn very much. True, they got on the right track, but could not learn it all, for Brigham Young was along to see that they did not learn the facts.

While at Cedar City, Brigham preached one night, but none of the Judge's party heard him. In his sermon, when speaking of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, he said:

"Do you know who those people were that were killed at the Mountain Meadows? I will tell you who those people were. They were fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins and children of those who killed the Saints, and drove them from Missouri, and afterwards killed our Prophets in Carthage jail. These children that the government has made such a stir about, were gathered up by the government and carried back to Missouri, to St. Louis, and letters were sent to their relatives to come and take them; but their relations wrote back that they did not want them—that they were the children of thieves, outlaws and murderers, and they would not take them, they did not wish anything to do with them, and would not have them around their houses. Those children are now in the poor house in St. Louis. And yet after all this, I am told that there are many of the brethren who are willing to inform upon and swear against the brethren who were engaged in that affair. I hope there is no truth in this report. I hope there is no such person here, under the sound of my voice. But if there is, I will tell you my opinion of you, and the fact so far as your fate is concerned. Unless you repent at once of that unholy intention, and keep the secret of all that you know, you will die a dog's death, and be damned, and go to hell. I do not want to hear of any more treachery among my people."

These words of Brigham Young gave great comfort to all of us who were out in the woods keeping out of the way of the officers. It insured our safety and took away our fears.

There has been all sorts of reports circulated about me, and the bigger the lie that was told the more readily it was believed.

I have told in this statement just what I did at the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The evidence of Jacob Hamblin is false in toto. Hamblin lied in every particular, so far as his evidence related to me.

It is my fate to die for what I did; but I go to my death with a certainty that it cannot be worse than my life has been for the last nineteen years.

(Mormonism Unveiled: or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee, 1880, pages 213, 214, 218-254, 258, 259)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admits that white settlers were involved in the Mountain Meadows Massacre:

The call, however, whatever its purport, brought to Mountain Meadows a number of white settlers from Cedar, on Thursday, the 10th of September, enough to swell the number of **whites** now there to between fifty and sixty, many of whom were but very young men. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 153)

After the discussion as to the disposition of the emigrants referred to ended, it appears that leading spirits among the white settlers who had assembled at Mountain Meadows determined upon the destruction of the emigrants; and in order that it might be accomplished without risk to themselves it was decided to decoy the emigrants from their fortified camp, disarm them and treacherously put them to death. (*Ibid.*, page 156)

AFTER THE MASSACRE

The historian Juanita Brooks gives this information:

In the meantime, before the civil authorities had been able to start an investigation, the church conducted a private one, if we are to trust their own records. The leaders had to know the truth of this affair, even though the group loyalty which they had always encouraged would not permit them to make public their findings. Through long years of experience they had developed the attitude that, right or wrong, they must stand together. . . .

Later, in his testimony at the first trial of John D. Lee, Klingonsmith insisted that he visited Brigham Young in company with Lee and Hopkins, and that the three discussed the disposition of the spoil. "Let John D. Lee take care of it, in as much as he is the Indian Agent now. What you know of this affair, **say nothing about it**," he quoted Brigham Young as saying. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 120; pages 161-162 of 1962 reprint)

3. While he did not order the massacre, and would have prevented it if he could, Brigham Young was **accessory after the fact**, in that he knew what had happened, and how and why it happened. Evidence of this is abundant and unmistakable, and from the most impeccable Mormon sources. . . . he understood well that their acts had grown out of loyalty to him and his cause, . . . (*Ibid.*, pages 161-162; page 219 of 1962 reprint)

About two weeks after the massacre John D. Lee made his report to Brigham Young. Under the date of September 29, 1857, Wilford Woodruff recorded the following in his journal:

John D. Lee also arrived from Harmony with an express and an awful tale of blood. A company of California emigrants, of about 150 men, women and children, many of them belonging to the mob in Missouri and Illinois, had been massacred. . . . Brother Lee said that he did not think there was a drop of innocent blood in their camp, for he had two of the children in his house, and he could not get but one to kneel down in prayer-time, and the other would laugh at her for doing it, and they would swear like pirates. The scene of

blood has commenced, and Joseph said that we should see so much of it that it would make our hearts sick. ("Woodruff's Journal," September 29, 1857, as cited in *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 160-161)

While Woodruff claimed that the massacre was committed by Indians, Lee states that he "gave to Brigham Young a full, detailed statement of the whole affair, from first to last . . . I gave him the names of every man that had been present at the massacre. I told him who killed various ones. In fact I gave him all the information there was to give." Brigham Young, however, testified that he would not listen to all the details given by Lee: "Answer: Within some two or three months after the massacre he called at my office and commenced giving an account of the massacre. I told him **to stop**, as from what I had already heard by rumor, I did not wish my feelings harrowed up with a recital of details" (Court Record, the second Lee trial, September 1876, Deposition of Brigham Young, as cited in *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 160). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts states: "According to Governor Young's deposition at the second trial of Lee, he (Governor Young) refused to hear the story in detail. . . . it is clear that Brigham Young, unfortunately, as I think, did not get the full account of the great crime" (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 160-161). Roberts, however, does admit that Jacob Hamblin—a very prominent Mormon—gave Brigham Young a full report of the massacre right after it took place:

But previous to this [the report of George A. Smith, dated August 17, 1858], and "soon after" the event, the presence of Lee and other white men at the massacre and even somewhat of their participation in it had been made known in Salt Lake City. . . .

Jacob Hamblin, a reputable witness, testified at the second Lee trial that "soon after it [the massacre] happened," he **reported to Brigham Young** and George A. Smith what Lee had told him of the affair; of the **part that white men had taken in it**; and that in greater detail than he had given it, or was able to give in his testimony in court, because he then more clearly remembered it; and that Brigham Young said to him that "as soon as we can get a court of justice we will ferret this thing out, **but till then, don't say anything about it**." All this seems to have been **forgotten** in the Smith "report." (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 166)

While B. H. Roberts suggests that George A. Smith may have "forgotten" this important conversation with Jacob Hamblin, we feel that it is much more reasonable to believe that Smith simply did not tell the truth in his report of August 17, 1858.

Jacob Hamblin's testimony makes it very plain that Brigham Young knew all about the fact that white men were involved, yet six years after the massacre took place Brigham Young was still trying to blame the whole thing on the Indians. In a sermon delivered March 8, 1863,

Brigham Young made the following statements:

. . . a company of emigrants were traveling on the south route to California. Nearly all of that company were destroyed by the **Indians**. That unfortunate affair has been laid to the charge of the **whites**. A certain judge that was then in this Territory wanted the whole army to accompany him to Iron county to try the whites for the murder of that company of emigrants. . . . but to this day they have not touched the matter, **for fear the Mormons would be acquitted from the charge of having any hand in it**, and our enemies would thus be deprived of a favorite topic to talk about, when urging hostility against us. "The Mountain Meadow massacre! Only think of the Mountain Meadow massacre!!" is their cry from one end of the land to the other. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, pages 109-110)

Juanita Brooks gives this information concerning Judge Cradlebaugh's attempt to bring the guilty parties to justice:

In April, 1859, Judge Cradlebaugh and his military escort started south, bent upon capturing and bringing to justice those responsible for the massacre. . . . The court and its bodyguard had everything against them from the beginning, for word had traveled ahead and all the suspected had gone into hiding.

That both John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight were warned in advance is shown clearly in their diaries. . . . the Judge made out writs for some thirty-six men. . . . Of all these thirty-six writs, not one was served, and the marshal, unable to make a single arrest, wrote a formal statement to justify his failure. . . .

Forced at last to admit that they could do nothing, the Judge and his escort started back to Salt Lake City, and the local leaders came out of hiding. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 1962, pages 173, 174, 177 and 178)

Although the Mormons opposed Judge Cradlebaugh's investigation, Brigham Young tried to make it appear that it was the other way around. On June 11, 1871, Charles Walker recorded in his diary that Brigham Young said "as to the Mountain Meadows Massacre if he had not been foiled by Judge Cradlebaugh and other federal officials, he would have hung every guilty person concerned in the bloody deed" ("Diary of Charles Walker," typed copy, page 30). The truth, of course, was that the Mormons under Brigham Young opposed Cradlebaugh's investigation. Judge Cradlebaugh made the following statements concerning this matter:

Sitting as a committing magistrate, complaint after complaint was made before me of murders and robberies. Among these I may mention as peculiarly and shockingly prominent, the murder of Forbes, the assassination of the Parrishes and Potter, of Jones and his mother, of the Aiken party, of which there were six in all; and worst, and darkest in this appalling catalogue of blood, the cowardly, cold-blooded butchery and robbery at the Mountain Meadows. At that time there still lay all ghastly under the sun of Utah the unburied skeletons of one hundred and nineteen men, women, and children, the hapless, hopeless victims of the Mormon creed. . . . I was the first Federal judge in that part of the Territory after the occurrence. . . . I

determined to visit that part of my district, and, if possible, expose the persons engaged in the massacre, which I did in the early part of the year 1859. I accordingly embraced an opportunity of accompanying a small detachment of soldiers . . . During our stay there I was visited by the Indian chiefs of that section, who gave me their version of the massacre. They admitted that a portion of their men were engaged in the massacre, but were not there when the attack commenced. One of them told me, in the presence of the others, that after the attack had been made, a white man came to their camp with a piece of paper, which, he said, Brigham Young had sent, that directed them to go and help to whip the emigrants. . . . He said the Mormons were all painted. He said the Indians got a part of the clothing; and gave the names of John D. Lee, President Haight, and Bishop Higbee, as the big captains. . . . on the 10th day of September, 1857, was consummated one of the most cruel, cowardly, and bloody murders known in our history. Upon the way from the meadows, a young Indian pointed out to me the place where the Mormons painted and disguised themselves. . . .

While at Cedar City I was visited by a number of apostate Mormons, who gave me every assurance that they would furnish an abundance of evidence in regard to the matter, so soon as they were assured of military protection. In fact, some of the persons engaged in the act came to see me in the night, and gave a full account of the matter, intending, when protection was at hand, to become witnesses. They claimed that they had been forced into the matter by the bishops. Their statements corroborated what the Indians had previously said to me . . . let me ask my conjugal friend, the Delegate from Utah, why it was that the *Deseret News*, the church organ, and only paper published in the Territory, for months after failed to notice the massacre, even after it was well known in the States, and when it did so, only did it to say the Mormons were not engaged in it? . . .

A great portion of the property was taken to Cedar City, deposited in the tithing office, and then sold out; the bed clothes upon which the wounded had been lying, and those taken from the dead, were piled in the back room of the tithing office, and allowed to remain for so great a length of time that when I was there eighteen months after the room was still offensive.

What a commentary upon the condition of affairs in our country! Mormonism reveling upon the spoils obtained by murder, while seventeen orphan children are turned penniless upon the world. . . .

It has been said we have courts in Utah, and the question is frequently asked, why do not the courts act? The uniform testimony of the judges is to the effect that the courts are powerless. More than fifteen Federal judges who have gone to the Territory have so stated. They have again and again told you that the entire legislation of the Territory is to prevent the administration of the laws; that the **church authorities are determined that the laws shall not be enforced** in the Federal courts; that the grand and trial jurors are Mormons, who are taught that the Mormon church laws are the higher laws, and should prevail, and who refuse, therefore, to discharge their sworn duties, and have invariably refused to punish any Mormon for an offense committed against an anti-Mormon. ("Utah and the Mormons," a Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh, in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1863, as printed in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, February 23, 1863, pages 122-123)

John D. Lee stated that Bright Young went south with Cradlebaugh to try to prevent him from finding out the truth about the massacre. We have found no evidence to support this, but we do know that Young offered to “accompany” Cradlebaugh (see *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 177). Two years after Cradlebaugh’s trip, Young visited the southern settlements. During this trip Young demonstrated that he approved of the massacre. Juanita Brooks gives this information concerning the visit:

Brigham Young rode first in his train . . . When he came to the stone monument at Mountain Meadows, he pulled out and stopped. Everyone else stopped and all gathered around to hear what he had to say about this. At first he walked a short distance away and up the incline as though he wanted to look over the whole valley and visualize what had happened and where and how. Then he came back to the pile of stones, built into a rude pyramid some twelve feet high and crowned by a hewn cross of cedar upon which were painted the words **Vengeance is mine saith the Lord, I will repay**. A flat stone at the bottom bore the inscription, “120 men, women, and children murdered in cold blood early in Sept. 1857. From Arkansas.” And on another slab, “Erected by Company K, 1st Dragoons May, 1859.”

Brigham Young walked around the monument, studied the inscriptions, and then raising his right arm to the square, he said impressively, “Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I have taken a little of it.” Without another word, he returned to his wagon and rode on. Riding with the company were horsemen from the south who thought they understood what he meant. One immediately threw a lasso rope around the cross, and turning his horse suddenly, jerked it down and dragged it a short distance. The others dismounted quickly and began tearing down the stones, scattering them in every direction, until before the wagon train was well on the road, the monument was demolished. . . .

For Lee this had been a rewarding experience indeed. The President had expressed approval of his mill and praised him for his industry and foresight as it was shown in his homes, yards, corrals and fields. Best of all, he had seemed to approve of his efforts. Referring to the massacre, he lamented the death of the women and children, though “under the circumstances this could not be avoided.” “The men merited their fate,” he said. As for the people who would have betrayed their brethren into the hands of their enemies, he had not language strong enough to express his scorn.

“For that thing they will be damned and go down to hell,” he thundered. “I would be glad to see one of these traitors, though I don’t suppose there is any here now. They have run away.” (*John D. Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, pages 265-268)

LEE’S EXCOMMUNICATION

John D. Lee not only served in the secret Council of 50 under Brigham Young, but he was also “adopted” into Young’s family years before the massacre took place. Philip Taylor stated:

Personal friendship, and in a few instances family relationship, linked members of the Mormon higher command; and the early church sanctioned the practice

of adoption of one adult by another; this was the bond which linked John D. Lee to Brigham Young. (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1962, page 112)

Juanita Brooks tells us that prior to 1870 “there had been a growing discontent among members of the church with the policy of the leaders.” Concerning one group of men she states:

Worse still, they said, Brigham Young gave public recognition to men who had participated in the Mountain Meadow massacre. The *Utah Reporter*, published in Corrine, ran a series of open letters addressed to Brigham Young, demanding that those guilty of that outrage be brought to justice. If the authorities had not specifically ordered the massacre, they were accessories after the fact by shielding the guilty. The articles were signed by “Argus” who claimed to have lived in Southern Utah and learned the facts from some of the participants. (*John D. Lee*, page 288)

Finally, thirteen years after the massacre, Brigham Young was forced to excommunicate Lee (or at least claim that he was excommunicated). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

In 1870 . . . President Young became convinced of the absolute responsibility of John D. Lee in that affair. Also of Isaac C. Haight’s responsibility for failing to restrain Lee and to take prompt action against him, since he was Lee’s superior officer in the church. . . . “President Young himself proposed, and all present unanimously voted, to excommunicate John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight.” “President Young gave instructions at that time that John D. Lee should, under no circumstances, ever be again admitted as a member of the church.” (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 178)

Juanita Brooks states that after John D. Lee found out that he had been excommunicated he wrote the following in his diary:

“The impression is that the apostates & Godbeites are trying to implicate Prest. B. Young in the Mountain Meadow affair, on the grounds that he holds Men in the church who are reported to be in it &c. . . My love for the Truth is above all other things & is first with me, & (I) believe that Prest. Young has Suffered this to take place for a wise purpose & not for any Malicious intent. My prayer is, May God bless him. . . .” (*John D. Lee*, page 294)

Joseph Fielding Smith, the tenth President of the Mormon Church, once made this statement concerning the excommunication of John D. Lee:

. . .—For several years the facts relating to the tragedy were unknown, but gradually the truth leaked out and an investigation was made of the affair. John D. Lee was **excommunicated** from the Church with injunction from President Young that **under no circumstances should he ever be admitted as a member again**. (*Essentials in Church History*, page 516)

Strange as it may seem, however, in 1961 the Mormon Church leaders reinstated John D. Lee to membership and to his former blessings. Juanita Brooks states:

Through all the eighty-four years which have elapsed since the execution of John D. Lee, the dearest hope of his many descendants has been that his name should some day be cleared. An action taken on Thursday, April 20, 1961, has made that hope a reality for them.

On that day the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve of the Mormon Church met in a joint session and "It was the action of the Council after considering all the facts available that authorization be given for the re-instatement to membership and former blessings to John D. Lee."

On May 8 and 9 following, the necessary ordinances were performed in the Salt Lake Temple. (*John D. Lee*, page 376)

TRIAL AND EXECUTION

After John D. Lee was excommunicated from the Mormon Church, he was arrested and brought to trial. Speaking of the trial, Mrs. Brooks states:

So the evidence piled up. The attorneys were elequent in their recital of the lurid and horrible details, the defense insisting that while Lee was present and might have participated, he was thereby command of his superiors, both military and ecclesiastical, whose orders in this time of military rule it would be death to disobey. While they admitted the facts of the massacre and all its unbelievable horror, they placed the responsibility upon the Mormon Church and its doctrine that men were justified in "avenging the blood of the Prophets," as a part of their duty to God.

For the Mormon audience, especially the group of converts who had joined the church and emigrated to Utah later, this was a shattering and soul-shaking experience. Not having shared the Missouri and Nauvoo experiences or felt the "spirit of the times," they simply could not believe that the church with which they had become affiliated or any of the officers in it could condone such an outrage, much less be responsible for it.

In the end, the jury could not agree upon a verdict, the eight Mormons being for acquittal and the four gentiles for conviction. Now the whole thing must be gone over again, . . . (*John D. Lee*, pages 340-341)

In the *Church Chronology* the following is found under the date of May 11, 1876: "Thurs. 11.—After a long confinement Wm. H. Dane, John D. Lee and Geo. W. Adair were admitted to bail in the respective sums of \$20,000, \$15,000 and \$10,000" (*Church Chronology*, by Andrew Jenson, page 96). Emma, John D. Lee's wife, said that the authorities sent word for John D. Lee to jump his bonds:

Emma told that in late August a messenger arrived at Lonely Dell with word from the authorities counseling Lee to jump his bonds and leave the country. Rather than have this horrible affair rehearsed again, they would assume the full responsibility to his bondsmen. The messenger arrived too late. He came via Kanab, while Lee returned via Skutumpah, so they had missed each other and there was no way for them to get together. Thus the hand of fate reached out to cast the fatal die. (*John D. Lee*, page 358)

In her book, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Mrs. Brooks states that the leaders of the Mormon Church decided to sacrifice John D. Lee at his second trial in order to save the reputation of the Church:

4. The church leaders decided to sacrifice Lee only when they could see that it would be impossible to acquit him without assuming a part of the responsibility themselves. It was a case where the duties of a statesman were weighed against the loyalties of a personal friend, and the duties of the statesman, of necessity, were given precedence. To air the whole story would have done injury to the church, both among its own membership and in the eyes of the world, and this token sacrifice had to be made. Hence the farce which was the second trial of Lee. The leaders evidently felt that by placing all the responsibility squarely upon him, already doomed, they could lift the stigma from the church as a whole. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 162; pages 219 and 220 of the 1962 edition)

At John D. Lee's second trial, which Juanita Brooks calls a farce, he was convicted of murder in the first degree. On March 23, 1877, he was executed at the Mountain Meadows. Just before he was shot, he made this statement:

It seems I have to be made a victim—a victim must be had, and I am the victim. I am sacrificed to satisfy the feelings—the vindictive feelings, or in other words to gratify parties. . . .

I am a true believer in the gospel of Jesus Christ. I do not believe everything that is now being taught and practiced by Brigham Young. I do not care who hears it. . . .

I studied to make this man's will my pleasure for thirty years. See, now, what I have come to this day!

I have been sacrificed in a cowardly, dastardly manner. I cannot help it. It is my last word—it is so.

. . . Sacrifice a man that has waited upon them, that has wandered and endured with them in the days of adversity, true from the beginnings of the Church! And I am now singled out and am sacrificed in this manner! What confidence can I have in such a man! I have none, and I don't think my father in heaven has any. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 152; pages 208 and 209 of the 1962 edition)

It is interesting to note that after Lee was "adopted" to Brigham Young, he sometimes referred to him as "Father," and on one occasion Lee recorded in his journal that he made this statement to Young: "My reply was to him, **Father, thy will be done**" (*Journals of John D. Lee*, 1846-47 and 1859, edited by Charles Kelly, pages 37-38). The teachings of Brigham Young certainly brought John D. Lee to a terrible end. Juanita Brooks observed that "John D. Lee lamented the fact that he must bequeath to his children a legacy of shame, but even he could not guess how this burden would grow with the years" (*John D. Lee*, page 369). The Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded the following in his journal in 1894: "It was asked if John D. Lee, a son of the mountain meadows murderer, who is a good man, and is called on a mission, should go. It was decided that he should go to England, but assume his mothers' maiden name" ("The Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," April 26, 1894, vol. 18, page 89).

John D. Lee's descendants were very happy to learn that the Mormon leaders had reinstated him "to membership and to [his] former blessings."

RESPONSIBILITY FOR MASSACRE

William E. Berrett makes this statement concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre: "For the deed at Mountain Meadows there is no excuse. The perpetrators were never held guiltless by the Church and the Church must not be condemned because of the vile deeds of a few of its members" (*The Restored Church*, page 470).

In trying to clear the Mormon Church of any responsibility for the massacre, Mr. Berrett quotes a reference from the *Doctrine and Covenants* which states that it is wrong to kill. Mr. Berrett uses this quote to try to impress his readers with the idea that the Mormon Church has never sanctioned the shedding of blood. This, of course, is incorrect. In our study of "Blood Atonement" many references were given which proved that the Mormon Church leaders were preaching the shedding of blood at the very time that the Mountain Meadows Massacre took place. The following are brief excerpts from their sermons ("J. D." stands for *Journal of Discourses*):

... have their blood spilt, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 4, p. 53)
... atoned for by the blood of the man. (B. Young, J. D., v. 4, p. 54)
... your own blood must atone for it, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 3, p. 247)
... nearest relative must kill him! (George A. Smith, J. D., v. 1, p. 97)
... I say kill him on the spot, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 1, p. 108)
... you will be hewn down ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 3, p. 226)
... the penalty ... is death on the spot. (B. Young, J. D., v. 10, p. 110)
... their blood will surely be shed, ... (H. C. Kimball, J. D., v. 1, p. 375)
... Will you love that man or woman well enough to shed their blood?
(J. D., v. 4, p. 219)
... your blood should be spilled, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 4, p. 220)
... they will be destroyed ... (H. C. Kimball, J. D., v. 6, p. 126)
... cut their throats. (B. Young, J. D., v. 2, p. 311)
... cutting people off from the earth ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 4, p. 53)
... put a javelin through both of them, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 3, p. 247)
... death to both male and female. (Orson Pratt, The Seer, p. 223)
... we wipe them out of existence ... (H. C. Kimball, J. D., v. 7, p. 19)
... the heads of thieves taken off, or shot down before the public ...
(Orson Hyde, J. D., v. 1, p. 73)
... shed their blood. (J. M. Grant, J. D., v. 4, p. 49)
... have their blood shed ... (J. M. Grant, J. D., v. 4, p. 49)
... let your blood be shed ... (J. M. Grant, J. D., v. 4, p. 51)
... I will unsheath my bowie knife, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 1, p. 83)
... spill his blood on the earth ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 4, p. 220)
... we will slay you ... (H. C. Kimball, J. D., v. 6, p. 351)
... we will slay them. (B. Young, J. D., v. 2, p. 322)
... their heads chopped off, ... (B. Young, J. D., v. 2, p. 186)

More references could be included, but these should be sufficient to prove that the leaders of the Mormon Church were not always opposed to the shedding of

blood. Because of this they must share part of the blame for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Juanita Brooks states: "1. While Brigham Young and George A. Smith, the church authorities chiefly responsible, did not specifically order the massacre, they did preach sermons and set up social conditions which made it possible" (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 161; page 219 of the 1962 edition). On page 35 of the same book (1962 edition) Mrs. Brooks states:

Not only did George A. Smith carry significant orders to both the military and the Indians, but his preaching to the people in general was of such an inflammatory nature that it roused them to a high emotional pitch. Because of this, the fatal relationship between his visit and the massacre which followed scarcely a month later can hardly be overemphasized.

James Lynch made this statement in 1859:

The scene of the fearful murder still bears evidence of the atrocious crime, ... by Mormons ... who in their headlong zeal, bigotry and fanaticism deemed this a favourable opportunity of at once wreaking their vengeance upon the hated people of Arkansas, and of making another of those iniquitous "Blood Offerings" to God so often recommended by Brigham Young and their other leaders. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, page 215; page 279 of the 1962 edition)

Even Gustive O. Larson, Professor of Church History at the Brigham Young University, had to admit that "religious fanaticism" was one of the causes of the massacre. He stated: "The Mountain Meadows massacre can only be understood in the perspective of mass hysteria resulting from a combination of bitter past experience, present threat, and religious fanaticism" (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1962, page 175).

CHURCH OPPOSES STUDY

In the preface to her book, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Juanita Brooks states:

At the outset, let me make myself clear. I am a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called Mormon; I was born into the church and have been raised in it. Anyone who is interested enough to look up my history will find that I am, and have always been, a loyal and active member.

I am interested in the reputation of my church. When one has served in and sacrificed for a cause over a long period of years, that cause becomes dear, more dear, perhaps, than it is to those who draw their livelihood from it. Hence, in trying to present this subject with a desire only to tell the truth, I believe that I am doing my church a service.

Apparently Juanita Brooks' desire to tell the truth about the Mountain Meadows Massacre has not been shared by the leaders of the Mormon Church. On page 216 of her book (1962 edition) Mrs. Brooks makes the following statement:

Some seven years after the execution of Lee, while the press was still busy with the subject, Charles W. Penrose wrote the account which came to be the accepted story of the church, his whole purpose being to clear the name of Brigham Young from any implications of guilt. Since that time a number of reputable Mormon scholars have begun research on the subject, only to be turned away from it for one reason or another. Two of these men have said that they discontinued because they were "counseled" with such vigor to leave it alone that they felt sure that to continue would cost them not only their positions in church schools, but their membership in the church itself.

Mrs. Brooks even criticizes Joseph Fielding Smith, who became the tenth President of the Church, for not using the information he had available when he wrote an account of the massacre. She states:

An even better illustration, perhaps is *Essentials in Church History*, by Joseph Fielding Smith. In the 1945 edition Smith devotes one chapter to the massacre, in which, without mentioning names, he can hardly find language strong enough or words vigorous enough to condemn the participants. He quotes one footnote, and one only, Bancroft's statement that it "was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp." Yet in the collections of the historian's office of the L.D.S. Church, records of which he is the custodian, there is ample evidence that this was definitely **not** the crime of a single individual, nor the responsibility of only one man. Even the most superficial research would show the utter ridiculousness of such a statement.

It seems that, once having taken a stand and put forth a story, the leaders of the Mormon Church have felt that they should maintain it, regardless of all the evidence to the contrary. In their concern to let the matter die, they do not see that it can never be finally settled until it is accepted as any other historical incident, with a view only to finding the facts. To shrink from it, to discredit any who try to inquire into it, to refuse to discuss it, or to hesitate to accept all the evidence fearlessly, is not only to keep it a matter of controversy, but to make the most loyal followers doubt the veracity of their leaders in presenting other matters of history. This is especially true in dealing with college students and people trained in research. (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, pages 160-161; pages 217-218 of the 1962 edition)

Obviously, the Mormon Church leaders are trying to cover up the truth about the Mountain Meadows Massacre. J. Forney, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Utah Territory, stated that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was "a crime that has no parallel in American history for atrocity." The Mormon Church does not want to take any responsibility for this crime, even though the leaders of the Church were preaching at that time that it was not only acceptable but sometimes pleasing in the sight of the Lord for blood to be shed. Brigham Young even referred to this as a "doctrine." Brigham Young was sustained as the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator of the Mormon Church, and the people were told to follow his teachings "right or wrong." Is it any wonder, then, that after hearing Brigham Young's doctrine of Blood Atonement some members of the Church did not see anything wrong with killing a company of emigrants?

For those interested in making a thorough study of the massacre we highly recommend Juanita Brooks' book, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*.

7. MURDERS IN EARLY UTAH

In the *Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, page 41, we quoted Joseph Fielding Smith, who recently became the tenth President of the Mormon Church, as saying: “But man may commit certain grievous sins—according to his light and knowledge—that will place him beyond the reach of the atoning blood of Christ. If then he would be saved he must make sacrifice of his own life to atone . . . Joseph Smith taught that there were certain sins so grievous that man may commit, that they will place the transgressors beyond the power of the atonement of Christ. If these offenses are committed, then the blood of Christ will not cleanse them from their sins even though they repent. Therefore their only hope is to have their own blood shed to atone, as far as possible, in their behalf” (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 1, pages 134-135). After expressing a belief in the doctrine of “Blood Atonement” however, Joseph Fielding Smith turns right around and says that it was never actually practiced by the Mormon Church:

But that the Church practices “Blood Atonement” on apostates or any others, which is preached by ministers of the “Reorganization” is a damnable falsehood for which the accusers must answer. . . .

Did you not know that not a single individual was ever “blood atoned,” as you are pleased to call it, for apostasy or any other cause? . . . Do you know of anyone whose blood was ever shed by the command of the Church, or members thereof, to “save his soul?” . . .

Never in the history of this people can the time be pointed to when the Church ever attempted to pass judgment on, or execute an apostate as per your statement. (Ibid., pages 136-137)

This statement by Joseph Fielding Smith is far from the truth. We have already documented the fact that many people in early Utah lost their lives because of this doctrine. We have shown that even Gustive O. Larson, Professor of Church History at Brigham Young University, admits that “Blood Atonement” was actually practiced:

To whatever extent the preaching **on blood atonement** may have influenced action, it would have been in relation to Mormon disciplinary action among its own members. In point would be a verbally reported case of a Mr. Johnson in Cedar City who was found guilty of adultery with his stepdaughter by a **bishop’s court and sentenced to death for atonement of his sin**. According to the report of reputable eyewitnesses, judgment was executed with consent of the offender who went to his **unconsecrated**

grave in full confidence of salvation through the shedding of blood. Such a case, however primitive, is understandable within the meaning of the doctrine and the emotional extremes of the Reformation. (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, January, 1958, page 62, footnote 39)

Another case of “Blood Atonement” which has recently come to our attention was reported by Sarah S. Leavitt in her record book:

The first person I spoke to after I entered Salt Lake was Dr. Vaun. He came running out of a house and appeared much pleased to see me. He said, “Well, Mrs. Leavitt, I have joined the church.” Of course, I was glad and was in hopes he had repented of his sins and would forsake them. But in this I was disappointed, for he sought the women’s company and with the help of love powders succeeded in gratifying his hellish desires. He was called up before the authorities more than once and confessed his sins and asked forgiveness. He was forgiven and he said if he was ever found guilty again, his **life should be the penalty**. He knew the **law of God required it**. He was guilty again and was **shot and killed**. Oh, the weakness and depravity of man, to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, or in other words, sell their souls’ salvation for a few moments of carnal pleasure. (*Sarah S. Leavitt Journal*, page 41)

This was probably the same case which Hosea Stout mentioned in his journal on February 15, 1851: “They bring news that M. D. Hambleton on last Sunday killed Dr. J. M. Vaughan for similar conduct with Mrs. H. as took place with Dr & Foots wife last summer” (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, vol. 2, page 393). According to Stout, Brigham Young defended the murderer:

The Supreme Court met to day Special Term for the Trial of Madison D. Hambleton for shooting Dr. J. M. Vaughan for the alleged crime of seducing his wife in San Pete I was council on the part of the State & Gov Young spoke on the part of Hambleton.

The Gov did not take up as Council for the Deft but spoke on the case. Hambleton did deliberately shoot Vaughan on one Sabbath at meeting or just as the meeting was dismissed. His seduction & illicit conversation with Mrs Hambleton was sufficiently proven insomuch that I was well satisfied of his justification as well as all who were present and plead to the case to that effect. He was acquitted by the Court and also by the Voice of the people present. (Ibid, page 396)

In a footnote on the same page, Juanita Brooks stated: “This was clearly not an open court case but a justification before a small group in a ‘court of inquiry.’ The fact that the governor justified the act cleared Hambleton.”

On September 21, 1851, Stout told of another murder:

I learned to day that Howard Egan, who has returned from the gold mines lately, and upon learning that his wife had been seduced or in other word had had a child willingly by James M. Monroe . . . Egan drew a pistol and shot him dead which makes the second man who has been deliberately shot dead for the same offence in less than one year in the Territory. (Ibid., page 404)

On pages 407-408 of the same volume, we find these statements by Hosea Stout:

Friday October 17th 1851. . . . The trial of Howard Egan for the murder of James Monroe came up. . . .

Egan met him . . . and appeared to talk peaceably some time when Egan drew a pistol and shot him in the face on the right side of the nose just below the eye. Monroe fell dead on the spot when Egan mounted his horse, rode to the company, told his name, made a short speech, said what he did **he done in the name of the Lord**. . . .

Saturday Oct 18th 1851. . . . George A. Smith first made his plea. He justified Egan for what he had done said it was the duty of the nearest kin to a female who was seduced to take the life of the seducer . . . the court discharged Egan.

This is like to be a precedent for any one who has his wife, sister, or daughter seduced to take the law into his own hands and slay the seducer & I expect it will go still farther but of that at the time.

The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith did argue in behalf of the defendant as Stout’s diary indicates. In the *Journal of Discourses*, which were published by the Mormon Church, we find the following statements by George A. Smith:

The principle, the only one that beats and throbs through the heart of the entire inhabitants of this Territory, is simply this: The man who seduces his neighbor’s wife **must die**, and her nearest relative **must kill him!** . . . When the news reached Iron County, that Egan’s wife had been seduced by Monroe, the universal conclusion was, “there has to be **another execution;**” and if Howard Egan had not killed that man, he would have been damned by the community for ever, and could not have lived peaceably, without the frown of every man. . . .

If Howard Egan did kill James Monroe, it was in accordance with the established principles of justice known in these mountains. That the people of this Territory would have regarded him as accessory to the crimes of that creature, had he not done it, is also a plain case. . . . he would have been damned in the eyes of this whole community. . . . I want the crocodile, the hyena, that would destroy the reputation of our females to feel that the mark is upon him; and the avenger upon his path, ready to pounce upon him at any moment to take vengeance; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pages 97-99)

Hon. Z. Snow, Judge of the First Judicial District Court for the Territory of Utah, argued against the Apostle Smith’s contention that it was all right to kill in the name of the Lord: “If, as it is contended by the defendant’s attorney, he killed Monroe in the name of the Lord, it does not change the law of the case” (Ibid., page 101). Since the Mormon Church supported Egan there was no chance for conviction, and therefore he was released.

Another crime which was probably the result of the teaching of “Blood Atonement” was the murder of Henry Jones and his mother. Harold Schindler states that “Jones had been mutilated and put to death after being accused of incest with his mother, who shared his fate” (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, page 287). In a footnote on the same page, Harold Schindler gives this information:

This incredibly bizarre crime caused a sensation among the Mormons. Henry Jones, according to Achilles: *Destroying Angels of Mormonism*, pp. 18-19, had only recently returned from California when the citizens of Great Salt Lake City spread gossip accusing him of having an unnatural relationship with his mother. Achilles continues: “Rockwell was despatched to administer justice. Jones was met in a saloon with some friends, and the Chief of the Danites joined the party, and participated in their hilarity. While under the influence of liquor, Rockwell and others enticed Jones out to the suburbs, where they bound and gagged him, and Rockwell castrated him. Jones made out to get home and recovered. Shortly afterwards, he and his mother started by the Southern route to come to California. About seventy miles out from Salt Lake city, they were overtaken at a place called Payson, and encamped in a ‘dug-out.’ Rockwell and his party while they were asleep, entered the ‘dug-out,’ and in opening the door awoke Jones, who broke through his assailants and ran for his life. The party then entered and killed his mother, cutting her throat. They then started in pursuit of Jones, and captured him about three miles out, and shot him. They then took his body and carried it back to the ‘dug-out,’ and laid it beside his mother, and then pulled the building down upon the bodies, and there they lie to-day.”

That Jones had been castrated two months before being murdered is verified by Hosea Stout’s diary: “Saturday 27 Feb 1858. This evening several persons **disguised as Indians** entered Henry Jones’ house and dragged him out of bed with a whore and castrated him by a square & close amputation (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 653).

On April 19, 1859, the *Valley Tan* printed an affidavit by Nathaniel Case which contained the following statements:

AFFIDAVIT OF NATHANIEL CASE.
TERRITORY OF Utah, ss.
Cedar County.

Nathaniel Case being sworn, says: that he has resided in the Territory of Utah since the year 1850; lived with Bishop Hancock (Charles Hancock) in the town of Payson, at the time Henry Jones and his mother were murdered, about the 15th of April, 1858.—The night prior to the murder a secret council meeting was

held in the upper room of Bishop Hancock's house; saw Charles Hancock, George W. Hancock, Daniel Rawson, James Bracken, George Patten and Price Nelson go into that meeting that night. Meetings had been held pretty regularly for three weeks before the last one a[t] the same place. I was not in any of the meetings; I boarded at the bishop's. About 8 o'clock in the evening of the murder the company gathered at Bishop Hancock's; the same persons I have named above were in the company. They said they were going to guard a corral where Henry Jones was going to come that night and steal horses; they had guns.

I had a good minnie rifle and Bishop Hancock wanted to borrow it; I refused to lend it to him. The above persons all went away together; I don't know what time they got back. Next morning I heard that Henry Jones and his mother had been killed. I wnet [*sic*] down to the dug-out where they lived when the sun was about an hour high. The old woman was laying on the ground in the dug-out on a little straw, in the clothes in which she was killed. She had a bullet hole through her head, entering near the centre of the forehead. In about 15 or 20 minutes Henry Jones was brought there and laid by her side; they then threw some old bed clothes over them and an old feather bed and then pulled the dug-out on top of them. The dug-out was built on level ground, a hole about 12 feet square dug to the depth of 5 feet, a ridge pole running from the centre, back, 3 feet above the level of the ground; small poles are then laid up close together running from the sides up onto the ridge pole so that the dirt won't fall through. The dirt taken out of the hole is thrown back onto the poles for a roof, and steps cut down into the end like cellar steps for entrance. There is a great many of such houses occupied by poor people in this country who are not able to build houses, and who never will while they stay here.

The next Sunday after the murder, in a church meeting in Payson, Charles Hancock, the bishop, said, as to the killing of Jones and his mother he cared nothing about it, and it would have been done in daylight if circumstances would have permitted it.—This was said from the stand; there were 150 or 200 persons present. He gave no reasons for killing them. And further saith not.

Nathaniel Case.

Sworn to and signed before me this 9th day of April, 1859.

John Cradlebaugh.

Judge 2nd Judicial District.

(*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 2)

Abner M. Hollingshead made an affidavit in which he stated:

Abner M. Hollingshead being sworn, says: lived at Pondtown at the time Jones was murdered. Heard unusual noise in the night; went out of my house, stepped back and dressed. Noise approached. A person entered the fort, stating he was pursued, asked for a hiding place. Mr. Lycurgus Wilson asked him what was the matter. Man gave no satisfactory answer. Two men suddenly came running up shouting, arrest that man; suppose one of the men to be Geo. W. Hancock, judging from his voice; don't know who the other man was. The two men took the other

out towards Payson, the same way he came in. Afterwards heard that the man was H. Jones. Ten minutes after the two men left, heard report of fire arms in the direction they went; heard four shots, three shots in quick succession, the 4th shot a minute later. Heard Hancock was an officer at Payson; saw dead body next morning about 80 rods from the fort; the body was taken to Payson. No inquest held at Pondtown; no person called to give evidence.—Body lying in the road in the direction that I heard the shots. Saw blood lying in the road. Occurred in spring. I am a farmer, at that time but part of the crop was in. (Ibid., page 2)

Three other affidavits concerning this murder appear in the same issue of the *Valley Tan*.

Those who murdered Henry Jones and his mother may have very well remembered Brigham Young's words which were delivered in a sermon just two years before:

Suppose you found your brother in bed with your wife, and **put a javelin through both of them, you would be justified, and they would atone for their sins, and be received into the Kingdom of God.** I would at once do so in such a case; and under such circumstances. I have no wife whom I love so well that I would not put a javelin through her heart, and I would **do it with clean hands** . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 247)

THE DEAF AND DUMB BOY

On December 10, 1858, the *Valley Tan* published this statement: "What has become of that deaf and dumb boy that used to be around the streets. He has been missing now for two or three weeks. We have heard it rumored that he had 'gone under.' Do any of the police know anything about him? We ask for information." The next issue of the *Valley Tan* contained two letters which were purported to have been written by Mormons:

Salt Lake City, Dec. 11, 1858.

Mr. Kirk Anderson:

You inquire in your last paper, the w[here]abouts of the "deaf and dumb boy." That your impertinant inquiries may be satisfied, and we hear no more about the matter; I will inform you that he has been permanently and decently planted, about one and a half miles north east of your office; in a place called a Cemetery—where, if you desire, you can find him.

It was necessary for his salvation, that his existence on earth should be abbreviated, and consequently his sudden transition from this to a better world.

Having said this much, I would advise you, that it is not proper that you, hereafter notice such matters in your paper. It is one of the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our Government; "to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences;" with which right, it is to be hoped you will not again attempt to meddle.

I hope you will take the hint, it certainly will be to your advantage. You see our paper the "Deseret News" does not make itself objectionable by heralding such things.

Kirk Anderson Esq:

Sir:—I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, but I am very glad to see the course pursued by you in your paper; I think it will be approved of by many of our Church members at least by all those who are opposed to many acts of violence that are done under a pretended right and color of our faith. I never did and never can believe in the doctrine that it was right to take a persons life, for the purpose of saving him; yet many of my brothers differ with me on this—they think that when there is danger of Apostatizing they should by a premature transition from this world be secured the happiness of a better one.

You inquire in your paper of last week about the deaf and dumb boy. For your information I will say that he was killed about three or four weeks ago about twelve miles east of here, in the Kanyon on the road to Bridger, and near the house of Ephraim Hanks. The person who killed him, is a Policeman of this City, his name is _____. The boy was shot through the arm, and also had a second shot through the breast, that not killing him his throat was cut. I am glad to see you notice these things, it may have a tendency to prevent such actions in future.

Not being much in the habit of putting my thoughts on paper, you will look over my disconnected kind of writing, and especially excuse my bad spelling. I thought it was right to let you know that some of us approved of your paper, and thought it my duty to answer your inquiry. (*Valley Tan*, December 17, 1858, pages 2-3)

In the issue for December 22, 1858, the following appeared in the *Valley Tan*:

We enquired a week or two ago in our paper for the deaf and dumb boy, (Andrew Bernard.) Since which time one N. L. Christianson, (a policemen of this city,) has been arrested, charged with his murder.

The facts so far as we can glean them from the preliminary examination now going on before Judge Sinclair are these: On the 22d day of October, 1858, one Henry C. Smith. . . . made his affidavit before Peter Clinton, a Justice of the Peace, of this city, charging that said Bernard had stolen from him \$55 in gold upon which said Justice issued a warrant for the arrest of said Bernard, which was placed in the hands of said Christianson to serve as policeman. . . . Upon being arrested Bernard was taken to the police station where Justice Clinton saw him, but he never was taken before said Justice in pursuance of the command of said warrant for trial or examination, either before or after his being at the police station. We learn from the testimony of his mother that two policemen, Mr. Christianson and Mr. Burt, brought him into her house, stating that they had arrested him for stealing \$55. Andrew denied stealing the \$55 but admitted that he had stolen \$11 and had bought a coat, hat and pants with it. . . . He signified by signs he had \$7 over the mountain, which he had got from teamsters, which he had put in a man's hands. . . . Sharp claimed he had \$60 hid over the mountain. Witness says they did not understand him for he was motioning he had \$7 over the mountain, which he earned from teamsters. . . . The boy said he was willing to go over the mountain. This was on Wednesday; Saturday night Christianson came home.

The boy's mother saw him on Sunday morning at Brother Nicholl's house Christianson tried to get away, but the mother followed him, and asked him if he had brought Andrew home, he said he **had not**, said he could not, that Andrew had put off to the wagons and he couldn't catch him, but he expected him in with the wagons that day. Brother Christianson, says the mother, there is a report going that he stabbed you with a knife. Christianson said it was true, that the knife would have gone into him if it had not struck the plate of his belt, but that the knife broke and fell. The mother asked where Andrew got the knife, as he did not start with one. Christianson said he had got it from the wagons. Mr. Sharp told the mother about two weeks afterwards that Andrew was dead and buried, that he had heard a report that Christianson had killed him. . . .

The next we hear of the prisoner and the dumb boy is at Ephraim Hanks' cabin, between the mountains, about twelve miles east of here. Theodore J. Cawkin, a witness, says: he saw the two there together, about four or five weeks ago. They came about dark. The boy appeared to be in the man's custody. . . . Joseph Hockensmith says the policeman and boy came to the camp just as we corralled. . . . The next morning, the man said if the boy did not find the money he was going to whip him. . . .

In the order of occurrence the testimony we have is that of C. Bacon, who says . . . While eating heard a noise toward the cabin as of some one running, heard loud talking. Some one called saying come down here there is somebody tried to kill me up in the kanyon; self and son went down, found the boy standing at the door and thumping it with a cast iron hub box weighing three or four pounds with a rope attached. Christianson called from the inside to take the boy away. Witness motioned to the boy and he laid down the iron and sat down on the ground by the house and Christianson came out of the house and said the boy had stabbed him. The boy showed his wounds and pointed to Christianson; a wound on his breast, a wound on his leg and that on his hand.

No person saw these wounds inflicted consequently there is no evidence. However to make our summary of the matter as full as possible we give the statement of Christianson, the prisoner.

"When, says Christianson, we reached Hanks' shanty, the boy said the money was up a little kanyon . . . they went up that ravine some distance . . . the boy wheeled and struck him with a knife; that the knife struck the clasp of his belt and glanced and cut his hip: in the struggle which followed Christianson . . . succeeded in getting the knife . . . the boy made at him with a rock, when he fired at him four shots, . . . The boy then broke and run down the kanyon and out run him. The boy went to the shanty and he went in and ordered him out. The boy came out and picked up a wagon box, with a rope attached and made at him with it when he ran in the house and shut the door."

The boy and Christianson went with Bacon to the tops of the little mountain, the boy riding on Bacon's wagon, where the boy got off the wagon, and went and laid down behind a bush. Theodore J. Cawkin came up . . . The prisoner told me all the circumstances and said **the boy had three balls in him**; said there was two in his legs and one in his breast. The boy appeared to be suffering, . . . It appears the boy was placed on one of the

wagons, and started down the kanyon . . . Christianson and the boy are met by one Mr. Ephraim Hanks a noted Danite. . . . They Christianson and Hanks, take the boy off the wagon and put him on Hanks' vehicle and start off south of the road to find the money.—Hanks says they went about 3 or 400 yards when he stopped his team and Christianson and the boy got off and went to hunt for the money, . . . Hanks . . . looked up and saw the boy with a rock in his hand which he let fly and knocked off the prisoner's hat. Prisoner then struck at the boy **with a knife**, they were about two paces apart the boy seemed to be trying to get away, the boy fell. Witness was about 100 yards away, went, immediately up, the boy was then dead. Christianson had his police club in his hand. . . . Witness told him it looked bad. He made no reply, but looked scared and confused. The boy **had no weapons**. —Witness went on about his business and prisoner went to town. . . .

Jeter Clinton, in his examination said that the evidence was not written down, nor was Mr. Hanks sworn until he returned from burying the body. The evidence was not written nor Mr. Hanks sworn until some 3 weeks after the occurrence; **did not send deceased's relatives word**. . . .

Mr. Darwin Richardson says he was called upon by Dr. Clinton; went with him out to the body. Dr. Clinton said that it was not necessary to examine the body minutely. There were two or three shots in his clothing. . . .

After going out to the body, did not examine the wounds for we were satisfied how he came to his death. The wound in the neck was a considerable one. It seemed to be a gash severing the Trachia, and, coming out on the other side, **it was complete throat cut**; thinks the jugular was cut; saw a bullet hole on the right breast; did not examine the body, can't say whether the bullet wound or the cut in his neck caused his death, it might have been the bullet wound, thought the wound in the neck caused his death because he was told so. Placed the body in a little hollow near there, covered it with leaves, dirt and rock to keep the wolves from it. Can't say who moved the body, it was moved a few feet, rolled down into a hollow; thinks Mr. Hanks took an active part in moving it, covered him with a spade some 6 inches with dirt, gravel and rocks. Not more than two days when they went out the second time; thinks it not the next but the second day. The coffin was a square box; called for Mr. Hanks and took him in; did not go on Main street; threw a wagon sheet over the box, Dr. Clinton did not go out the second time; it was **dark** when we got home; when we got the body we struck across without approaching the city nearer than the grave yard, when we got there it was between twilight and dark.

This is a summary of the evidence and to our mind, upon a careful analysis; is a budget of contradictions, and while it develops murder, it also exhibits the falsification of records and the stultification of sworn officers.

Judge Sinclair well remarked "No inquest was ever held," but the maimed, **throat cut dumb boy was tossed into a box and buried after night like a dog**—what required his sacrifice is yet a matter of profound mystery, unless the Molocks of this valley thought proper

"To offer up a weak, poor innocent lamb;
"To appeas an angry god."

The "Destroying angels" or rather the avenging devils that are peculiar to the hierarchy and theocracy that has so long prevailed in this Territory should bear in mind that Heaven is not only retributive, but that temporal laws can and will be enforced. (*Valley Tan*, December 24, 1858, page 2)

On January 4, 1859, the *Valley Tan* reported:

The Grand Jury, on Tuesday, ignored the bill against Christianson, charged with the murder of the deaf and dumb boy. Thus ends this chapter of blood, and the charnel-house conceals the record of the crime forever. We understand however, that a portion of the Grand Jury presented a memorial to Judge Sinclair, begging to be discharged.

The reason for this, although the memorial does not state it, is that they are satisfied the laws cannot be executed in this Territory, and hence a petition for their discharge.

On the same day Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary: "District Court met to day and the grand jury ignored the Indictment against Christenson for killing Dummy, which created much excitement among the outsiders" (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 676).

The whole story concerning the killing of the boy sounds very suspicious. It does not seem likely that the boy would want to start climbing again when he had "three balls in him," and even if this were the case, it would seem cruel of the policeman to allow such a thing to take place. A good policeman would probably have been more concerned about getting the boy to a doctor.

Brigham Young defended the policeman's actions and stated that he "is a very good sober Dane" (Letter from Brigham Young, dated December 24, 1858, microfilm copy). He claimed that Christianson was attacked by the boy and that he "put an end to the conflict as well as the life of Dummy, by inflicting a severe wound in his neck." It was only natural that Brigham Young would defend this cruel deed, since he publicly stated that he would "be perfectly willing to see thieves have their **throats cut**: . . ." (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 597). On another occasion he stated:

If you want to know what to do with a thief that you may find stealing, I say, **kill him on the spot**, and never suffer him to commit another iniquity. . . . If you will cause all those whom you know to be **thieves**, to be placed in a line before the mouth of one of our largest **cannon**, well loaded with chain shot, **I will prove by my works whether I can mete out justice** to such persons, or not. **I would consider it just as much my duty to do that, as to baptize a man** for the remission of his sins. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pages 108-109)

T. B. H. Stenhouse made this statement concerning the Mormon police in Brigham Young's time:

Resistance to an officer, or the slightest attempt to escape from custody, was eagerly seized, when wanted, as the justification of closing a disreputable career, and in more than one case of this legal shooting, there is much doubt if even the trivial excuse was waited for. The Salt Lake police then earned the reputation of affording every desperate prisoner the opportunity of escape, and, if embraced, the officer's ready revolver brought the fugitive to a "halt," and saved the county the expenses of a trial and his subsequent boarding in the penitentiary. (*Rocky Mountain Saints*, page 149, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 315)

PARRISH MURDERS

On March 19, 1857, Hosea Stout reported the following in his diary: "Learned this morning that on last Sunday evening that Gardner G. Potter, William Parrish and his son were killed at Springville. The circumstances and how I have not learned" (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 624). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated: "The victims were members of the Parrish family, and the deed was committed on the eve of the intended departure of the family for California" (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 176, note 26). On April 5, 1859, the *Valley Tan* printed an article which contained the following:

By testimony taken on a preliminary examination in the case pending . . . it appears that about the 1st day of March, 1857, a private council-meeting was held at Bishop Johnson's house, in Springville. . . . the object was to talk about apostates and the disposition to be made of them.

About a week after this another meeting is held at the same place, at which time Duff Potter and Abraham Durfee are selected for the purpose of attending to the Parrishes and some person residing at the Indian farm.

The evidence does not disclose the names of all the persons there, the witness however, recollects the following named persons, as participating in both of those meetings: Aaron Johnson, the Bishop of Springville, Lorenzo Johnson, his brother, A. F. McDonald, Mayor of the city of Springville, Andrew Wiles, William Bird, Lorin Roundy, Simmons Curtis, Duff Potter, Abraham Durfee, and Joseph Bartholomew. . . . During the week following, the last meeting, Parrish was robbed of four horses and a carriage. The family, after the murder of the Parrishes, recovered two of the horses and the carriage. They were found in the stable of Kimball Bullock, present Mayor of Provo. . . .

Early in the week before the murder, William Johnson, a Mr. Metcalf and a person whose name is not recollectd, came to the house of Mr. Parrish, professing to be religious teachers, and questioned him in regard to his faith.—His answer to them seems not to have been satisfactory. A short time after this, Alexander McDonald and Wilber J. Earl come to the house of Mr. Parrish about dusk in the evening, . . . he is taken across the street behind an unfinished house . . . Alvira Parrish, the wife of Mr. Wm. R. Parrish, passes over into this house, and from an open window hears a conversation which she states as follows:

"McDonald told my husband that he should never see his grey horses any more, that he had stolen them from a widow woman. My husband said, that if he could go to

Brigham Young's he could get papers to show that the horses were his own, and that he had honestly obtained them. McDonald or Earl replied: if you start to go to see Brigham you will never get there. My husband opened his bosom and said, you can kill me now, if you choose. McDonald replied, we don't wish to shed blood now." . . .

Abraham Durfee is at this time working for Mr. Parrish. Durfee and Potter pretend to Parrish that they are dissatisfied with the condition of affairs here, and impress him with the belief that they are desirous of getting to California; state that threats have been made against them on account of their not living up to the faith, and that their lives are in danger.

Arrangements are made that Durfee, Potter, Parrish and his two sons shall leave on Sunday night, the 14th of March. . . . Parrish, the father and Durfee left about 2 o'clock in the day. Durfee returned again about dusk to get a gun belonging to Owen Parrish; went away with the gun; afterwards returned and said that he had come from where Parrish was. Upon being interrogated by Mrs. Parrish, he said that he was outside of the Fort, and would stay there for safety, and that he had told him to tell her to send the boys out, whether they were ready or not. Durfee and the two Parrish boys then leave, the boys' carrying bundles of provisions and ammunition. . . .

Durfee and the boys start in the direction of the corner of the land fence where it had been arranged they all should meet after dark. After they had crossed the fence from the field into the road and got near the place, Durfee calls out, "Duff, Duff," (Potter's name) and stops and looks towards the fence on the east side of the road. Afterwards all proceed on, and when within fifteen or twenty feet of the corner of the fence, where all are to meet, some one called out, "Durfee," three times. Durfee answers, and immediately a gun or pistol is fired. Wm. B. Parrish, the eldest son, who is the farthest from Durfee, falls dead. Both of the sons are unarmed. Several shots are fired, one ball taking effect in a cartridge box that Owen Parrish had on.—Durfee drew up his gun, pointed it at Owen and burstd a cap, but the gun failed to go off.

Owen immediately jumped over the fence into the fields and made his escape into the city, climbing the city wall where it was low. While going through the streets he heard some person behind him say, "he went this way." . . . Upon the following day the widow of Parrish is allowed to go and see the bodies of her husband and son, and Orrin is taken to the school house at the same time; Durfee is found there. John M. Stewart, the justice, who was at the preliminary secret councils, before-mentioned, in which the fate of the Parrishes was decided is there pretending to hold an inquest upon the bodies. The jury composing the inquest are—

Durfee is sworn; states very little, but says that he pointed his gun at the enemy.

Orrin Parrish is also sworn, who testifies that he cannot give a statement in the matter, and is very much frightened. Orrin now says that his uncle told him so to state; that if he identified any of the persons and they learned who he knew, that was engaged in it, he would be put out of the way.

Of course the verdict of the corner's inquest is that they were murdered by persons unknown.

In the morning of that day, Mrs. Parrish hearing that Orrin was at his Uncle's, went over to see him and found him in bed; she attempted to speak to to [*sic*] him but was jerked away by William Johnson. He said she should not speak to him unless she spoke in a loud voice. She

then spoke out and wanted to know where his father was. Orrin said that he did not know. Seeing some persons about the school house, she sent her third son, Albert, to the school house; he came back and said that his father, Beason and Potter were laying in there, dead.

On the same Sunday that the murder is committed, after church services in the city of Provo, President Snow, of the Provo stake, desired to know if there was any one there who would carry a letter which he held in his hand to Bishop Johnson, of Springville, and place it in his hands. Nethercott stepped up and said he would take it. Snow charged him specially to deliver it safely to Bishop Johnson himself, saying at the same time, "dead men tell no tales."

The preaching that morning had been in regard to apostates and the proper disposition of them.

The body of old man Parrish was literally cut to pieces. His throat was cut on the left side, his fingers and arms, his back—in fact, his whole body was covered with knife-wounds of which he had received as is testified; at least fifteen. There were no wounds of pistol or rifle balls on his body.

Potter was killed by three balls, probably from a shot gun, which entered the body on the left breast, a little below the nipple.

Wm. Beason Parrish was shot through by four balls, which, entering, passed through his left arm and side, and came out at about the centre of his back,

Mrs. Parrish says that George McKensie told her, that Bishop Johnson ordered him to drive the wagon out, but that he did not know at the time what he was going out for. McKensie said the bodies were thrown into the wagon like dead hogs, some one remarking, "This is the way the d—d apostates go." McKensie has since left for California.

Mrs. Parrish further testifies that her husband had a \$500 Territorial order in his pocket book when he left home that day, which has never been returned. That she went to Salt Lake City in the month of July following the murder of her husband, to see Brigham Young: Brigham said the people in Springville were fifteen years a-head of him; if he had known about the matter, he would have stopped it. Said he would try to get the horses, she told him that Gee had possession of the horses, and that he said nothing, but an order from Brigham would get them. Brigham's clerk put all that was said down in a book. Brigham said he would write to her, but never did. She went to see Brigham again between last Christmas day and New Year's; went into his office about 8 o'clock in the morning, and sat there till 4 o'clock in the afternoon. His clerks were present. At 4 o'clock they told her she could not see Brigham that day, but to call the next, between 8 and 11 o'clock in the morning. She went there the next morning about 8 o'clock, and was then told she could not see him. About the time she was leaving, Mr. John Sharp, captain of police in Salt Lake City, called her back, and asked her what she was going to do about her matters. She told him she did not know. From there she went to John Young's, and thence to Mr. Long's. She noticed Sharp and one of Brigham Young's clerks following her. One of them finally called her, and Sharp said to her, that if she wanted to get her horses back, she had better not go into court, but wait until the soldiers were gone, and then she would get them with fourfold, and that it would be best for her to drop it. While in

Brigham's office, the clerk told her that Brigham did not want to see her, that she should put the matter into the hands of the Bishops; that Bishop Johnson, Bishop Hancock and Bishop Rowberry would settle it for her.

Several witnesses testify that about the time of the murder of the Parrishes, it was a very common thing to hear Bishops and Elders speak in their meetings about what was to be the fate of apostates, that as Brigham Young says, "Judgment was to be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet;" which in plainer terms meant that apostates were to have their throats cut to save them.

Orson Hyde, a short time before the murder of the Parrishes, in a discourse delivered at Springville, said that apostates would not be allowed to leave; and if they attempted it, hogholes would be stopped up with them. Elder Snow also made a similar remark at the same place. (*Valley Tan*, April 5, 1859, page 1)

Alvira L. Parrish, the widow of the murdered man, testified as follows:

Alvira L. Parrish being sworn, says . . . Mr. Parrish started with Abraham Durfee from our house about two o'clock in the afternoon, and in the evening Mr. Durfee came back, and took my two sons out; soon after they left the house I heard a gun fire. This was a little after dark, and shortly after that the police came and searched my house for Orrin, and told me that they wanted his body dead or alive. I told them he was not there, but Carnes, the Captain of the police told them to search the house, and they searched it. I remained in the house all night, much alarmed and very lonesome. I went to the door occasionally and saw some men fixing a wagon, and passing frequently with candles in their hands, from John Daily's house to the wagon. I saw the wagon move off in the direction that my sons went. It proved to be the wagon that brought in the dead bodies. G. McKenzie told me that he was ordered by the Bishop to drive the wagon out, but did not know at the time, what he was going after; that when they arrived at the place, they threw the dead bodies of my husband, my son and Mr. Potter, into the wagon like dead hogs, and said: "This is the way the damned apostates go." . . .

After the burial I was required to pay \$48.00, for funeral expenses, before I could get back my husband's watch, and other things he had with him. On a second visit to the school house I noticed that a knife had been drawn through my husbands left hand, the fore finger hung by the skin; his hand and left arm were all cut up with a knife, a large gash in the back of his head. One of his suspenders was cut off, the knife pierced his body, then another wound lower down and more in front, There was forty-eight holes in his coat all caused by stabs; examined and counted them myself. Mr. Parrish's throat was **cut from ear to ear**, his watch had saved him one stab, there was the mark of a knife on it. There was four bullet holes in the left side of my son. . . .

There had been public preaching at Springville, to the effect that no apostates would be allowed to leave, if they did, hogholes would be stopped up with them. I heard these sermons myself. Elder Hyde and President Snow, and others, preached that way. My husband was no believer in the doctrine of killing to "save," as taught by the teachers. (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 1)

Orrin E. Parrish made the following statements in his testimony:

Orrin E. Par[r]ish, being sworn, says: He was 20 years old last July; lived with his father's family in Springville in March, 1857. . . .

Father, brother and Potter were murdered on the evening of the 14th March, 1857. . . . Durfee drew up his gun, and pointed it at witness and bursted a cap, the gun failing to go off. Witness went further off from Durfee. Another gun then fired at corner of fence; then two or three other shots were fired; one ball passed through a cartridge box witness hand on (cartridge box shown, with ball hole in it).

Witness jumped fence and ran for the city; . . . run to his uncle's house; . . . Told them that Beason had been shot. Asked uncle to go and see if he was alive. Uncle was afraid to go. Got Robert Brooks to go. Brooks went; returned in a short time (20 minutes), and said he went to the south city gate, was there met by a lot of men who told him to go back if he wanted to live.

Half an hour after Brooks returned, Wilber J. Earl, H. H. Carnes, Daniel Stanton, Sanford Fuller, Andrew Wiles, and a man by the name of Curtis, came to uncle's; Carnes asked for me, said he wanted me dead or alive. . . . a guard was left over me. . . . The voice I heard at the corner of the fence calling Durfee, was Carnes' voice: he has a peculiar voice; I knew it well, and cannot be mistaken. (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 1)

On March 29, 1859, Joseph Bartholomew made an affidavit in which he stated:

Joseph Bartholomew, of Springville, in the county of Utah aforesaid, being duly sworn, deposes and says:—

Duff Potter came to me and notified me to attend a meeting at Bishop Johnson's, about the 1st of March, 1857. . . . In about a week after that they met again, and at that meeting Potter and Durfee were "dropped off" or selected for the purpose of finding out what was going on.

At the meeting the conversation was about the Parrishes and about persons at the Indian farm. . . .

At this meeting it was not known what the Parrishes intended to do, and nothing was decided on in regard to them. Bishop Johnson made a remark, however, that some of us would yet "see the red stuff run." He said he had a letter, and the remark was made by some one that "dead men tell no tales." I do not know whether any other meetings were held or not.

The same night that the Parrishes were killed, at about nine o'clock, I was notified by Carnes to go home and get my gun. I asked him what was up. He said there was enough up. I was just returning from a public meeting which had been held that night; they did not tell me what they wanted with me. Bishop Johnson, Lorenzo Johnson, A. F. McDonald, Mayor; John M. Stewart, Justice of the Peace; Wilber J. Earl, Alderman, now captain of Police; Andrew Wiles, William Bird, Lorin Roundy, Simmons Curtis, Abraham Durfee, Duff Potter and myself were at the council meetings, and other persons I do not remember the names of.—There were at least 15 present.

I went and got my gun and came back and was told to take my post and watch west of Parrish's house 3 rods; I was told to stay there and watch if Orrin Parrish came back. I stayed there some 10 or 15 minutes when I was

notified to repair to the school house; I don't remember who notified me.

When I got there, there was a company formed there with a wagon and team. We were ordered to march south, down the lane, formed as a guard in front of the team; I did not know at that time for what purpose. When we got out at the south gate I learned then what was up. When we reached the bodies we were formed into two companies, . . . There were some 10 or 15 altogether that went out. Of these I remember the following: A. F. McDonald, John M. Stewart, Philo Dibble, Geo. McKinzie went as teamster; Davis Clark, Simmons Curtis, John Daley, Moses Daley jr., and John Curtis. . . . I saw the bodies of Potter and Wm. Parrish lying side by side. . . .

The bodies were put into the wagon and taken to the school house. . . . I was called to take charge of the house and to wash the bodies. . . .

Old man Parrish was cut all over with knife wounds. . . .

There has been several attempts to put me out of the way. . . . We went to Kinkead's store and told Mr. Kinkead about our case and told him we wanted protection until morning. He took us over to the Secretary's; Mr. Kinkead and his clerk went there with us. We claimed the Secretary's protection.

There was a gun fired close to us when we entered the city.

I have heard it said that apostates running off would never get further than the Muddy creek.

I don't think that the killing of Potter was intentional, but that he was killed through mistake. He was one who notified me and was a leading man. (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, pages 1 and 4)

Joseph Bartholomew was certainly afraid that he would lose his life for testifying as he did. Hosea Stout records in his diary that Bartholomew received "gentile protection":

Friday 25 March 1859. . . . Heard that A. Durfee & Joseph Bartholomew had gone to Great Salt Lake City and give themselves up to Secretary Hartnett claiming Gentile protection. . . .

Sunday 27 March 1859. . . . Marshall Dotson returned from the city with Durfee & Bartholomew who have now got the gentile protection they so much sought for. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 692)

Under the date of April 1, 1859, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary: "Court met and was engaged till three in the after noon examining Durfee who like Bartholomew has turned states evidence and seeks to save his own neck by implicating others and criminales nearly the same persons as Bartholomew but is more specific and pointed" (Ibid., vol. 2, page 693). The Editor of the *Valley Tan* made this statement concerning the testimony given by Durfee: "Much reliance cannot be placed in the confession of Durfee; he does not seem to have 'made a clean breast of it.' He does not seem to state what transpired in those private council meetings as fully and clearly as a man of his observation would be able to do. He must have well understood the object and

purposes of those meetings. Throughout his confession there is a manifest effort to screen himself as one of the active participants in that horrible murder; yet in many respects his confession throws much light on the other and reliable testimony.—Editor” (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 4).

Although Durfee was probably protecting himself, his testimony contains some very revealing material concerning the whole affair:

Abraham Durfee, of his own free will and accord, and without being influenced by any promise of any kind, by any person whatever, or of the hope thereof, now this first day of April, A. D. 1859, comes before Judge Cradlebaugh, and makes the following confession, viz:

I am thirty-four years old, I have resided in Springville, Utah County, U. T. . . .

I was notified of a council by Wilber J. Earl in the month of January 1857; he told me he wanted me to come to the Bishop’s house that evening . . . I went, and there were a number of persons in the room, . . . in Bishop Aaron Johnson’s house. The Bishop was there, A. F. McDonald, Wilber J. Earl, Abraham Durfee, Andrew Wiles, and Lorenzo Johnson, Wm. Bird and Gardner G. Potter and Joseph Bartholomew. Simmons Curtis and Lorin Roundy were there, and there were a number of others whose names I have forgotten. I do not know what the meeting had been called for; there were matters talked of concerning people going away. Some individuals were mentioned by the Bishop; he stated that he had instructions in regard to them. The Bishop said **he had received a letter** which he had in his hand; he said he supposed that was sufficient for us to know, . . .

There was another meeting in the neighborhood of a week or longer . . . The same persons were at this meeting that were at the first . . . Bishop Johnson presided. There was something mentioned at this meeting about the Parrishes, that they were going to leave the Territory. The Bishop said there were some demands against them, for debts that they were owing, he did not state the debts. It was mentioned by the Bishop or McDonald. I don’t recollect which, to have some one to find out when the Parrishes were going to start; . . . My name (Abraham Durfee,) was mentioned, and I objected to it; then they mentioned Potter’s name; and then the Bishop decided that both Potter and myself should try and learn when the Parrishes were going to leave the Territory. The Bishop said he did not wish any one to decline when they were called upon. I then told the Bishop, that I would do as well as I knew how, and Potter assented to the same; . . .

In the course of that week. Parrish’s horses were taken, . . .

Parrish after this had transpired in regard to the horses proposed leaving right away, he wanted to know if Potter and I would go with him; I told him we would. . . . there was a gun fired near the corner of the fence, the ball hit Beason Parrish. . . . Beason made some noise after he fell; then they fired again from the fence, . . . While I was in the hollow I saw some one who started after Orrin, this person sprang from the fence just as I was going to the hollow, as he came into the street partly on the run, he shot, from the flash of the gun it appeared to be pointed North.

This person called me, he said: “Durfee, you need not be afraid, it was all right, —. . . After I got into the City, this man that I saw in the road with the gun, came to me and said that he had done the job; he said that I need not be afraid of him because he said he would not hurt me. This man was William Bird. . . . Bird, after I left him went right into the Bishop’s house. Bird’s clothes were some bloody; I don’t know what went on the balance of the evening. Bird washed the blood off his clothes. . . . William Bird told me a short time afterwards, that he was called on by Potter to go out there with him, and to do this deed, . . .

Sanford Fuller, a month or two after told me he had been called on to go, but did not go, he said Potter had borrowed his gun to go with Bird,—told me that after we went out with Potter, that Potter went and found Parrish, and that they came down to the corner together, and that he, Bird, was lying in the corner of the fence; as Parrish and Potter walked along the fence, he, Bird, said he shot Potter, whom he supposed to be Parrish; that after he, Bird, had shot, he got up and stepped out to where Parrish stood, and Parrish spoke and wanted to know if it was him that had shot, he said that Parrish had his gun in his hand and laid it down, and they Parrish and Bird clinched together. As they clinched, Bird drew his knife, and worked the best he could in stabbing Parrish. Bird said, after Parrish was down he gave him a lick which cut his throat. . . . He said he lay there till we came up, the two Parrish boys and myself. Then he said he fired, and he saw one fall; . . .

The next morning after the murder I heard Bishop Johnson and Bird talking together, and he blamed Potter and Bird for not going further away with them, the Bishop said he wanted I should be satisfied about the affair, and not tell who was in it; that if I did they would serve me the same way. I did not know that the Parrishes were to be killed. I supposed from what Potter told me that they were to be brought back.

In the second meeting, which I attended Bishop Johnson said there were some of them that would see the blood run. It was William Bird that called me Durfee. Bishop Johnson, some two or three days before this murder, told me to take a gun out with me. The young Parrishes had no gun! . . .

The next morning, when the hearing of myself and Orrin Parrish was before John M. Stewart, I knew that Bird was the man, but I was afraid to state it. Bishop Johnson told me that morning what evidence I should give, and he said, if I told what I learned that night, they would send me the same way; I stated to the Justice what the Bishop told me to say. (Signed) Abram Durfee. (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 4)

Thomas O’Bannion testified that Moses Daley “came to me a few days before the murder and told me to tell Parrish if he did not settle that matter between Beason and Bullock, his blood would pay the debt” (*Ibid.*, page 4). A man by the name of Philips gave this testimony:

____ Philips being sworn says he lives in Provo, that on the Sunday of the murder he was at a meeting in the street in Provo. President Snow, President of this State [Stake?], and others preached from a wagon; their preaching about that time was pretty much about apostates and persons going to leave the Territory, and

how they would be disposed of. After the sermon Prest. Snow enquired if there was any body going to Springville that day. A man by the name of Nethercot said he was going; Nethercot went up and Snow handed him a letter and told him he wanted it to be delivered to Bishop Johnson that day, without fail, and remarked that **dead men tell no tales.** (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 4)

The editor of the *Valley Tan* made these comments concerning this testimony:

[We know but little of the church ar[r]angement in regard to officers, but from what we learn the President of a stake is a person placed over a great number of Bishops and receives his orders from President Brigham Young and the 12 apostles; and through him "Orders" are dispensed to the Bishops. It is also proper to say that a Mr. Bell testified that he received a letter from President Snow on the Sunday of the murder, to be delivered to Bishop Johnson at Springville, which he says he was not able to deliver until the day after the murder. He says that it was delivered to him out of the stand in the Bowery in Provo.

The probability is that the letter delivered to Nethercot was the Sunday before, and that it is the same letter held by Bishop Johnson in his hand in the council meeting, when he said that they would yet see the blood flow.]

On March 26, 1859, Zephaniah J. Warren made an affidavit in which he stated:

Zephaniah J. Warren, being duly sworn says as follows: I am fifty-seven years old; . . . I settled in the town of Springville, Utah County, . . . and have resided there ever since with the exception of about seven months absence in California, in the years 1856 and 1857. I reside at Springville now. On my way home from California in the spring of 1857, I heard of the murder of the two Parrishes and Potter; the day I arrived at Springville I saw the place where they were murdered. Seeing the place and the appearance of blood, I became somewhat excited and spoke very reproachfully of the leading men of Springville; . . . I heard of many threats being thrown out against me in the meeting house by the overseers, but I did not use much caution; I was thrown off my guard by supposing that they dare not touch me. In the latter part of August I was very feeble, from a severe cold, . . . On the night of the 31st. of August 1857, . . . a person knocked at my door; I bade him come in. Two men come in. William Johnson and Oliver Mc'Bride. . . . they told me brother Earl wished to see me a few minutes. . . . They said they were policemen and brother Earl told them, if I did not come willingly, they must bring me by force. . . . I went out into the street in company with these two men; I found six others standing in the street; there names were Wilber J. Earl, Sandford Fuller, Abraham Durfee, John Curtis, Lehi Curtis and Simmons P. Curtis. They were all armed with pistols, knives and guns. Earl told me to be still and go with them out of the city gate. I told them I would not go one step without the knowledge of the public. Earl seized me by the throat, saying damn your old heart if you speak another loud word, applying

his knife to my throat; saying, "I will cut your throat on the spot." They then, Johnson and Earl, took me by force and dragged me on the ground most of the time for about sixty rods, through the gate; they then suddenly stopped, and some one said there is some one coming; "damn him, stop him, stop him," two ran back, and the other six threw me into a fence ditch. Earl then seized me by the throat, saying, you damned old American, you will never write or talk any more about people that have been murdered. They then all but one left me, and held a private conversation on the other side of the road, lasting perhaps an hour; then six of them came back, and Earl said, we have concluded to let you live a few days, if you will now swear before us that you will never divulge what has been done to you to night to any person, and go within a day or two and settle up your tithing, as all men in these valleys have now got to be tithed; we have declared war against the whole world, and at any time we can put you aside very easy. I did promise that I would go and settle my tithing that they required. They then all addressed me, one by one, advised me to make friends with the Mormons, never to write any more or try to make myself as one of the Gentiles. They then left me. A short time after I went to the Bishop and tried to settle for my tithing. The Bishop became so much enraged at my talking to him, that I could not settle that time, and I never tried again until the spring of 1858; the Bishop then appeared in a very good humour, and soon told me what my tithing was. He did not take my note, supposed he had forgot it. Since that time, which was about the time the army come in he always appeared very hostile sending me word to come and settle up my tithing. I always told the men he sent, that I never would settle the tithing; that I had been forced by duress to say that I would, in order to save my life.

(Signed) Z. F. Warren

Sworn and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, A. D. 1859. John Cradlebaugh Judge.

(*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 2)

Another resident of Springville made an affidavit which tended to link the Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde with the murders committed there. In this affidavit we read:

* * * *, being duly sworn, says he has lived in Springville since 1853. Was there at the time the Parrishes and Potter were murdered; had a conversation a short time before the murder with Moses Daily, jr.; he said that **they had been ordered never to let the Parrishes go** out of Springville or the Territory. Said he called on me to join them. I told him I would not, that I did no such jobs. He then said, for God's sake, not to tell of it. He said the orders were from Orson Hyde. Orson Hyde had just been preaching at Springville.

The editor of the *Valley Tan* made this comment concerning this affidavit: "The following affidavit, it will be observed, is given without the name. The reason for suppressing the name of the maker is, that he is residing in Springville, has his property and family there, and begged of the Judge that his name should not be made

public until he had disposed of his property, and could get to where he could have his family protected, which he intends doing as soon as possible. The Judge refuses to allow us to use his name, as his life might thereby be endangered.—Ed.” (Ibid, page 2).

On March 29, 1859, the *Valley Tan* reported:

Court met pursuant to adjournment.

The testimony of several witnesses in the Par[r]ish case was heard. . . . The evidence, as it now stands, implicates persons high in authority in the church; and so far as others may have been concerned, they only acted the part of slaves, doing the will of their masters.

It now appears that Bishop Hancock, of Payson, Johnson, of Springville, and Pres. J. C. Snow, of this place [Provo], have acted a conspicuous part in these bloody tragedies. Several attempts have been made to arrest two of them, but they have managed to elude the vigilance officers.

Warrants have been issued for several others who are implicated, but they cannot be found. The town of Springville has been **quite destitute of its male inhabitants** for the last few days. This, as every other circumstance, goes to prove their guilt. . . . The most strenuous efforts have been made to suppress the testimony in these cases. **The lives of witnesses have been threatened**, and their property seized on some trifling pretext immediately after their testimony was given, and a degree of terrorism exercised, which can only be appreciated by those who feel it. (*Valley Tan*, March 29, 1859, page 2)

The following statements appear on the same page of this issue:

Though strenuous efforts are doubtless being made to suppress the testimony in this case, strong evidences of its final development begin to manifest themselves, and discloses an almost incredible state of complicity in crime.

It is astonishing to think that an almost entire community could lend themselves as accessories to the perpetration of so horrid a deed.

We understand that there are about one thousand troops camped to-night in the vicinity of Provo.

On March 29, 1859, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary: “A company of 56 dragoons and several deputy marshalls started to Springville this morning and before day surrounded Bp Johnson’s house expecting to arresting him but failed” (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 693). On April 5, 1859, the *Valley Tan* reported:

Monday 28.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and adjourned to await the arrival of Mrs. Parrish and other witnesses. . . .

The marshal reports that he experienced the greatest difficulty in discovering the residences of any one for whom he sought, the inhabitants generally either refused to answer his questions or else telling him direct

falsehoods, sending him away from the place for which he was seeking.

The Bishops of Springville, of Payson, of Lehi and of this city are all gone, as well as the President of this Stake.

The marshal searched the house of George Hancock, the Bishop of Payson at an early hour, but the bird had flown. Hancock was the principal actor in the murder of Jones and his mother.

Four of the grand jurors who had been selected by the county court to serve at this term of the district court, are known to have fled to escape arrest, they having been implicated in these murders. The father-in-law of another of the grand jurors has also fled; several of the others have not called for their pay. These facts form a striking commentary upon the working of the law prescribing that the juries shall be selected by the county court. . . .

Through the workings of this law the grand jury at the present session of this court was composed of the very men who were the most guilty criminals engaged in the commission of these terrible murders of the past three years, together with their relatives, friends and accomplices.

Recent advices from Cedar City and the other towns near the scene of the Mountain Meadow massacre, report them to be almost entirely depopulated. In Cedar City there remains but twelve families out of a population of between eight or nine hundred inhabitants.

We are also informed that Ka-nosh is concentrating his tribe in that vicinity, and has been joined by two other tribes from the south. These Indians are already one thousand strong and express their determination to resist any attempt on the part of the Americans to arrest any one in that vicinity. There are many white persons now with them leading their movements.

Tuesday, 29th.

This morning, at about 3 o’clock, Marshal Dotson, accompanied by Deputy Marshal Stone, and a civil posse of five men, and a company of the 2nd Dragoons, commanded by Lieuts. Gordon and Livingston, and accompanied by Lieut. Kearney of the 10th Infantry, . . . left this city with the utmost secrecy and proceeded to the town of Springville, the scene of the murder of the Parrishes, of Potter, and of Forbes, for the purpose of determining whether any of the persons for whom warrants have been issued were secreted therein . . .

Upon reaching the town it was immediately surrounded by details from the company of Dragoons who were so stationed that no one could leave the city unperceived of them.

The Marshal with his posse then entered the town, and at daybreak commenced the search of all those houses in which it was suspected that the villains might be concealed. The Bishop’s house was one of the first entered, but no one was found therein except his ten wives. These received the Marshal with very good grace, and in a most cheerful spirit, joking with him about the fruitlessness of his search.

After a thorough search, not one of the offenders could be found, and it was discovered that not only those who have been already implicated have run off, but also

fully one half of the male inhabitants of the city have fled, leaving their numerous wives and families at home, at the mercy of the “Gentiles” and of the “licentious soldiery”—by them so much dreaded. . . . The connection of the church authorities with the murder is fully established by the testimony of Durfee and Bartholomew.

It was not until the arrest of these men that the mass of those who have left the southern settlements fled. As soon as they gave themselves up in Salt Lake City, an express was sent down from there, giving notice of that fact, and stating that they were going to turn States evidence, and this caused the general stampede. . . .

The following affidavit was this evening made by the witnesses for the prosecution . . .

We, Albert Parrish, Henry Higgins, James O’Bannon, Leonard Phillips, Orin Parrish and James Gammell, do solemnly swear that we are and have been, for several years past, residents of the Territory of Utah; that we were summoned to appear as witnesses before the United States District Court. . . . that we possessed certain knowledge of various crimes which had been in the past two or three years committed in said district, on account of which said knowledge we had been so summoned; that on account of the participation in, or sanction afterwards of the said crimes, by the community in which said crimes were committed, emanating as we believe from the authorities of the Mormon Church; we considered our lives and property in imminent peril from the Mormon community, should we appear and testify to the facts within our knowledge, unless a portion of the United States troops should (as they have been) be stationed in the town of Provo, near enough the Court room to guarantee safety, and that from the Mormon community we have received threats of intimidation, in case we should divulge the facts . . . and which threats we believe would have been carried into execution but for the timely aid afforded by the Commanding General in the stationing of troops, now in and near this city; and further, we believe our lives to be in danger henceforward without military protection from United States troops. (*Valley Tan*, April 5, 1859, page 3)

The Mormon historian George A. Smith admitted that “hundreds” had left their homes in Utah county:

“The judge has but one eye, and it occasionally manifests signs of insanity. In every address to the juries, he has made an attack on the religion of the Mormons; . . . The effects of this military despotism has already reached the extreme that has caused **hundreds** in Utah county to leave their homes, and it is not at all probable that they will return while this reign of terror exists.” (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 495)

Judge Cradlebaugh, on the other hand, made these statements:

In regard to the inhabitants being terrified by the presents of troops, it is proper to say that many of them are very much annoyed by their being here at this time, but those who seem to be stricken with terror have fled the country on account of crimes committed by them, and the fear of just punishment for their offences. Among them are to be found several of the Jurors, Presidents of “stakes,” Bishops and also civil officers of the Territory. . . .

That none but those who are conscious of guilt are under the influence of fear, is manifested by the fact that at all times, when the Court is in session, the Court room is crowded by hundreds of citizens. . . . the real fact is that witnesses have been threatened and intimidated by the very inhabitants who are said to be so much terrified. . . . witnesses who appear and testify in behalf of the prosecution, are compelled to seek safety under the protection of the troops that are here, . . . (*Valley Tan*, April 5, 1859, page 3)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts made these statements concerning Judge Cradlebaugh’s investigation of these bloody murders:

As already stated his determination to ferret out and bring to trial the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the Springville homicides was a commendable thing in itself, but he proceeded on most unwarrantable grounds, not only in surrounding his court by a military force, but by the assumption that the crimes he would particularly punish were crimes that received community sanction, and that the perpetrators of them were community-protected. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 489)

Respecting these Springville homicides there has existed a persistent belief among anti-“Mormon” writers that they represented cases of “blood atonement,” or “killings ordered by church authorities.” Such evidence as is cited in the case is purely circumstantial, or rests upon the testimony of very questionable characters, who themselves were implicated in the murders. (*Ibid.*, vol. 4, pages 494-495)

On April 19, 1859, the *Valley Tan* printed an article which contained the following statements:

The Mormon authorities having somewhat recovered from the effects of the shock of dread and fear the discovery and exposure of their damning connection with the dreadful deeds of bloodshed, rapine and violence, committed of late years in the Territory, under the disguise and protection of a secret organization for this express purpose, are now exerting themselves to the utmost by every possible effort, and with the whole power and authority of their confederacy to conceal the true principals in the commission of these offences . . . the editor of the Church Organ, the “Deseret News,” . . . says, with the utmost effrontery, “When and where, in Utah, has any person’s throat been cut, or any one in the least personally injured, or in any way hindered from leaving this Territory, on the ground of his or their apostasy? Never and nowhere,” . . .

Shocking and incredible as the truth appears that a community, living in the 19th century, in the heart of a great nation, whose boast it is, that it is the home of freedom, of civil and religious liberty, of enlightenment and of civilization, should publicly sacrifice human being[s], in accordance with the tenets of a religious creed; yet it now appears as an undeniable fact, . . .

It now appears that, not being able to find any voluntary victims ready to offer themselves up as a willing sacrifice on the altars of their hideous faith, the Church leaders determined to “save” several persons and secure to them an inheritance with the Mormons in the next world, by cutting their throats in this.

This cutting of throats is the prescribed mode of murder by which the victims of ecclesiastical mercy (?) are invariably sacrificed, and is the penalty attached to the violation of the oaths in the first degree of the mysterious and terrible endowment ceremonies. . . .

In our school days we read, and shuddered as we read, the traveler's accounts of the dreadful practices of the barbarous nations of the earth, of the burning of widows, of the self-immolation of hundreds beneath the wheels of the car of Juggernaut, of the sacrifice of infants at the terrible idol shrines, committed in order to obtain everlasting happiness in a future state; and we thanked heaven that we lived in a land and under a government and institution which in our youthful enthusiasm we deemed omnipotent and faultless. Little could we imagine that in our manhood we should find ourselves in our own great and glorious country living in the midst of fanatical devotees claiming to be our countrymen, who are endeavoring to enact before our eyes scenes as dreadful and barbarous as any conceived by the imagination of man.

It was with incredulity that we heard repeatedly, a few years ago, that the Mormons practised Polygamy, and now with the full facts before us, we can hardly believe our own senses and realize that another and, if it is possible, more hideous doctrine is advocated and practised here, and yet it is too true. . . . They have refused to be ruled by others than leaders of their organization, and with this determination they have been allowed to drive away from the Territory every single federal officer who has ever been sent here, who has not lent himself to their views and purposes and subserved their interests. (*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 3)

The evidence collected by Judge Cradlebaugh clearly shows that the Parrishes were victims of the Mormon doctrine of "Blood Atonement." After Cradlebaugh's investigation, J. M. Stewart, who conducted the inquest at the time the Parrishes were murdered, admitted that he had been "swayed in my official duties by ecclesiastical dignitaries." In a letter dated July 4, 1859, written from California, Stewart stated:

Sir:—Feeling that the nature of the case makes it justifiable, I ask you to excuse the freedom which I, a perfect stranger, take in addressing you, and in asking the liberty of addressing the public through your columns. . . .

At a certain time, during the notable "Reformation," I think in the winter of 1857, I was, as one of the Bishop's counselors, presiding and speaking in a ward meeting, at the house of G. G. (Duff) Potter, where a brother counselor, N. T. Guymon, came to the door, and said, "Brother Stewart, please to cut your remarks short; the Bishop wishes to see you." I did so, and went with him to the Bishop's council room, an upper room in his dwelling house. As this was in the night, our movements were, perhaps, observed by but very few. . . . the Bishop stated the object of the meeting, which was, that we might hear a letter which he had just received from "President Young." He there read the letter, the purport of which was about this.

He, Brigham, had information that some suspicious characters were collecting at the "Indian Farm," on Spanish Fork, and he wished him (Bishop Johnson) to

keep a good look out in that direction; to send some one there to reconnoiter and ascertain what was going on, and if they (those suspicious characters) should make a break, and be pursued, which he required; he "would **be sorry to hear a favorable report**," "but," said he, "the better way is to lock the stable door before the horse is stolen."

He then admonished the Bishop that he (the Bishop) understood those things, and would act accordingly, and "keep this letter close," or safe.

This letter was over Brigham's signature, in his own peculiarly rough hands, which we all had the privilege of seeing.

About this matter there was no counseling; the word of Brigham was the law, and the object was, that we might hear it. . . .

The next Saturday night there was a council, . . . In this council were, as well as I remember, Bishop A. Johnson, J. M. Stewart, A. F. McDonald, N. T. Guyman, L. Johnson, C. Lanford, and W. J. Earl. . . . Potter and Durfee were present. They came in with blankets wrapped around them.

In this council there was a good deal of secret talking done by two or three individuals getting close together, and talking in suppressed tones, . . . some things I could not help understanding. I understood when Potter requested of the Bishop the privilege to **kill Parrish** wherever he could find "the damned curse," and the Bishop's reply, "Shed no blood in Springville."

During this council, to the best of my recollection, I scarcely spoke a word. I understood that blood would probably be shed, not in Springville, but out of it.

I did in my heart disapprove of the course, but I was in the current, and could not get out, and policy said to me, "Hold your tongue for the present." . . .

I knew nothing of the plan, nor of the deeds having been done, until near midnight, when I was awakened, and requested to go and hold an inquest over some dead bodies. W. J. Earl, one of the city aldermen, and my predecessor in the magisterial office, made this requirement of me, and undertook to dictate me in the selecting of a jury. I considered my position for a moment, and concluded to suffer myself to be dictated to, unless an attempt should be made to lead me to the commission of crime. In that case I felt that I would try "mighty hard" to back out.

I obeyed my manager, W. J. Earl, in selecting the jury. Having summoned a part of the number requisite for a jury, and being told by Earl that the jury could be filled out after we got there, we proceeded along the main road, . . . to the corner of a field known as Childs' corner. Here laid the bodies of Wm. R. Parrish and G. G. Potter, . . . I proceeded to fill up and qualify the jury. . . . I was told to take charge of the goods, chattels, and clothes of the murdered men; which I did, and in due time delivered every article to their families, except a butcher knife claimed by Mrs. Parrish, . . .

The law of the Territory made it my duty to make returns of my proceedings, in this case, to the County Court, but the Bishop told me not to do it, and I obeyed him.

Some considerable time, I don't know how long after the murder, I spoke to Bishop Johnson concerning the above named knife. I supposed, from the fact that when the knife came into my possession it was all over bloody, that it had been used by the assassin; but the Bishop thought differently. During our chat about the knife, and the murder, the Bishop asked:

“Do you know who done that job?”
I replied, “No.” He then asked, “Have you any idea?”
“No.”
“Can’t you guess?”
I answered, “I guess I could.”
He then said, “Well, guess.”
“I guess William Bird.”
He replied, “you are pretty good at guessing.” . . .

H. H. Kearns, Captain of the Police, came to me on . . . the next day after the murder, and told me that I must hold Court sometime that afternoon, and examine Durfee and young Parrish in regard to the murder, as he had them prisoners on that account. I understood that it was only to be done as a show, or kind of a “put off.” . . .

Durfee made his statement first, which was about what has hitherto been revealed. He of course told what he had been instructed to tell. Parrish, as might have been expected, chose not to know anything of consequence. It was certainly wise in him to be ignorant.

It would have been in order, while on the subject of the “knife,” to state that which I will now state:

Before the Bishop and I had got through with our chat, Bird came in sight, and the Bishop called to him; he came to us, and during our conversation, coolly and deliberately made the following statement:

“When Potter fell, I clinched Parrish, and killed him with my knife.”

I know that Parrish was killed with a knife. . . .

I am perfectly aware that that portion of community who have no knowledge of the under-currents and wire-workings of Mormonism will consider me a “poor concern,” for suffering myself to be swayed in my official duties by ecclesiastical dignitaries, for suffering myself, in the case above mentioned to be governed by the Bishop. But I perfectly understood that to act without counsel, or to disobey counsel, was to transgress; and if I had never understood it before I could not help but understand it then, by the example of the three dead bodies right before my eyes, that “The way of the transgressor is (was) hard.” . . .

I am, &c., your humble servant,
J. M. STEWART.

(*Valley Tan*, August 24, 1859, page 2)

On April 12, 1859, the *Valley Tan*, printed an article which contained the following statements:

The U.S. District Court at Provo has adjourned, and we are again forcibly reminded from the circumstances connected with its recent session, that all attempts to administer impartially, the laws of our country, or even the statutes of the Territory, in this community, by Federal officers, are vain and futile.

The Mormons are determined to submit to Church authority only, and consequently use and will make use of every stratagem, every artifice, and unhesitatingly resort to any means to accomplish their designs, and to prevent the assertion of the supremacy of civil law in the Territory.

Last fall, Judge Sinclair attempted to hold a session of his Court in this City, but soon became convinced, that so complete a control did the Church authorities exercise over his Court, that he was, by continuing the session of the Court, merely subserving their own nefarious plans. The Grand Jury duly sworn and charged by him, refused even to find an indictment against a criminal, who acknowledged publicly, that he had first shot, and then cut the throat of a poor deaf and dumb boy;—this because he was acting under instructions from the Church, when he committed the deed. . . .

We have now reached a most important crisis in the affairs of our Territory. The judiciary are powerless to act, unless they seek the assistance of the U. S. troops, and even with this assistance can accomplish but little; under the present circumstances they cannot punish offenders or bring criminals to justice.

The majority of this community with blind and fanatical zeal in their religion, combine to resist the execution of any law except such as emanate from their leaders. Before the arrival of the army, they compelled by force and by extreme violence, the obedience of the minority—depriving them of all of their rights as American citizens; to secure this obedience they did not hesitate to commit even publicly, the most atrocious and horrible crimes. Now they unite even more firmly to resist the punishment of the pe[r]petrators of these crimes.

The following statements are taken from “the remarks of Judge Cradlebaugh upon the occasion of his releasing the Grand Jury from farther service”:

This day makes two weeks from the time you were impannelled. At that time, the court was very particular to impress upon your minds the fact that it was desirable to expedite business as speedily as possible. The court took occasion to call your attention to the difficulties under which we had to labor.—It told you of the condition of the legislation; it told you of the fact that the Legislature had not provided proper means to aid the court in bringing criminals to punishment; it told you that, aside from that, that the legislation was of such a character as to embarrass the court in the discharge of its duties; and that they had given criminal jurisdiction to courts of their own creation, which by the organic act can exercise no such jurisdiction. They had sought to throw the punishment of crimes into such tribunals.

The court also called your attention to the fact that there had been, in connection with this legislation, an attempt by persons within this Territory to bring the United States Courts into disrepute with this people. It particularly called your attention to the fact that Brigham Young, the late Executive of the Territory, at the time when he was a sworn officer of the government:—sworn to see that the laws were executed—had taken occasion to denounce the courts as vile and corrupt; also that he had taken occasion to denounce all attorneys and jurors of the court, and that this was done to prevent the proper and due administration of justice in the Territory.

The court felt it to be its duty to repel such slanders; that it owed it to the position it occupied and to the members of the bar, who were looked upon as honorable men, and from its association with them, it felt it to be its duty to repel such slanders, let them come from what source they might. This was done for the purpose of showing the difficulties that you and the court labored under in bringing criminals to justice.

Aside from this, the court took the unusual course of calling your attention to particular crimes—the horrible massacre at the Mountain meadows. It told you of the murder of young Jones and his mother, and of pulling their house down over them and making that their tomb, it told you of the murder of the Parrishes and Potter, and Forbes, almost within sight of this court house. It took occasion to call names for the purpose of calling your particular attention to those crimes; the fact that they have been committed is notorious.

The court has had occasion to issue bench warrants to arrest persons connected with the Parrish murder; has had them brought before it and examined; the testimony presents an unparalleled condition of affairs. It seems that the whole community were engaged in committing that crime. Facts go to show it. There seems to be a combined effort on the part of the community to screen the murderers from the punishment due them for the murder they have committed.

I might call your attention to the fact that when officers seek to arrest persons accused of crimes they are not able to do so; the parties are screened and secreted by the community. Scarcely had the officers arrived in sight of the town of Springville before a trumpet was sounded from the walls around the town. This, no doubt, was for the purpose of giving the alarm. The officers were there to make arrests. The officers leave the town, and in a short time a trumpet sounds again from the wall for the purpose of announcing that the danger was over. Witnesses are screened; others are intimidated by persons in that community.

....

Such acts and conduct go to show that the community there do not desire to have criminals punished, it shows that the Parrishes and Potter were murdered by counsel, that it was done by authority; the testimony goes to show that the persons engaged in committing these murders are officers in that community, policemen; and that they have since been promoted for committing these hellish crimes.

....

I say all the facts go to show that those offences were committed by officers in that town and that there is a determination to cover up and to secrete the offenders.

You have had sufficient time to examine those cases; more than two days ago, you had all the testimony before you in the Parrish case and for some cause you refuse to do any thing.

....

If it is the desire of this community that persons guilty of crimes shall be screened, and that high, notorious crimes shall be covered up, it will have to be done without the aid of this court.

....

By legislation we have no jails, no means to support prisoners, no means of paying witnesses or jurors, or other officers of this court. It would seem that the whole of the legislation of this Territory was to prevent the due administration of justice. . . .

The court feels that it has discharged its duty; it has furnished you every facility for discharging yours. Still, you make no report; to continue you longer in service would be wrong—the public interest would neither be promoted or benefitted by it. (*Valley Tan*, March 29, 1859, page 3)

On May 17, 1859, the *Valley Tan* published an article which contained the following statements:

Every body knows that the recent effort of Judge Cradlebaugh, at Provo, to bring to justice the murderers of the Mountain Meadow massacre, the Parrishes and Potter, and others has caused all Mormondom to howl in its dark and secret recesses; and every expedient has been employed in resisting his efforts to protect society against organized assassins.

Where are now the Presidents of Stakes, Bishops, Teachers and territorial officers who have fled to the mountains in fear of just punishment for their crimes? These are high authorities in the Church, against whom a chain of circumstances has been elicited by testimony, showing a confederacy in crime. All of us know that the Mormon church is a secret oath-bound organization, . . . All of us have a belief amounting almost to knowledge that if Brigham Young were to direct the surrender of Snow, Johnson, Earl and the whole list of fugitives from justice to-day it could be effected to-morrow. All of us know that the testimony taken implicate these men in crimes which makes humanity shudder. All of us conclude, therefore, that when the lawful process of the judge is running for the arrest of these murderers, the whole Mormon church is acting as an accessory after the fact to conceal them and prevent their arrest, if necessary, by force.

The Mormons, of course, became very disturbed with the *Valley Tan* for exposing these crimes to the attention of the public. On May 3, 1859, the *Valley Tan*, printed an article which contained the following statements:

We have received another letter from “A Man of but Few Words,” and subjoin some extracts from it without altering in the least the sense of the whole, and with no hope either of convincing him, because he says he is a Mormon of twenty years standing, but merely to show the manner in which intelligent men apologise and reason for the corruptions of the Church.

Here is the extract:

“There is a class of men in every community, ‘if you give them an inch, will take an ell,’ which has been the case with many bloody minded men among ‘this people;’ who, when they have heard the Mormon leaders enforce the scriptural doctrine, that ‘there is no remission of sins without the shedding of blood,’ have acted on their own

responsibility, and put the law in force without orders or authority, forgetting the great fundamental doctrine of 'first plucking the beam out of their own eye,' and having been placed in a little brief authority, feel their oats to such a degree that it sticks out upon the most trivial occasions; and such of them as have been the bitterest Gentile and apostate haters, have turned out to be the greatest apostates themselves. Live and let live, and help to live, is my motto; but Bigotry and Intolerance I could never agree with; and, to me, it is more hateful in a Mormon than in a Gentile, because their religion teaches them better things.

"Now, Brigham Young, as the late Executive head of the Mormons, I presume had as much right to order men to be executed for crimes proved against them while under his jurisdiction as any other presiding officer has in this or any other country, and cannot be responsible for others who have committed overt acts, any more than the Governor of the State of New York can be responsible for all the garrotting, coining, counterfeiting, murdering, swindling, &c, done in the territory over which he presides, and which it seems has not the power to suppress, although he has a complete and numerous staff of officials whose duty it is to detect and bring to justice. But, you will say, how is it there are so many leading men among the Mormons who have been allowed to retain office, who have been proved to have been either the instigators or perpetrators of these overt acts? Perhaps it may be urged that Brigham had it in contemplation to deal out justice and judgment to such characters, if he had not been interfered with and a course taken by the Federal Government to overawe him by sending troops, and assuming a dictatorial and insulting bearing, and not treating him with the respect due to a man who had strictly and satisfactorily attended to the duties of his office as Governor of the Territory."

Then our correspondent acknowledges that some of the Mormons have taken the bit in their mouth, and practised blood upon their own hook, either supposing that they were doing God and the Church service, or from an innate love of slaughter. But he farther says that this has been done "without orders or authority," which would plainly indicate or presuppose the existence of a rule that blood flowed, and would when an "order" was given. As somebody must hold this high prerogative of "Off with his head," it may be well for mortals who exist only by tolerance from a secular authority to inquire a little into it. This has been done by a portion at least of the Federal authorities in this Territory, and the result of it is that this conflict of jurisdiction (!) between the Federal Government and the Church has not a little exercised some of the "bretheren."

We will take the admission of "A man of but few words," who concedes that some have gone off too quick upon the doctrine that there is "no remission of sins without the shedding of blood," and without knowing how many throats have been cut, or how much blood has been spilt by this over zeal upon the part of the faithful. It is not improper to inquire whether this over enthusiasm and mistaken right to slay, has ever been punished! The civil records of the Territory does not show it certainly, but then it is probable that the Church reprimanded them upon their haste, nor is it any excuse or justification that these slayers, although the "bitterest Gentile and apostate haters" afterwards turned out to be

the greatest apostates themselves. It does not matter in the least, for the principle is clearly recognized, and men who have the God gift of life are impertinent enough to enquire who it is that holds it so cheap that a word or a nod may sever it forever.

It is against this summary and secret way of putting poor mortals out of the way that we have combated, which it is a fact that is perfectly notorious that the Federal authorities are utterly powerless to punish crimes, particularly of this grade; and why? because the church hierarchy is greater and more potent than the Government itself in this latitude, and thwarts, conceals and laughs to scorn all attempts to punish them. He says "Brigham as late Executive head of the Mormons had a right to order men to be executed, &c.; and here our correspondent, with all his shrewdness, "lets the cat out of the bag" inadvertently, and indicates pretty plainly who holds the keys of the grand inquisition. His reasoning is bad, and his phraseology unfortunate, when he undertakes to draw a parallel between the "late Executive head of Mormons" and the Executive of any other sovereign state in the Union, by stating that crimes exist there, but the Governors are not responsible, etc. Our correspondent knows that the executive department is perfectly distinct, and that no man holding this trust in the States sits as Governor, Judge and Juror, and that no man's life was ever sacrificed under a simple order of DO IT; this would be exercising, to use the Mormon word which we have read in their sermons, oneness with a vengeance, and which they have practiced with so liberal a hand.

In the political economy, and social arrangements that exist in our country, crime necessarily exists, but then the common sentiment of a whole people denounce it and the courts punish it. Do they do it here or have they ever done it? And again we ask, why? because we presume in most instances it was "ordered" and in others where over zealots were too fast they were and are now suffered to go unmolested, and whether they apostatized afterwards or not, is no matter, we have no means of knowing by the records that they ever were punished unless indeed under the oneness and summary principle they "went under" in some mysterious manner.—One thing is sure the Parrish and Potter, and the wholesale slaughter at the Mountain Meadows have never received any penal consideration at the hands of those who heretofore have supposed to have dispensed justice in this Territory, while the damning fact has been developed that the federal authorities have been thwarted at every step in bringing the guilty parties to justice.

But then we are kindly assured that probably, &c., that Brigham had it in "contemplation" to punish many offenders, but the existence of the troops and federal officers, and their bearing, etc., may have prevented it, etc. We refer to the extract for the exact words.

Now, here is the whole thing in a nut shell again; Brigham it may be, "contemplated" it, in other words it was altogether discretionary, but no he didn't do it, because the troops and civil officers were sent out here, and wanted to insult him and overawe him. How, we ask? Why, we suppose by assuming and exercising the functions of officers of the Federal Government they poached upon his franchisers, and therefore it was not done.—If the sentence means anything at all it means this. (*Valley Tan*, May 3, 1859, page 2)

In his book, *Desert Saints*, Nels Anderson gives this information concerning the murders in Springville and the relationship to Blood Atonement”:

Brigham Young on September 21, 1856, made a speech upon which enemies of the church built a harsh case. He said there were some sins that could not be expiated by repentance; that, if sinners guilty of such acts could see their true condition, “they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins.” Thus the idea got around that some sinners could only be saved by spilling their blood. As the idea spread, the stories began to travel that men had been slain; that “destroying angels” went about at night on their missions of death, thus to save the souls of Saints who had sinned. That was “blood atonement.” . . .

In March, 1857, three men were killed in Springville: . . . The Parish family, against advice of counsel, planned to leave for California. Priesthood leaders, it was alleged, thought such a migration would do them no good and might be an evil example for others. Two years later Associate Justice John Cradlebaugh attempted to apprehend the murderers of the Springville brethren. Mormon leaders bitterly opposed, him and denied all the allegations, but the fact remains that the Mormons in charge of the local government did nothing to find the murderers. (*Desert Saints*, pages 153-154)

YOUNG INDICTED FOR MURDER

It was obvious to many people in early Utah that Brigham Young was responsible for the death of many people, but with the power Brigham Young had it was almost impossible to convict him. Harold Schindler states:

As winter surrendered to spring in 1871, the combined efforts of Gentiles and apostates had failed to unsettle the church or its leadership. But in a shepherd’s shack west of Nephi a confrontation was taking place which soon would have violent repercussions. At a table cluttered with dishes sat two men—one a federal marshal, the other a desperado reputed to have killed literally scores of men. Marshal Sam Gilson spoke earnestly and convincingly to the man he had spent weeks attempting to contact. What the lawman wanted was a full confession of the outlaw’s misdeeds. He especially wanted knowledge of a major crime which could be linked to the Mormon hierarchy. In return, Gilson promised to use his influence in the informer’s behalf. The marshal’s impassioned arguments eventually prevailed, and the desperado nodded his assent. William A. “Bill” Hickman had decided to “unbosom myself where it would do some good.” (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 352)

Bill Hickman made this statement in his confessions:

He [Gilson] said he could not give me any hope of pardon for the many crimes in which I had participated, further than that he believed, if I made a clean breast of it, it would be greatly in my favor. . . . I found Gilson to be a man that had had much experience in his life in his line, and was

well posted on the crimes of Utah. He was conversant on the most prominent cases, and held the correct theory, that the leaders of the Church were the guilty party, and not the laymen. He conversed about many cases with which I was connected; and finally elected the case of Yates as the one on which we could with the greatest safety rely for prosecuting Brigham Young. I then gave him a full statement of case and the names of the witnesses that would make the circumstances complete. . . . Gilson assured me . . . that I should have every protection that I needed. . . . On the last of September he came and arrested me and another man by the name of Flack. We were then taken before Chief Justice McKean for examination, which we waived, and were sent to Camp Douglass for safe keeping. After we had been there some two weeks we were taken before the Grand Jury, and I made a full statement of all the crimes committed in this Territory that I knew of—as I have related them in this history—which statement, together with that of Flack’s and others, caused the Grand Jury to find indictments against several persons, and it has caused many threats to be made on me.

Several have said if I ever get out of here I will not be privileged to live but a short time; others have tried to get me out of camp under promise of any amount of money I wanted to make my escape; but it was too plain to be seen that I would not get far before I would be cared for in such a manner that I would not tell more stories. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, pages 191-193)

Bill Hickman made these statements concerning the murder of Yates:

One Yates, a trader that had been in the country before, had returned with five or six thousand dollars’ worth of Indian goods, and stopped on Green River. He had several kegs of powder, and a quantity of lead and caps. He was sent to, to purchase his ammunition, but would not sell it without selling his other goods also. He came to Bridger twice, buying beef cattle for the Government. Both times I went with him beyond all of our troops, to keep him from being hurt. He would trade at the soldier camps, then go to his house on Green River, passing up and down Ham’s Fork. We kept watch of the United States camps every day, and if a party attempted to leave we would make a rush for them and run them into camp again. One day they moved up the creek about four miles, and we saw a vacancy between them and their cattle. We made a rush and drove off seven hundred and fifty head, taking all the fat cattle they had, and some mules. Horses and mules were taken several times after this.

About this time it was noised about that Yates had let the soldiers have his ammunition, and that he was acting the spy for them. One of the Conover boys was on a point near Ham’s Fork one day, and saw a lone man traveling towards Green River; he got ahead of him, saw he had a good horse, and halted him, intending to take his horse and let him go. But, after learning his name, Yates, he marched him to Bridger, where he was placed in the big stone corral and a guard placed over him. . . .

I will here state that the office I held was that of independent captain, amenable to none but the head commanding general or governor, Brigham Young, unless my services were particularly needed, in which case I was under obligations to act in concert with other officers.

When ready to start I was asked to take the prisoner, Yates, to the city with me, and agreed to do so. The men were a brother of mine, T. J. Hickman, who had come from the States with me the summer previous, John Flack and Lewis Meacham. There was a common trace-chain on Yates' ankle, fastened with a padlock. He had a fine gold watch and nine hundred dollars in gold, all in twenty-dollar gold pieces. The money was given to me to bring into the city with the prisoner, but the watch was kept, and what became of it I never knew.

We traveled about fifty miles and camped on Yellow Creek. The next morning we traveled about halfway down Echo Canon to where the general's headquarters were located, and got breakfast. I delivered General Wells some letters, reported myself, and told him who I had along, and asked him what I should do with my prisoner. He said: "He ought to be **killed**; but take him on; you will probably get an order when you get to Col. Jones' camp"—which was at the mouth of Echo Canon on Weber River. After breakfast we started for Jones' camp, some twelve miles distant, and when within three or four miles of the camp, we met Joseph S. Young, a **son of Brigham's**, going, as he said, to the general's camp to take orders. He hailed me (I being behind) and said **his father wanted that man Yates killed**, and that I would know all about it when I got to Jones' camp.

We got there about sundown, and were met outside by Col. Jones, and conducted around under the hill, below and just outside of his camp. He had a fire built for us and sent our horses out, under guard, to grass. He then took me aside and told me he had orders when Yates came along to have him **used up**, and that was why he had taken me outside of his camp. Supper was brought to us, and Yates soon went to sleep on his blankets. Flack and Meacham spread their blankets and soon went to sleep also. I told them to do it, as I would guard the prisoner until I called them. . . .

About this time all was still, and everybody supposed to be in their beds. No person was to be seen when Col. Jones and two others, **Hosea Stout** and another man whose name I do not recollect, came to my camp—fire and asked if Yates was asleep. I told them he was, upon which **his brains were knocked out with an ax**. He was covered up with his blankets and left laying. Picks and spades were brought, and a grave dug some three feet deep near the camp by the fire-light, all hands assisting. Flack and Meacham were asleep when the man was killed, but woke up and saw the grave digging. The body was put in and the dirt well packed on it. . . .

The next day I took the nine hundred dollars, and we all went to headquarters. Flack and I had a talk, as we went, about the money. He said Brigham ought to give that to us as we had already been to more expense than that money amounted to, from horses used up and other losses, and urged me to get it. I told him I would try, saying to him: "You know how much I have been out, and can testify to it, and I think he will give us part of it, anyway."

Soon after dark Flack and I went to Brigham's office. He asked how things were going on out East, and I told him. He asked what had become of Yates? I told him. He then asked if I had **got word from him**? I told him that I had got his instructions at Jones' camp, and also of the word **I had got from his son Jo** [Joseph Young]. He said that was **right, and a good thing**. I then told him I had nine hundred dollars given me to bring in, that Yates had

at the time he was captured. I told him of the expense I had been to during the war, and asked him if I might have part of the money? He gave me a reprimand for asking such a thing, and said it must go towards defraying the expenses of the war. I pulled out the sack containing the money, and he told me to give it to his clerk (I do not remember who he was now). The money was counted, and we left. (*Brigham's Destroying Angel*, pages 122-126)

According to Stanley P. Hirshon, Brigham Young's son, Joseph A. Young, admitted he met Hickman but claimed that he gave instructions to save Yates:

The Saints argued about the remainder of the episode. In 1871 Joseph A. Young, the prophet's son, described to the *New York Tribune* how he met Hickman at the outskirts of the city and urged him to bring Yates in alive. Hickman, however, told the *New York World* a different story. Joseph said Young wanted the prisoner "taken care of," so Hickman waited until Yates was asleep and bashed his brains out with a rock. . . . The prophet warned Hickman to keep cool and say nothing about the incident to anyone. Significantly, neither Joseph nor Hickman denied that Mormons had murdered Yates. (*The Lion of the Lord*, pages 176-177)

Joseph A. Young's statement certainly raises a very interesting question: if Joseph A. Young was really concerned about Hickman bringing in Yates alive, why didn't the Mormons punish Hickman when he came in without him? The fact that the Mormon leaders did not punish Hickman for this murder seems to show that they were accessories to the crime. The fact that Hickman did not seem very concerned about keeping Yates' death a secret is made plain by a statement written by Dan Jones:

"This Yates was a personal friend of mine, a kind-hearted, liberal man of whom I had received many kindnesses. . . . I was camped with a small party about four miles west of Weber valley and ten or twelve miles from Echo. One very cold morning about sunrise, Hickman and two others came to my camp. They seemed almost frozen. . . . Hickman asked me if I had any whiskey. I told him I had not. He then asked if I had coffee. I replied that we had. 'Then make us a good strong cup.' While the coffee was being made he took me outside and asked me if I knew Yates. I told him I did. 'Well, we have **just buried him**,' he said." (*Forty Years Among the Indians*, as cited by Juanita Brooks in *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 643, footnote)

Juanita Brooks gives this revealing information in the same footnote:

A contemporary account which establishes place and date is Lorenzo Brown's. . . . On October 18 he noted: "Wm Hickman came in with a prisoner named Yates. He had sold 3 or 400 lbs powder & some lead etc to the troops which he had promised to us." In that war climate, this would brand Yates as an enemy. "Journal," I, 290, 296. . . .

That some Mormons did confiscate Yates' property is shown in the diary of Newton Tuttle, at that time adjutant to Major John T. D. McAllister: "Sat 24 [October 18, 1857] . . . 7 teamsters have come in to camp from the enemy. Lewis Robinson got back from Green river he took 48 Horse & colts 36 pair of blankets &c that belonged to Yates". . .

Still another interesting sidelight comes from Albert Tracy, a member of the Johnston expedition. On April 10, 1860, as they were leaving the territory, he wrote: ". . . Yates! He has neither been seen by any of us since the day we purchased his powder. . . . The story of his horse ridden and his overcoat worn by Bill Hickman—'Destroyer'—at Springville as told me by the woman . . . affords beyond doubt the key to his fate." J. Cecil Alter and Robert J. Dwyer, eds., *Journal of Captain Albert Tracy 1858-1860, Utah Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1945), 96-97. This confirms the story that Yates actually did sell his powder to the soldiers rather than to the Mormons, thus branding himself an enemy spy. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 643, footnote 13)

In Appendix E of *Brigham's Destroying Angel*, J. H. Beadle gives this information concerning the murder of Yates:

Through the indefatigable labors of United States Marshals and detectives, the entire history of Yates has been made known. His wife, residing at present in Nevada and married again, has written to Salt Lake enclosing photographs of the murdered man, taken a short time before his death. She had always supposed he was killed by the Indians. His remains have been disinterred from the spot named by Hickman, and the chain of evidence is complete. Hosea Stout, a Mormon lawyer of considerable prominence, who was arrested for complicity in this murder, and on Hickman's testimony, admits that Yates was killed as a spy; but insists that he was not present and had no knowledge of the transaction; that Yates was delivered to Hickman to be taken to the city, and neither he nor any other officer saw him again.

There is little doubt that Hosea Stout would resort to violence towards a man suspected of being a spy, for the reader will remember that he recorded the following in his diary for January 9, 1846:

When we came to the Temple some what a considerable number of the guard were assembled and among them was William Hibbard son of the old man Hibbard. He was evidently come as a **spy**. When I saw him I told Scott that we must "bounce a stone off his head," to which he agreed we prepared accordingly & I got an opportunity & **hit him on the back of his head which came very near taking his life.** (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, page 103)

The *Salt Lake Herald* for October 29, 1871, reported that Daniel H. Wells, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, had also been indicted for the murder of Yates:

Another link in the chain of conspiracy aimed at the very existence of the Mormon people was revealed

yesterday afternoon, in the arrest of Mayor Wells, for the alleged crime of murder. Hosea Stout, Esq., was also arrested at the same time, on the same charge; and Col Wm. H. Kimball on a similar charge. The indictment charges Daniel H. Wells and Hosea Stout, among others, with having on the 15th of November, 1857, killed one Richard Yates at the mouth of Echo canon, in Summit county. There is **little doubt that Yates was killed**, and it is generally **conceded** that the notorious **Bill Hickman committed the crime**, for which, however, there is little prospect of his suffering punishment under existing circumstances, as it is believed that upon his testimony the indictment was found. (*Salt Lake Herald*, October 29, 1871)

Juanita Brooks points out the fact that "the date given, November 15, was nearly a month later than the actual date of October 18, 1857, greatly helped the case for Stout" (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 739). The date of October 18, 1857, was undoubtedly the correct date, for it was on October 18, 1857, that Lorenzo Brown recorded in his journal that "Wm Hickman came in with a prisoner named Yates . . ." Hosea Stout was certainly on the scene at the time of the murder, for he recorded the following in his diary:

Sunday 18 Oct 1857. Visit from Col Little. H. P. Kimball arrived with a party of Col Burton's command . . . Some 700 head of the captured cattle passed to day being driven by teamsters who left the enemy. At dark **W. A. Hickman came in with Mr Yates a prisoner.** (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 643)

After Bill Hickman confessed that he committed murders for the Mormon leaders, Brigham Young himself was indicted. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives this information:

It was not to meet the petty charge of "lascivious cohabitation" that this journey of President Young's was made; but, as already suggested, he had learned that there existed a more serious charge against him, that of "murder." In the previous November he had been jointly indicted with D. H. Wells, mayor of Salt Lake City, and others, for the "murder" of one Yates, during the "Echo Canon War." Mayor Wells, Hosea Stout, formerly attorney-general of the territory, and W. H. Kimball, had been arrested on the 28th of October, on the same charge. . . . Acting United States District Attorney Baskin planned the indictment and arrest of Brigham Young on this charge of "murder," on the strength of the confessions of the notorious "Bill Hickman," who had confessed to some eighteen or twenty murders. . . . Hickman at the request of Mr. Baskin consented to go before the grand jury, and Baskin handed to Major Hempstead the statement of the self-confessed murderer, with the announcement that Hickman was ready to go before the grand jury. It was at this point that Hempstead resigned and Baskin was appointed by McKean to fill the vacancy. By becoming acting United States district attorney, Mr. Baskin had the opportunity of doing what he had urged upon his predecessor to do, and hence the indictments for murder against Brigham Young *et al.*, upon the confessions of

Hickman, the *coup de main* in the arrest of Brigham Young on the charge of “murder” was ordered for Monday, the 20th of November, but President Young by that time was in St. George, and the *coup de main* was a failure. . . .

It was a dramatic incident when, in the afternoon of the 2nd of January, 1872, Brigham Young . . . walked into the court presided over by Judge McKean. . . . A certificate of Dr. W. F. Anderson—stating that he was the attending physician of Brigham Young, and that confinement would in all probability prove fatal to him in the present feeble state of his health, and at 71 years of age—was read. . . . The judge declined to admit the defendant to bail; but granted him the privilege of selecting one of his own houses, . . . and defendant might be detained there under custody of the marshal until the time of trial. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 404-408)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft speaks of Brigham Young’s indictment for murder, but claims that it was for the murder of the last member of the Aiken Party at Warm Springs rather than for the murder of Yates (see *History of Utah*, pages 663-664, footnote 20). R. N. Baskin, who was responsible for the indictment of Brigham Young, gives this interesting information:

One evening in 1872, Samuel Gilson, who discovered the gilsonite deposits in eastern Utah, came to my office and informed me that the United States marshal held a warrant for the arrest of Bill Hickman, and that he was hiding to avoid arrest by the marshal and escape assassination by members of the Danite organization of which he had formerly been an active member. . . . Hickman, about eleven o’clock at night, in company with Mr. Gilson, came to my office. . . . I said to him that if, as generally asserted, he was or had been a member of such an organization, and had participated in the numerous murders which had been committed in the Territory, that the only atonement now within his power was to reveal the facts, as it might aid in preventing the commission of other like crimes. After deliberating for about a minute, he said that during his seclusion his mind had been greatly disturbed by the matter, and that he had finally concluded to reveal the facts to me, although in doing so he would acknowledge his own guilt. . . . Having become satisfied that Hickman told me the truth, and at my request he having consented to go before the grand jury and tell what he had revealed to me, I placed the statements which I had so written in the hands of Major Hempstead, who was the United States district attorney, and informed him that Hickman was ready to go before the grand jury and testify to the matters therein set forth. In a few days afterwards I saw him, and, while talking the matter over, asked him if he intended to have Hickman appear before the grand jury. He replied that in view of the recent assassination of Doctor Robinson it would be hazardous to indict Brigham Young and the other persons implicated by Hickman. In reply, I said that in any other place than Utah such a confession would cause an investigation by the grand jury, and that I thought he would be derelict in the discharge of his duties if he failed to move in the matter. He returned the statements and nothing further passed between us on the subject.

A grand jury had, in accordance with the decision of Judge McKean, been summoned for the approaching term of the district court. Upon entering the courtroom on the morning that court was opened at that term, I was informed by the Judge that Major Hempstead had resigned as district attorney, . . . and he said he intended to appoint me if I would accept the position. . . .

Upon entering upon the discharge of my duties I determined to procure indictments against the officers of the Mormon church for their violations of the law against polygamy, but I soon found that it could not be done because it was necessary to prove both the first and plural marriages. I was unable to prove the latter because they were entered into in the secret precincts of the “endowment house” of the Mormon church, and were not made public, but carefully concealed. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, Salt Lake City, 1914, pages 36-38)

The grand jury that indicted Thomas Hawkins also indicted Brigham Young and other high officials among the privileged Mormon ranks. They were charged with having violated Section 32 of the statute against lewd and lascivious cohabitation, quoted in the previous chapter, and by virtue of the confession of Bill Hickman, Brigham Young and those implicated by Hickman were also indicted for murder. . . .

I knew that the indictment of Brigham and others would cause great excitement, especially among the polygamic element of the Mormon church, and if a collision occurred it it [*sic*] would be at the time Brigham was arrested on the charge of murder. To meet such a contingency the United States marshal had appointed about one hundred deputies, . . . I knew that the arrest of anyone except Brigham would not be resisted. I therefore had Hawkins arrested and tried before taking any steps in the other cases. During that trial the street in front of the courtroom was daily crowded by hundreds of men, many of whom were armed and whose demeanor was most threatening towards the court. . . . Brigham was then arrested on the charge of lewd and lascivious cohabitation, and brought into court. He gave bonds, just as others were required to do. No special demonstration was made upon that occasion. In a few days later I had a warrant issued for his arrest on the murder charge. . . . Evidently some of the marshal’s deputies betrayed him, as Brigham learned of his intended arrest. . . . Brigham finally decided that instead of resisting he would make a journey to “the south” for his health. . . . In the height of the excitement, and when the armed mob was menacing the court, a number of prominent Gentiles called upon me and stated that they had reliable information that, unless the prosecutions were stopped, the prominent Gentiles who had taken an active part in opposing the Mormon “system” would be assassinated; that they had been appointed a committee to advise me of the fact and request me to dismiss the cases. I told the spokesman he would make a splendid angel, and as I did not intend to grant the request, he had better prepare to go to Abraham’s bosom. He replied that the matter was “too serious to treat facetiously.”. . . This was not the only time I had been subjected to a fire from the rear by men who should have encouraged instead of opposed me. (*Ibid.*, pages 54-56)

Stanley P. Hirshon gives this information:

Then, on October 2, 1871, Young was arrested for lewd and lascivious cohabitation with sixteen of his wives, a charge the government expected to prove by bringing into court his children by these women. Although the marshal allowed the prophet to remain at home, Brigham Young, Jr., at the church conference on October 5, denounced the federal appointees as tools of the devil and called down on them heaven's curse. "Trust to God," he advised his people, "keep your powder dry, and don't fail to have on hand a good supply of fixed ammunition." Loud cheers greeted his remarks. . . . Young heard that Hickman had implicated him in several murders. He panicked and fled. Fortunately for him, however, the sympathetic George C. Bates now replaced Baskin. "The counsel of Brigham Young, indicted for murder and lewd and lascivious cohabitation, have proposed to me, that he is perfectly willing to come in at once, surrender himself, and give bail in the sum of \$200,000," Bates informed his superiors. "His counsel also state that Young left, not to avoid trial, but to escape confinement in the garrison here and for fear of his life."

Early in 1872 Young submitted to arrest for murder, but Salt Lake City had no federal jail and McKean allowed him to return home. . . . Attorney General, McKean argued that he had treated the Saints humanely. "I permitted Brigham Young, though indicted for murder, to occupy his own house, and take exercise in his own carriage, surrounded by his friends, and but nominally in the custody of the Marshal. I permitted Mayor Wells, also indicted for murder, to go on bail. . . ."

The Saints, on the other hand, ceaselessly harassed McKean. One day during the trials the door of the hayloft suddenly flew open, and twenty to thirty armed men dashed inside the courtroom. They stood for some minutes in a menacing and insulting group near the middle of the room, but as they seemed not to be noticed, they gradually took seats. They were of the organization known as "Danites." Several times these sinister men returned to the hayloft, but they failed to intimidate McKean. (*The Lion of the Lord*, pages 305, 307 and 308)

Unfortunately, the case against Brigham Young for murder never came to trial. Harold Schindler states that "the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in the Englebrecht case which set aside all legal proceedings in Utah during the previous eighteen months and declared null and void indictments found against nearly one hundred and forty persons. The landmark opinion resulted in all charges being dropped against Young, Wells, Stout, Kimball, and, ironically, Hickman himself" (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 355). Thomas G. Alexander gives this information concerning this matter:

Almost as soon as Judge McKean arrived in Salt Lake City, . . . he found himself involved in a conflict between the federal government and territorial officials over the relative areas of their jurisdiction. . . . McKean and his fellow judges ruled that the territorial courts were United States district courts. Consequently, from then until April, 1872, the United States marshal empaneled juries by open venire. In

a decision which was possibly the biggest blot on McKean's career, the United States Supreme Court over-ruled him by decreeing that the courts were merely legislative courts of the territory created by federal statute and thus subject to territorial law. The case involved a judgment of \$59,063.25 against Alderman and Justice of the Peace Jeter Clinton for the abatement of a saloon in Salt Lake City which refused to pay a city liquor license tax that it considered exorbitant. The federal decision in *Clinton V. Englebrecht* provided the legal basis for throwing out 130 indictments found by grand juries drawn in accordance with the practice in United States courts rather than the territorial statutes. This solved nothing, however, because the disputes over the appointment of the territorial marshal tied the hands of the court; the courts became little more than boards of arbitration, and by June, 1874, a backlog of ninety-five cases had built up in Third District Court.

McKean and other Gentiles believed that the Mormons were afraid to allow trials of their brethren accused of murder and other crimes before impartial juries. The judge wrote to U. S. Attorney General George H. Williams in the fall of 1873 complaining that he could neither convict the guilty nor protect the innocent and that Utah had become a "theocratic state, under the vice regency of Brigham Young." (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, pages 86-87)

R. N. Baskin, who had pressed for the indictment of Brigham Young, made the following statement concerning this matter:

Later, the judgment in the Englebrecht case was reversed by the supreme court of the United States, and as the grand jury which had found the indictments against Brigham and others was held by that court to be invalid, the criminal cases in question were dismissed. I regret that those cases were not tried, because their trial would have exposed, as did the first trial of Bishop John D. Lee, the deplorable conditions which then existed in the Territory; and the examination of Hickman, in my opinion, would have convinced the public that his confession was true, especially if he had been subjected to a rigid cross-examination. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, page 57)

OTHER MURDERS

At the time the Parrishes were assassinated, a man by the name of Forbes was also murdered by the Mormons. In an affidavit dated April 1, 1859, Abraham Durfee stated:

Abram Durfee being duly sworn, says as follows: I have resided in Springville, Utah County, U. T., for about eight years. In the latter part of January, 1858, Wilber J. Earl, came to me in Springville and wanted me to go with him to assist him in killing Forbes, I told him that I could not go, he wanted some of the boys; he said it was orders to kill Forbes; he did not say from whom the orders came; he wanted me to come over to the north gate the evening that Forbes was to be killed. It was Saturday that he was telling me about it, and Forbes was to be killed the next evening. The next evening (Sunday) I went over to the north gate as requested by Earl. About

a half an hour of dark Earl and Sanford Fuller came with Forbes; Wilber J. Earl ordered me to stay at the gate; he said that they were going to Provo. I staid at the gate and Wilber J. Earl and Sanford Fuller came back, which was about midnight; they said that they had got rid of Forbes, that was about all they told me that night. About a week afterwards Wilber J. Earl told me that they had killed Forbes down on Spring creek, about half way to Provo; they said they shot him; they said they had dug a hole near the creek and put him in. I don't know what became of Forbe's property; I saw Forbe's horse at Partial Terry's since and before Forbe's death; I don't know how Terry become possessed of Forbe's horse. Both Earl and Fuller told me that they had shot Forbes. I do not know where Earl or Fuller are, or either of them at this time; I saw Earl on the 22nd inst at [sic] last at Salt Lake City. I went with him from Springville to Salt Lake City; we parted in the City between the Temple block and the Deseret Store, and I have not seen him since. I saw Fuller last in Springville, two weeks ago last Saturday in the evening.

(Signed) ABRAHAM DURFEE.

(*Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, page 2)

In an affidavit dated March 29, 1859, Joseph Bartholomew stated:

I was invited by Sanford Fuller to go and participate in killing Henry Forbes. He told me that there was such a thing in contemplation and wanted me to go with them, which I declined doing.

About two days after that, Wilber J. Earl spoke to me and told me that the job which they contemplated was done, and if I had a went he wouldn't have had to. He charged me not to tell it, and I am now under the threats of death for doing so. I never saw the body. Some four or five days after Coles told that the Indians had found the body somewhere between there and Provo. (Ibid., page 4)

The *Valley Tan* for September 28, 1859, reported the following:

MYSTERIOUS AFFAIR—On last Monday evening, near eight o'clock, two shots were heard discharged upon the corner of Second East Temple and Second South Temple St. Upon repairing to that locality, immediately after the reports, we saw the body of a man stretched out upon the side walk, with the brains oozing from his head. A centre shot had been given, and death must have instantaneously ensued. The deceased was named John Gheen, and had been engaged in the butchering business. His character we hear universally spoken of as good. The circumstances of the death are hidden and vague, mysterious and incomprehensible. The prevailing opinion, we believe, is that the deceased committed suicide, this sentiment being strengthened by the fact that a pistol was found lying by his body; but would it not have been policy if the man was murdered, for the murderer to have dropped his weapon on the body of his victim?

Under the date of September 26, 1859, Hosea Stout recorded this statement in his diary: "This evening also John Gheen was found with a ball hole through his head. It is supposed that he committed suicide" (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 703). Juanita Brooks makes this statement about the idea

that Gheen committed suicide: "The suggestion that John Gheen committed suicide was sheerest nonsense, yet that is the word that evidently was given out. George Laub wrote on this date in large letters, "John Geen Suiside John Geen Comited Suisids." Laub later (October 3, 1850) added "John Geen Committed Suiside by Shooting himself through the head he is said to have killed a man in Iowa some ten years ago." "Diary of George Laub, 1814-1880" (3 vols., typescript, Utah State Historical Society), II, 58-50 (Ibid., footnote 65). Harold Schindler gives this interesting information concerning the murder of Gheen:

T. B. H. Stenhouse, a prominent figure in the community, blamed Mormons as well as Gentiles for the degraded state of affairs. "During the summer and fall of 1859," he wrote, "there was a murder committed in Salt Lake City almost every week, and very rarely were the criminals brought to justice." . . .

One such killing, committed by "invisible hands," was blamed on Rockwell, who, it was whispered, did the deed in the spirit of the Reformation. . . In this case the victim, John Gheen, had a curious history in the church, . . . In 1848 he became embroiled in a property rights dispute in which he threatened to shoot the first man who crossed his land. Lillace W. Conditt was the unfortunate who called his fellow-Mormon's bluff and was blasted three times through the heart.

A mob of Conditt's friends beat Gheen into a bloody wreck and left him for dead, but he survived to be tried for murder. He was acquitted. . . . Though the years passed uneventfully, Gheen's conscience apparently troubled him over the Conditt shooting. According to rumor, he sought to expiate the crime by offering his life under the doctrine of Blood Atonement. But no one would step forward to "help him," and he lived in misery. Then, for no apparent reason, Gheen began appearing in court. In May of 1858 he brought suit against David J. C. Beck, one of the men responsible for tearing down his fences in Iowa ten years before. The jury brought in a verdict favoring Gheen and awarded him \$1,500 in damages. Little more than six months later he charged a Gentile, Frank McNeill, with threatening his life. The court fined McNeill \$10 and costs, then charged Gheen with threatening McNeill's life. A guilty plea brought a \$10 fine and costs. So matters stood on September 26, 1859, as John Gheen, cardsharp-turned-butcher, walked home from his shop in the quiet of the evening. Minutes later he was dead, a bullet hole, black and ugly, in his forehead. . . . T. B. H. Stenhouse, who also had the benefit of a Mormon's insight into peculiarities of life in Zion, afterward opined that Gheen was the victim of a friend "who loved him as himself" and spilled his blood in atonement for his "sin unto death." Oddly, no one in civil authority questioned Gheen's violent end. Even the coroner declined to hold an inquest, closing the entire episode without so much as a mention in his register records, this despite the significant fact witnesses heard two shots before finding Gheen. Equally strange was the location of the wound—the forehead—an unusual target for suicides. . . .

Gheen's body was quietly removed to the city cemetery and buried in Potter's Field without further formality. The butcher's death raised scarcely an eyebrow in Zion, where violence of one sort or another was becoming commonplace. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, pages 205-208)

In his book, *The Lion of the Lord*, Stanley P. Hirshon gives this information:

In Utah Greeley investigated the stories of Mormon atrocities. “Do I, then,” he asked, “discredit the tales of Mormon outrage and crime—of the murder of the Parishes, the Mountain Meadows massacre, &c., &c.,—where with the general ear has recently been shocked? No, I do not. Some of these may have been fabricated by Gentile malice—others are doubtless exaggerated—but there is some basis of truth for the current Gentile conviction that Mormons have robbed, maimed, and even killed persons in this Territory, under circumstances which should subject the perpetrators to condign punishment, but that Mormon witnesses, grand jurors, petit jurors and magistrates determinedly screen the guilty. I deeply regret the necessity of believing this; but the facts are incontestable.”

As Greeley headed for California, more murders rocked Utah, On August 10, 1859, Charles M. Drown sued Hickman for \$480 and won the case. Ten days later he and his chief witness and neighbor, Josiah Arnold, came to Salt Lake City on business. By doing so Drown signed his own death warrant. About ten o’clock that night Hickman and eight or ten friends went to the house in which Drown and Arnold were staying and ordered them to come out. When they refused, Hickman smashed down the front and rear doors and shot his two enemies. The next morning Drown died. “After committing this bold and dreadful murder,” *The New York Times* reported, “the party mounted their horses and rode around town unmolested.” (*The Lion of the Lord*, pages 252-253)

John Cradlebaugh, who served as associate justice of the Second Judicial District in early Utah, made these statements about the murder of Drown and Arnold:

A man by the name of Drown brought suit, upon a promissory note for \$480, against the Danite captain, Bill Hickman. . . . Hickman, with some seven or eight of his band, rode up to the house and called for Drown to come out. Drown, suspecting foul play, refused to do so, and locked the doors. The “Danites” thereupon dismounted from their horses, broke down the doors, and shot down both Drown and Arnold. Drown died of his wounds next morning, and Arnold a few days later. Hickman and his band rode off unmolested.

Thus, during the short term of Judge Sinclair’s court, the earnest labors of its officers accomplished no good. . . . during a single term of the court, held in a Mormon community, the warm life-blood of four human victims is shed upon the very threshold of the court, and although the grand jury is in session, no prosecution is attempted, and not one of the offenders will ever be punished. (“Utah and the Mormons,” a Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh, in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1863, as printed in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, February 23, 1863, page 124)

Although Bill Hickman denied that he actually committed this crime, he admitted that he was present when the murder was suggested and that he was an accessory after the fact:

During this summer a man by the name of Drown, . . . returned. His common character was not good. He was charged with stealing horses and cattle before he went away, and was threatened with shooting; but, on his return, promised to quit all his bad practices, paid a widow woman two hundred dollars for a horse he had stolen from her before he left, and seemed to be doing right. But this summer he commenced running to Camp Floyd and telling all the bad stories on the Mormons he knew or could invent, so said. I was at Brigham Young’s office one day, and a man by the name of Matthews went with me and sat outside of the door while Brigham and myself had a talk, in which Drown’s name was mentioned. Young said he was a “bad man, and should be used up,” and instructed me to do it, and put a stop to his carrying news and horse-stealing.

After getting through talking with him I came out and started off with Matthews, who said: “I have got you this time, and you have done enough; I heard what Brigham told you, and I will attend to that.” I told him to never mind, and maybe the man would be better. That night a party got together to give a serenade to one of the editors (Seth M. Blair) of a newspaper just started, called the *Mountaineer*. Some dozen of us rode down to his house, gave him a few hurrahs, which were answered by him, and a few short speeches ensued. When we got back into Main Street, we heard Drown had been shot in the thigh also. I knew nothing of how it was done, not knowing Drown was in the city until I heard he was shot. The next day I saw Matthews, who told me he found Drown was in town, got two men and went to the house he was stopping at; knocked at the door, but was refused admittance, when he kicked in the door, shot Drown, and started running around the house, and met a man who he supposed to be Drown, shot at him, and kept on. This happened to be a man by the name of Arnold, a very quiet, unassuming, good old man, who was in the house with Drown, and ran out to see who had done the shooting. The shot took effect in his thigh, from which he afterward died.

Much has been said about the killing of Drown and Arnold, and it has been laid to me; but these are the facts just as they occurred. Were it otherwise I would state it as plainly as I have other things. . . . Some time after this I was at Brigham Young’s office, and the subject of Drown’s death came up. He said he was glad; it was a good thing, and as far as Arnold was concerned, he had no business to be in such company. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, pages 133-135)

In Appendix G, page 211, of the same book, J. H. Beadle made these comments:

Hickman’s account of Drown and Arnold differs very much from the popular account in Utah. Judge Cradlebaugh says that Drown has sued Hickman on a promissory note and obtained a judgment, which led to a quarrel. Nor did I ever hear the charge of horse-stealing before I saw Hickman’s manuscript.

But according to the best testimony of the best men who were then members of the Mormon Church, it was not for stealing or any other crime these men were killed, but for apostasy and spiritualism! This may sound ridiculous, but it is a singular fact that there is no other

form of apostasy the Mormon Priesthood so fear, hate, and curse, and no kind of mysticism to which apostate Mormons are so prone, as spiritualism. . . .

Drown and Arnold were spiritualists, and were holding a “circle”—or seance—with one or two others, when the house was attacked—as testified to by a reliable man who was present. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, Appendix G, page 211)

The entry in Hosea Stout’s diary for August 27, 1859, seems to confirm the fact that Drown and Arnold had an interest in spiritualism: “. . . on Saturday evening Charles M. Drown was shot by some persons unknown. Josiah Arnold was also shot through the thigh It was done by a party of persons who came on them at a house on Main Street occupied by one Eddy, a spiritualist” (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 702). The entry in Stout’s diary for November 20, 1858, indicates that Drown and Arnold were having trouble with the Church:

Sat with the High Council at the social Hall three cases were tried one appealed by Josiah Arnold from Bishop Harker’s Ward Arnold had been cut off but was here restored

The second case was an appeal from the same Bishop by Charles Drown who had been cut off from the church He was restored by baptism (*Ibid.*, page 668)

Juanita Brooks points out that Bill Hickman was “Counselor to acting Bishop Harker” at the time of this trouble (*Ibid.*, footnote 36). Mrs. Brooks also shows that less than two months before Drown and Arnold were murdered, they had trouble with the Church and that Drown had a bitter argument with the Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde:

Note has already been made of the excommunication of Drown and Arnold by Bishop Harker and Hickman, and their restoration by the stake High Council, in November 1858.

On July 3, 1859, John Bennion, also a counselor to Bishop Harker, wrote: “. . . Elder Orson Hyde Preached a very good discourse said that spiritualism or medium? was the strong delusion sent by the Lord that they who rejected the truth might believe a lie & be damned . . . that they would bring evil on the servants of God it Should come on themselves . . . afternoon meeting Josiah Arnold was cut off] from the church for apostacy also C. N. Drownes he was present & opposed Eld Hyde showed much bitterness.” John Bennion, “Journal [1855-1877]” (5 vols., original, Utah State Historical Society), II, 79. (*Ibid.*, page 702, footnote 64)

In the “Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh” before the House of Representatives, we find the following information:

In the winter of 1857-58, one Franklin McNeil was incarcerated in prison, being put in irons during the “Mormon war,” for no other crime than being an American citizen. Frank sued Brigham Young for false imprisonment on the 2d day of August. The day preceding the appointed time for trial, Frank was called to the door of his boarding house, just after dark, by some unknown person, and shot down. He died from his wound next morning, and thus the suit was abated. The murderer was never discovered.

Bill Hickman made this statement concerning the murder of McNeil:

Winter came on, times were lively, and money plenty. One McNeil, who was arrested in the winter of ‘57, when he came from Bridger to Salt Lake City, for the purpose of making a living, and kept in custody some three or four months by order of Gov. Brigham Young, instituted a suit before the United States district court against Brigham to the amount of, I think, ten thousand dollars. McNeil came to the city from Camp Floyd during the winter, and word was sent to the boys, as the killers were called, to give him a using up. The word was sent around after dark, but McNeil could not be found that night, and the next morning he was off to camp again, and did not return until the next summer. I came to town one afternoon, and heard he was upstairs at Sterritt’s tavern, drunk. Darkness came on and we got the chamber-pot taken out of his room, so that he would in all probability come down when he awoke with whisky dead in him. Some five or six were on the look-out for him, and among the number was one Joe Rhodes, not a Mormon, but a cut-throat and a thief, who had had some serious difficulty with McNeil, and was sworn to shoot him, and I thought it best to let him do it. Some three or four were sitting alongside the tavern when he came down, it being dark and no lights in front. Rhodes followed him around the house and shot him in the alley. McNeil shot at Rhodes once, but missed him. McNeil lived until the next day, and died, not knowing who shot him; neither did any other person, except those who sat by the side of the tavern. It made considerable stir, but no detection could be made as to who did it. All passed off, and one day when at Brigham Young’s office, he asked me who killed McNeil. I told him, and he said that was a good thing; that dead men tell no tales. The law-suit was not prosecuted any further. (*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, by Bill Hickman, pages 140-141)

In his diary Hosea Stout gave this information concerning this murder:

Friday 5 Aug 1859. Last night Franklin E. McNeil was shot just below and to the left of the naval by a man supposed to be Joe Rhodes.

In the after noon Lott Huntington was arrested and brought into Court on a charge for being accessory to the shooting of McNeil defended by Blair and myself.

Saturday 6 Aug 1859. McNeil died last night of his wound. Lott Huntington was discharged from his arrest” (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 700)

In a letter dated December 24, 1858, Brigham Young called McNeil “a notorious villian.” He was undoubtedly pleased when he learned of McNeil’s death, since this ended the law-suit against him. On August 24, 1859, the *Valley Tan* reported: “The complaint in the case of F. E. McNeil vs. Brigham Young, Sr., and others, was ordered by the Court to be abated, on account of the death of the plaintiff.”

On October 22, 1866, Dr. J. King Robinson, who also had trouble with the Mormon leaders, was murdered.

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts states:

The second homicide referred to in the preceding chapter, that of Dr. J. King Robinson, took place on the 22nd of October, 1866. He was decoyed from his home between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock at night, upon the pretext that his professional services were required. A short distance from his house he was set upon by a number of men and killed—seven in all were seen running from the vicinity of the assault. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 194)

The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft gives this information regarding the murder:

While at Camp Douglas, he [Dr. Robinson] ascertained that certain ground in the neighborhood of Warm Springs was unoccupied, and supposing it to be a portion of the public domain, took possession of it, and erected a building thereon. The city council claimed that the land belonged to the corporation, and ordered the marshal to destroy the improvements and eject the claimant. The doctor brought the matter before the court, but the chief justice decided against him. Soon afterward other property belonging to Robinson was destroyed at midnight by a gang of twenty or thirty men, some of them in disguise, Alexander Burt, of the police force, with several others as accomplices, being accused, though not identified. By the advice of his counsel, Robinson gave notice that he intended to hold the city responsible for damages. Two days later he was aroused near midnight to attend a patient, and when a short distance from his dwelling was struck on the head with a sharp instrument, and then shot through the brain. The murder was committed at a corner of Main Street in bright moonlight, the doctor's cries were heard by his neighbors, and seven persons were seen running away from the spot, but no arrests were made, the verdict of the coroner's jury being that the deceased had died by the hands of parties unknown. (*History of Utah*, pages 627-628)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives this information concerning Dr. Robinson's troubles:

Through the months of August, September, and October a number of attempts were made to jump land claims; . . . The militia parade ground over Jordan, west of the city, the city's race course, together with some private claims on the east side of the river were seized by land jumpers. The result was that great excitement was aroused and measures taken to resist these encroachments upon the rights of the city, and upon the rights of the old settlers. "Several of the citizens of Salt Lake City," says a passage in the History of Brigham Young, Ms., "went to the race course on the other side of Jordan, a little south of the sixth ward bridge, and ducked in the river some 'squatters' who had laid claims to the land over there. They begged for their lives and promised to quit the country. Some board buildings on this, [the east] side of the river, a little north of the main Jordan bridge, were summarily taken down and thrown into the river. . . ."

It was during this land-jumping regime that Dr. Robinson seized upon the Warm Springs property, a tract of about eighty acres of land, with warm mineral springs

upon it within the northern limits of the city corporation. . . . In assertion of his claims Dr. Robinson erected a shanty upon the property, which the city council ordered the marshal to destroy, and eject the intruder. This action was taken, whereupon the case was brought before the chief justice of the territory, Judge Titus, who rendered a decision against the contention of Dr. Robinson, . . .

In addition to this controversy over the Warm Springs property, Dr. Robinson owned a "bowling-saloon" or "alley," which, on complaint of citizens that it was a nuisance, a gambling den, and a place where liquor was sold contrary to the city ordinance, the **police entered and demolished**. The case was taken before the courts by Dr. Robinson and was pending at the time he was killed. On the 20th of October Robinson, under the advice of his counsel, had gone to the house of the mayor of the city, Daniel H. Wells, to give notice that he intended to hold the city responsible in damages for the destruction of the bowling alley. As soon as the mayor learned who the doctor was he ordered him from his house.

Aside from these unpleasant relations with the city, Dr. Robinson is said to have been a man of good character. . . .

Stenhouse doubtless suggests the most reasonable hypothesis of the unfortunate and indefensible affair, viz. , that the killing of Robinson was not a premeditated murder; that the design was "to give him a beating and some rough usage," as had been done in the case of others engaged in these land-jumping operations. But Robinson was a young, athletic man, and when he first discovered so many men of evil purpose about him, he very likely became alarmed, "and in seeking to disengage himself from them, probably recognized some of them, and for their own protection and concealment the fatal violence was resorted to." . . . This hypothesis seems all the more reasonable when considered in connection with the general land-grabbing regime that had been instituted by a number of non-"Mormons" of the city, and the manner in which it had been met by the old citizens, namely, by beating and ducking in the Jordan and otherwise intimidating the intruders upon their lands. . . . the fact should not be lost sight of that these actions in resistance of land-jumping—indefensible as confessedly they are before the bar of public opinion, of civilization, and of history—are not singular to Utah, the habitat of the "Mormon" people at the time. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 201-206)

R. N. Baskin gives this information:

Dr. Robinson was assassinated on October 22, 1866. At that time there were no public or private hospitals in Salt Lake City. He decided to build one, and began by erecting in the vicinity of the Warm Springs, upon unoccupied land situated a considerable distance beyond any habitation of the city, a small frame house to be used as a workshop in the construction of the hospital. Shortly after the workshop was finished a police force tore it down and warned the doctor that it would not be healthy for him to renew his operations there. The doctor subsequently came to my office, and after stating what had occurred, announced that he contemplated bringing suit to recover damages for the destruction of his property and enjoining further interference by the police. He also

stated that another attorney whom he had consulted refused to institute a suit because he feared it would subject him, the attorney, to personal violence. Some of his friends had warned him that he would incur great personal hazard by bringing suit. . . . Shortly afterward he requested me to proceed in the matter, which I did.

A few weeks after the suit was instituted he was called from his bed at midnight by some unknown person, who stated that an acquaintance of the doctor had been severely injured . . . Disregarding the dissuasion of his wife, he proceeded with the unknown person, . . . he was brutally murdered. . . .

Some circumstances antecedent to this murder are significant. A short time before, a crowd of men armed with axes broke the windows, doors, and fixtures of a building belonging to him, and destroyed a bowling alley situated therein. He procured a warrant for the arrest of the chief of police and other members of the police force on the charge of having maliciously destroyed his property, and they were bound over to answer to that charge. Two days before the doctor's assassination he called upon Mayor Wells, who was one of Brigham Young's counselors, and requested him to interpose and restrain the police force. In place of granting that natural and reasonable request, the mayor grossly insulted the doctor and ordered him out of the house.

Doctor Robinson was an educated gentleman of courteous manners and affable disposition. His deportment was in every respect exemplary. He was superintendent of the first Gentile Sunday school in Salt Lake City; was a skillful physician and surgeon; had an extensive practice, and it was generally known that his attendance could always be obtained by anyone, even when compensation was out of the question. He was charitable, and humane motives alone induced him to begin erecting a hospital. He was exceptionally popular, had no known enemy, nor quarrel with anyone except the city authorities. He had done nothing, so far as known, calculated to subject him to any hostility except that of occupying the land before mentioned, which was against the settled policy of Brigham Young respecting the acquisition of property in Utah by Gentiles. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 13-15)

J. H. Beadle points out that Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders had preached "inflammatory" sermons just before the murder took place:

The era of free trade and good feeling was short and the change sudden. In 1865 and 1866 all the California and Nevada volunteers and most of the other troops were withdrawn, and the hostility of the Church was manifested with tenfold more fierceness. All the Gentiles, who had pre-empted land west of the city, were whipped, ducked in the Jordan, or tarred and feathered, and their improvements destroyed; many were threatened and ordered out of the country; Weston, of the *Union Vedette*, was seized at night, taken to Temple Block and cruelly beaten; Brassfield was shot; Dr. Robinson assassinated, and general consternation seized upon the Gentile residents. . . .

For several Sundays Brigham and other leaders had preached the most inflammatory harangues in the Tabernacle, advising the people if any man attempted to pre-empt their land to "send him to hell across lots"

and the like. In more than one instance assassination was openly counseled and threatened, and the people were ripe for any desperate outrage. (*Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, by J. H. Beadle, 1870, pages 203, 204 and 208)

Just two months before the assassination of Dr. Robinson, Brigham Young made this statement in a sermon:

I will say one thing to my friends, or to my enemies as they may consider themselves . . . if you undertake to drive a stake in my garden with an intention to jump my claim, there will be a fight before you get it; if you come within an enclosure of mine with any such intent, I will send you home, God being my helper. You can occupy and build where you please, but let our claims alone. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 260)

Two months after the murder, Brigham Young made these statements in a discourse delivered in the Tabernacle:

. . . I refer to the death of Dr. Robinson. . . . There is a gentleman here this afternoon who has said that he knows all about it. If he does, why does he not tell of it; and privately he places the murder upon President Brigham Young. . . . There are some things that Brigham has said he would do; but has never happened to do them; and that is not all, he prays fervently, to his Father and God that he may never be brought into circumstances to be obliged to shed human blood. He never has yet been [been?] brought into such a position. Still, let me find a dog in my bedroom I would not say that he would be very safe; I hope he will never get there. If I should find a dog in my buttery, or in my bedroom as some have, I fear they would give their **last howl**. I hope and pray they never will come there. If they lump my claims here, I shall be very apt to give them a pre-emption right that will last them to the last resurrection. . . .

I see a notice in the *Daily Telegraph* that they are going to send a detective here to trace the murderers of Dr. Robinson. . . . There are transactions that are too horrible for me to contemplate.

The massacre at Haun's mill, and that of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the Mountain Meadow's massacre and the murder of Dr. Robinson are of this character. . . . To call a physician out of his bed in the night under the pretext of needing his services, and then brutally kill him in the dark, is horrible. . . . If the outsiders think that I am guilty of the crime, let them trace it to me and prove it on me. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, pages 280-281)

The following was taken from an interview with Brigham Young which was published in the *New York Evening Post* on November 7, 1867:

"I have stated that the only explanation given by any of the Mormons of the murder of Dr. Robinson is that it was committed by Gentiles with the object of criminating the church. I called again today on President Young, notifying him that my object was to obtain some facts for the public eye, and in my long conversation with him he said that most of the Gentiles living here were bad

enough to commit any act that would injure him and his people, and that he had no doubt that some wretch had been hired for about \$10.00 to murder Dr. Robinson. He said that Dr. Robinson was one of the worst men he ever knew. "He was saucy and impudent, and pushed himself right against us," he said. He said he was sorry that the doctor had been killed, for he wanted him to live and die in the ditch like a dog, as he would have done if he had gone on. Still, he hoped the murderers would be discovered. . . . "They selected Doctor Robinson," he said, "on account of having difficulty with the Mormon authorities, thereby intending that the blame should be thrown on them." . . . he said . . . that all of the United States judges were a set of prejudiced scoundrels, and he did not want any more of their decisions; that they had better be careful or they would have to go out of this place. "Yes, I'll put them out myself pretty soon; send them home by a short cut." I referred to the destruction of Doctor Robinson's bowling alley, and other deeds of mob violence, to which Young said that in his opinion that band of men had done wrong; that instead of going by night to destroy the building, they should have gone through it in broad day. "**I'd have gutted it at noon, torn it down and destroyed it in the light of day**, so that every man might see me." (*New York Evening Post*, November 7, 1867, as quoted in *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 15-16)

Stanley P. Hirshon gives this interesting information concerning the murder of Dr. Robinson:

At the federal government's request ex-Governor John B. Weller of California investigated the incident. . . . blamed the atrocity on the Mormon church, and insisted there would have been no indifference had Robinson been a Saint. . . . Young, who, as often during the past twenty years, had recently created an atmosphere for violence by vowing from the pulpit to allot claim jumpers "a claim six feet by two, which they can hold till the resurrection day!" . . .

Coupled with Young's interview, the Robinson murder, which was never solved, chilled Gentile spines. In fear McLeod moved to Camp Douglas. Connor too was shocked. "I have not dared to go on the streets of Salt Lake after dark since the assassination of Dr. Robinson," he wrote General Dodge early in 1867, "except when accompanied by a number of friends. . . . Unless some change takes place I shall leave my property, \$35,000 worth, and start for California in the spring." (*The Lion of the Lord*, pages 271-272)

On December 13, 1871, four men were arrested for the murder of Dr. Robinson. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts states:

In addition to the arrests already noted . . . a number of others, including some of the city officers—Alexander Burt, chief of police, and B. Y. Hampton, one of the force, being among the number—were arrested on a charge connecting them with the J. King Robinson murder. They were detained in the city prison at first, but afterward were removed to Camp Douglas. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 408)

Because of the decision in the Englebrecht case the suspects in the murder of Dr. Robinson were never brought to trial. Thomas G. Alexander states:

The Englebrecht decision also made it necessary to dismiss these cases together with cases against several members of the Salt Lake City police force for the murder of Dr. J. King Robinson in October, 1866.

In the latter instance, two alleged eye witnesses, Charles W. Baker and Thomas Butterwood, presented testimony which Baker allegedly swore he had been paid to give. In a letter to the *Tribune* in April, 1874, Butterwood denied that he had perjured himself, but he said that one of the policemen had hired a lawyer named William Kirby to pay Baker to swear that he had lied. In addition, Butterwood apparently became the object of a vendetta by the police of Salt Lake City, where he was, according to court testimony, badgered with nuisance charges. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 93)

J. H. Beadle gives this information concerning other murders which were committed at about the same time Dr. Robinson was murdered:

In a few months after General Connor was removed and the troops withdrawn, there were three atrocious murders and numerous outrages upon Gentiles.

Soon after, three apostates named Potter, Wilson and Walker, were arrested at Coalville in Weber Valley, on a trumped up charge of stealing a cow. This Potter was a brother of those murdered at Springville in 1857, and had been pursued with unrelenting hatred. Several times he had been arrested on various charges and as often acquitted. His death was now determined upon, and one "Art" Hinckley, a "Danite" and Salt Lake policeman was sent for. Evidence afterwards obtained, shows that he was accompanied by another policeman, and joined by parties at different points on his way. They proceeded to the schoolhouse where the three men were confined, and took them out. Walker suspecting foul play, saw two of his guards level their guns at him, when he dodged down and the shots only slightly wounded him in the neck. At the same instant the contents of a heavily loaded shotgun were fired into Potter's body. Walker being an agile man escaped by jumping a near fence, receiving another slight wound in so doing, and made his way through canons and ravines to Camp Douglas. Wilson also ran a little way, but was shot dead. On the evidence of Walker the assassins were arrested, but by the connivance of Mormon officers escaped from the Territorial Marshal, who had them in charge. The Mormon papers labored to explain the affair, stating that the prisoners were shot in attempting to escape from custody; but it is the testimony of all who saw the corpse of Potter, that the gun must have been almost touching his body when fired, and that his **throat was cut** after death. This was no doubt in fulfilment of the penalty in the Endowment oath. Walker remained about Camp Douglas for some time, then suddenly disappeared, and has since never been heard of. Shortly after, a colored man generally known as "Negro Tom," who had been brought to the Territory by the Mormons as a slave. . . . called upon some Federal officials and stated that he could give important evidence

in regard to some of these murders. A few days after, his body was found upon the “bench” two miles east of the city, horribly mangled, his **throat cut from ear to ear**, and on his breast a large placard marked:

“Let White Women Alone.”

In all such cases of assassination the Mormons can command abundant evidence that the victim has “insulted a Mormon woman.” Thus the last witness of these crimes was removed, and the proof put beyond the reach of earthly courts. (*Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, pages 210-212)

Since Potter, Wilson and Walker had been charged with stealing, and since Brigham Young taught that thieves should “have their **throats cut**” (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 597), the guards undoubtedly felt justified in committing this crime. The reader will remember that the “deaf and dumb boy” also had his throat cut. R. N. Baskin made these observations concerning the attack on Potter, Wilson and Walker:

Isaac Potter, Charles Wilson and John Walker, residing at Coalville, were apostate Mormons. Walker was a boy about nineteen years of age. These three persons had previously been arrested for alleged thefts, and in every instance had been discharged by Judge Snyder, who at the time was probate judge of Summit county. In August of this year, they were again arrested on the charge of having stolen a cow . . . the armed men marching behind Potter thrust the muzzle of a shotgun against Potter’s mouth. Potter in terror, shouted “murder!” Whereupon the armed man discharged the gun against the body of Potter at a range so close as to cause his instant death. At the discharge of the gun, both Wilson and Walker broke away and ran for their lives. Wilson was overtaken and killed at the edge of the Weber river. As Walker made his escape, a charge from a shotgun grazed his breast and lacerated his hand and wrist. He was wearing neither coat nor vest, and the charge set his shirt on fire and as he ran he extinguished the fire by the blood from his wounds. He was an athletic youth and soon distanced his pursuers. . . he succeeded in reaching Camp Douglas, where the commanding officer, upon hearing what had taken place, gave him support and protection.

No steps having been taken by the authorities of Summit county to arrest any of the participants in the homicides mentioned, Judge Titus, whose judicial district included Summit county, upon the affidavit of Walker, issued a warrant for the arrest of the persons accused of the crime. They were arrested, and at the hearing before Judge Titus, at which I was present, what I have here stated respecting the murder of Potter and Wilson and the assault upon Walker, appeared from the testimony of Walker, who was a witness. Several of the residents of Coalville testified that they were awakened by the shots fired, and rushed out to learn the cause of the disturbance; that they saw Potter dead upon the ground, with his **throat cut from ear to ear**. . . .

The only excuse ever claimed by any of the accused was that Potter, Wilson and Walker attempted to escape, and were shot while running away. In the light of the fact that Potter’s throat was cut and his clothes scorched by the charge which killed him, and that Walker’s shirt was set on fire by the shot which wounded him, such a claim

is absurd. . . . Walker remained for some time at Fort Douglas after the accused parties were committed, but before the time set for the grand jury of the district court to convene he left the fort to visit his mother at Coalville. He did not visit his mother, but mysteriously disappeared and has neither been seen nor heard of since that time. No doubt he was assassinated before reaching his home. His testimony was necessary to make a case against the accused, and his disappearance gave them perfect immunity. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 9-12)

A number of the victims of the massacre had their throats cut, just in the same way as Isaac Potter . . . who had his throat cut from ear to ear, after he had been instantly killed and was lying prostrate upon the ground from the discharge of a shotgun in his back at close range. Other similar cases have been stated to me, and were given in the testimony at the trials of John D. Lee.

There is no doubt in my mind that all such cases were inspired by the throat-cutting sermons and oath-bound covenants of the Mormon church. The blood-thirsty spirit revealed by these sermons conclusively shows that their authors had vengeful and malignant hearts. To call an organization in which such sermons were tolerated, and afterwards reproduced and perpetuated in its official publications, the “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” is a disgraceful profanation of the sacred name of Jesus Christ. These disgusting sermons of Brigham Young not only emphasize the absurdity of his assumption of divine agency, but resemble the ravings of a vicious lunatic, and are such as no Christian would deliver. (*Ibid.*, page 110)

As to the killing of the Negro man, the early Mormon people could easily justify such an act. Brigham Young himself once stated:

Shall I tell you the **Law of God** in regard to the African race? If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the **penalty**, under the **Law of God is death on the spot**. This will **always be so**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, page 110)

Harold Schindler gives the following information regarding the murder of the Negro man:

Police officers and spectators reacted with mixed emotions when the mutilated body of a Negro, Thomas Colbourn, also known as Thomas Coleman and Nigger Tom, was found behind the old arsenal two miles east of the city . . . His throat had been cut so deeply from ear to ear the head had nearly been severed; a sign pinned to the victim’s bare chest warned: “Notice To All Niggers! Warning!! Leave White Women Alone!!!” At face value, the note seemed to dispel any doubts as to a motive for the slaying; even Achilles agreed:

“Nigger Tom” was accused of being a practical believer in the doctrine of miscegenation, and was consequently condemned by the authorities of the church, and it was assumed that he had practically carried out his belief. His death was decreed under the blood atonement. . . . He was seized and held down by Rockwell’s companions, and Rockwell cut his throat from ear to ear with Tom’s knife. . . . It was never proved that Tom was guilty of the act of which he was accused . . .

So much for Achilles' version of the slaying. Within certain circles in the community it was whispered that Colbourn had signed his death warrant by seeking out several federal officials and volunteering "important evidence" concerning various homicides in the Territory, one of which was supposed to have been the Robinson murder. The "White Women" sign was a decoy to divert suspicion from the real motive, it was said. . . . Whatever ramifications and intrigues were involved in his vicious slaying, the coroner considered the matter too insignificant to justify the expense of an inquest, and as in the case of John Gheen, neglected even to list the case in his register of violent deaths. As far as officialdom was concerned, no crime had been committed; the body was unceremoniously dumped into an unmarked grave and forgotten. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, by Harold Schindler, pages 341-342)

Another murder, committed in 1866, caused a great deal of excitement. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives this information:

During the year 1866 two homicides occurred in Salt Lake City which not only disturbed the local community but attracted the attention of the whole country, and talk was revived in some quarters, for a time, of another military interference in the affairs of the territory. These were the Brassfield and Robinson homicides.

Squire Newton Brassfield was a "Gentile" who came from Austin, Nevada, to Salt Lake City. He made the acquaintance of, and soon married, a Mrs. Mary Emma Hill, (March 27), plural wife of Elder Archibald N. Hill, then absent on a mission in England. No steps were taken to secure a divorce for Mrs. Hill, Mr. Brassfield or his advisers holding, doubtless, that her marriage to Hill had no legal status. There was an attempt made on the part of the newly wedded pair to remove the goods from the residence of Mr. Hill, occupied by the woman; legal resistance through the police was made to this act by the friends of the absent husband; there were threats of violence and the drawing of a pistol upon the officers by Brassfield; the offender was arrested and a charge made against him both for larceny and for assault with intent to kill; on these charges he was released by giving bail. Then followed the effort of Mrs. Brassfield by writ of habeas corpus procedure to secure custody of the children by the former husband, and while this case was pending in court, Brassfield, when about to enter his hotel in company with Captain J. K. Hosmer, United States marshal, some person stepped out of an alleyway, shot him and ran off, pursued and fired at by a policeman in the vicinity, but the slayer escaped without being recognized. About forty-five minutes after he was shot, Brassfield died. . . . The Gentile population raised a subscription reward of \$4,500 for the arrest of the slayer of Brassfield, but neither this nor the efforts of the grand jury elicited any information. The quality of this act was variously viewed by the community. By the non-"Mormons" generally who, of course, had no regard for the sanctity of the plural marriages allowed by the Latter-day Saint Church, Brassfield was justified in marrying Mrs. Hill; indeed it was regarded as a meritorious act; and his taking off characterized as a case of "Mormon

blood atonement." On the part of the Latter-day Saint community, who held plural marriages to be as sacred as monogamic marriages, the act of Brassfield was of the same quality as if he had invaded a monogamic home and taken from it the wife of an absent and undivorced husband. This is clear from the remarks of President Young during the general conference of the church which opened four days after the shooting of Brassfield, and the editorial comment of the *Deseret News*. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 184-186)

J. H. Beadle made these comments concerning the Brassfield murder:

Squire Newton Brassfield, formerly a citizen of California, and more lately of Nevada, while sojourning temporarily in Salt Lake City, formed the acquaintance of a woman who had been the polygamous wife of a Mormon, named Hill, but had left him, repudiated this so-called marriage and claimed that she was entitled at common law to the possession of her children by this Hill, as the offspring of an illegal marriage, or rather of no marriage at all. She and Brassfield were married in legal form by the U. S. Judge, H. P. McCurdy, on the 28th of March, 1866; a writ of habeas corpus was issued from the United States Court for the possession of her children, and the trial set for the night of April the 3d, but adjourned till the 6th. Meanwhile Brassfield had taken a trunk containing her clothing from her former residence, and was arrested by the Mormon authorities on a charge of grand larceny! The ground assumed for this action was that the clothing taken was the property of her husband. It was also charged that he had resisted the officer attempting to make the arrest—an offence universally considered worthy of death by the Mormons. (*Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, page 204)

John Taylor, who later became the third President of the Church, was apparently referring to Judge McCurdy when he said; "What are we to think of a United States judge who would marry a man to another man's wife. He certainly ought to know better. We are told that she was a second wife, and, therefore, not acknowledged" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 223). Judge McCurdy apparently felt that his life was in danger for marrying the couple, for he sent the following telegram to General P. E. Conner:

Great Salt Lake City, April 8, 1866.

Brigadier General P. E. Connor, Metropolitan Hotel, New York: I married S. N. Brassfield to a Mormon woman, on the 28th ultimo. Brassfield was assassinated on the night of the 6th instant. I have been denounced and threatened publicly. Government officials here have telegraphed to the secretary of war to retain troops here until others are sent to relieve them. Call on secretary of war, learn his conclusions and answer; I feel unsafe in person and property without protection.

SOLOMON P. MCCURDY

Associate Justice Supreme Court, U.T.

(*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 189)

On April 10, 1866, General Sherman sent a telegram to Brigham Young in which he stated:

A telegram comes to me from responsible officers that four men styled "Gentiles," have been murdered by Mormons, and that there is apprehension of further danger from this class. By "Gentiles" I understand American citizens not of your religious belief. I am bound to give protection to all citizens, regardless of religious faith, and shall do so. . . . All of our people must have equal rights within the limits of our national domain. . . . our country is now full of tried and experienced soldiers who would be pleased at a fair opportunity to avenge any wrongs you may commit against any of our citizens, even in that remote region. I will soon have regular troops in Utah. . . . I send you this message, not as a threat, but as a caution that a sensible man should heed.

[Signed] W. T. Sherman.

Major General Commanding Department.

(Ibid., page 189)

According to Stanley P. Hirshon, Brigham Young publicly "justified" the murder of Brassfield:

Recognizing only Mormon marriages, Young, who had taken Augusta Cobb, Zina Huntington, Lucy Decker, and Mary Van Cott from their husbands, publicly justified the murder. "Suppose," he asked, "a man should enter your house and decoy away from you a wife of yours, what would you do under the circumstances? I would lay judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet, so help me God. . . . Were I absent from my home, I would rejoice to know that I had friends there to protect and guard the virtue of my household, and I would thank God for such friends." (*The Lion of the Lord*, page 270)

On page 163 of the same book, Stanley P. Hirshon tells of the attempt to murder John Tobin:

Violence, fostered by the pillars of Mormon society, was common in Utah. . . . When Tobin decided to leave the territory and joined a small group bound for California, Young responded angrily. In the presence of Frederick Loba, the Swiss chemist who became a Saint and was ordered to Utah to make gunpowder, he told his son, Joseph, to take some Danites and stop Tobin. Ambushed in the middle of the night about 375 miles south of Salt Lake City, Tobin and his companions fought off the attackers and finally reached California, but in the battle Tobin was shot in the head and lost an eye. Now Loba feared for his life. In April 1857 he and his pregnant wife walked over snow-covered ground to the camp of friendly Indians on the Snake River. (Ibid., page 163)

John D. Lee gives this information about Tobin:

Sometime in the Fall of 1857, not long after the Mountain Meadows Massacre, it was decided by the authorities at Salt Lake City that Lieut. Tobin must be killed. Tobin had left a train at Salt Lake, joined the Church there, and afterwards married a daughter of General Charles C. Rich, one of the Twelve Apostles. Tobin was quite a smart man, and soon after his marriage he was sent to England on a mission.

While preaching in England, it was reported that he had committed adultery there, and he was ordered home. On his arrival in Salt Lake he was cut off from the Church, . . . he got with a company en-route for California, and left Salt Lake, intending to go to California, to escape the persecutions that were being forced upon him by the Church authorities. After he had been gone a few days the "Destroying Angels" were put on his trail, with orders to kill him without fail before they returned. Two desperate fanatics were selected, who knew nothing but to obey orders. Joel White and John Willis were the parties. . . .

White and Willis overtook the company that Lieut. Tobin was traveling with, at a point at or near the crossing of the Magottsey. They found where he was sleeping, and going right up to him as he lay on the ground, rolled up in his blanket, they shot him several times, and at last thinking him dead, they concluded to shoot him once more to make certain that he would not escape. So they put a pistol right up against his eye, and fired; the ball put out his eye, but did not kill him.

The "angels" made their escape and returned to Salt Lake City, and reported that their orders were obeyed.

Severely wounded as he was, Lieut. Tobin recovered, and was when I last heard from him in the Union army. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 273-274)

John D. Lee gives the following information concerning other murders committed in early Utah:

I remember an affair that transpired at the old distillery in Cedar City, just before the massacre. I was informed of it when I went to Cedar City, by the chief men there, and I may say I know it to be true. The facts are as follows: Three men came to Cedar City one evening; they were poor, and much worn by their long journey. They were on their way to California. They were so poor and destitute that the authorities considered they were dangerous men, so they reported that they were spies from Johnston's army, and ordered the brethren to devise a plan to put them out of the way, decently and in order. That the will of God, as made known through Haight and Klingensmith, might be done these helpless men were coaxed to go to the old distillery and take a drink. They went in company with John M. Higbee, John Weston, James Haslem and Wm. C. Stewart, and I think another man, but if so I have forgotten his name. The party drank considerable, and when the emigrants got under the influence of the whisky the brethren attacked them, and knocked the brains out of two of the men with the king-bolt of a wagon. The third man was very powerful and muscular; he fought valiantly for his life, but after a brief struggle he was overcome and killed. They were buried near Cedar City.

This deed was sustained by all the people there. The parties who did the killing were pointed out as true, valiant men, zealous defenders of the faith, and as fine examples for the young men to pattern after. . . .

Many such cases came under my observation. I have known the Church to act in this way and break up and destroy many, very many men. The Church was then, and in that locality, supreme. None could safely defy or disobey it. The Church authorities used the laws of the land, the laws of the Church, and Danites and "Angels" to enforce their orders, and rid the country of those who

were distasteful to the leaders. And I say as a fact that there was no escape for any one that the leaders of the Church in Southern Utah selected as a victim. . . .

In 1854 (I think that was the year) there was a young man, a Gentile, working in Parowan. He was quiet and orderly, but was courting some of the girls. He was notified to quit, and let the girls alone, but he still kept going to see some of them. This was contrary to orders. No Gentile was at that time allowed to keep company with or visit any Mormon girl or woman. The authorities decided to have the young man killed, so they called two of Bishop Dames' Destroying Angels, Barney Carter and old man Gould, and told them to take that cursed young Gentile "over the rim of the basin." That was a term used by the people when they killed a person.

The destroying angels made some excuse to induce the young man to go with them on an excursion, and when they got close to Shirts' mill, near Harmony, they killed him, and left his body in the brush.

The Indians found the body, and reported the facts to me soon afterwards. I was not at home that night, but Carter and Gould went to my house and staid there all night. Rachel asked them where they had been. They told her they had been on a mission to take a young man, a Gentile, over the rim of the basin, and Carter showed her his sword, which was all bloody, and he said he used that to help the Gentile over the edge. Rachel knew what they meant when they spoke of sending him "over the rim of the basin." It was at that time a common thing to see parties going out of Cedar City and Harmony, with suspected Gentiles, to send them "over the rim of the basin," and the Gentiles were always killed.

This practice was supported by all the people, and every thing of that kind was done by orders from the Council, or by orders from some of the Priesthood. When a Danite or a destroying angel was placed on a man's track, that man died, certain, unless some providential act saved him, as in Tobin's case; he was saved because the "angels" believed he was dead, . . . Not far from the time of the Mountain Meadow massacre, there was an emigrant who claimed to be a Mormon, but I never knew whether he was one or not, that worked a number of months for Captain Jacob Huffine, at Parowan. This man wanted his pay; it was not convenient to pay him; he insisted on being paid, but not getting his wages, he determined to leave there. He started away from the settlement at Summit, about seven miles from Parowan. The Indians of Parowan were sent for and ordered to overtake and kill the man. They did so, and shot him full of arrows. The man called to the Indians and told them that he was a Mormon and they must not kill him.

The Indians replied by saying,

"We know you, you are no Mormon, you are a Mericat; the Mormons told us to kill you."

They then beat his head with rocks, and cut his throat, then went back to Parowan and reported what they had done.

I was told all about this by the Indians. But I never enquired into the facts, for I then believed, and still have reason to think the man was killed by authority. He had offended in some way, and his death was like that of many others, the result of orders from the Priesthood. . . .

It frequently happened that men would become dissatisfied with the Church or something else in Utah,

and try to leave the Territory. The authorities would try to convince such persons that they ought to remain, but if they insisted on going, they were informed that they had permission to do so. When the person had started off, with his stock and property, it was nearly always the rule to send a lot of Danites to steal all the stock and run it off into the mountains; so that in the majority of cases the people would return wholly broken up and settle down again as obedient members of the Church. It was a rare thing for a man to escape from the Territory with all of his property, until after the Pacific Railroad was built through Utah. It was the general custom to rob the persons who were leaving the country, but many of them were killed, because it was considered they would tell tales that should not be made public, in the event of their reaching Gentile settlements. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 273, 275, 278, 279, 280, 286 and 287)

R. N. Baskin, who served as mayor of Salt Lake City and as a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah, made these interesting observations concerning the murders committed in early Utah:

In the excavations made within the limits of Salt Lake City during the time I have resided there, many human skeletons have been exhumed in various parts of the city. The present City cemetery was established by the first settlers. I have never heard that it was ever the custom to bury the dead promiscuously throughout the city; and as no coffins were ever found in connection with any of these skeletons, it is evident that the death of the persons to whom they once belonged did not result from natural causes, but from the use of criminal means, and therefore the victims were not given a Christian burial. That the Danites were bound by their covenants to execute the criminal orders of the high priesthood against apostates and alleged enemies of the church is beyond question. . . . How many murders were secretly committed by that band of assassins will never be known, but an estimate may be made from the number mentioned in the confessions of Hickman and Lee, and the number of human skeletons which have been exhumed in Salt Lake City, the possessors of which were evidently murdered and buried without a knell, coffin, or Christian ceremony. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, pages 154-155)

We could show many other cases where men were murdered, but these should be sufficient to convince the reader that Joseph Fielding Smith's claim that no person was ever "blood atoned" in early Utah is completely false.

NO PROTECTION

In a sermon delivered June 19, 1853, Brigham Young stated: "It is true, as it is said in the Report of these officers, if I had crooked my little finger, he would have been **used up**, but I did not bend it. . . . Apostates, or men who never made any profession of religion, had better be careful how they come here, **lest I should bend my little finger.**" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol, 1, pages 186-187)

The people of early Utah knew that this was no idle threat, and that their lives and property were in danger if they opposed Brigham Young's rule. On February 4, 1849, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his diary:

Went to meeting on the warm side of the Fort wall. President **B. Young** spoke giving us general instructions & advice. He said that **none** should leave here & carry off the gold & silver &c without **he pleases to let them that they can not get away unless he sees fit** & those who go away contrary to council **he will confiscate their property**, for **he is boss** &c. (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, vol. 2, page 341)

Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, made these statements in a discourse delivered September 2, 1860: "The moment a young man leaves the Church, he is then a traitor to the law of laws. You know the law of nations is that when a man becomes a traitor to the law of the land, all he has is confiscated, and he is punished accordingly; and so it is in the Church and kingdom of God" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, page 213). Jedediah M. Grant, also a member of the First Presidency, plainly and openly taught that traitors to the Church were worthy of death:

Do traitors to that Government [the United States] forfeit their lives? . . . But people will look into books of theology, and argue that the people of God have a right to try people for fellowship, but they have no right to try them on property or life. That makes the devil laugh, . . . If you shall thus advance, and then turn and trample the holy commandments of God under your feet, and break your sacred and solemn covenants, and become traitors to the people of God, would you not be **worthy of death? I think you would.**

Do you think it would be any sin to **kill me** if I were to break my covenants? . . . Do you believe you would **kill me** if I broke the covenants of God, and you had the Spirit of God? **Yes**; and the more Spirit of God I had, the more I should strive to save your soul by **spilling your blood**, when you had committed sin that could not be remitted by baptism. (*Deseret News*, July 27, 1854)

Norton Jacob once quoted Brigham Young as saying:

A man may live here with us and worship what God he pleases or none at all, but he must not blaspheme the God of Israel or damn old Joe Smith or his religion, for we **will salt him down in the lake.** (*Quest for Empire*, page 127)

On another occasion Brigham Young stated:

They shall reverence and acknowledge the name of God and His priesthood, and if they set up their heads and seek to introduce iniquity into this camp and to trample on the priesthood, I swear to them, they shall never go back to tell the tale. (Clayton Journal, pages 189-197, as cited in *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 163)

Juanita Brooks relates the following:

The second incident happened later, after the arrival of the army, and was also reported in Lee's Diary as well as in the *History of Springville*.

It seems that Jackson Stewart had spoken out against some of the excesses in Springville, and as a result felt that he was under suspicion to such a degree that it might not be safe for him to remain there. So he decided to try to make it over the high mountain to the east of town and perhaps join the army forces. Leaving home without any word to his family, he set out in the night up Hobbler Creek Canyon. All day he traveled, climbing the high mountain and doing well until he was enveloped in a heavy snow storm and became confused as to direction. Passing over a ridge, he came upon a sentry who turned out to be, instead of a soldier, a Mormon sentry placed to stop any who tried to leave. He was held prisoner here until word came from the authorities to bring him in.

When finally the guard brought him down to the road at the mouth of the canyon he was met by a mounted posse with flags and a band. Accompanied by the guard, he was escorted through the town, marching in the rear, while the band played a funeral dirge. He did have a chance to present his case to the stake officials and was promised that he would not be molested. He lived in fear until the next summer, when he went with some emigrants to California. (*John D. Lee*, pages 191-192)

After learning what happened to the Parrishes, Potter and Forbes near Springville, we feel that Jackson Stewart was very fortunate to escape with his life. We can only begin to imagine the fear that must have gripped the inhabitants of early Utah. Nels Anderson gives this interesting information:

A month later Burr wrote another letter to Hendricks, reporting that he had made a contract with a man named Mogo to survey Sanpete Valley. When Mogo got ready to leave the city, he found that ten of his oxen had been stolen. "Suspicion falls on a noted character who stands high in the councils of the Church, but to convict or punish him would be impossible, and it is but another instance that the laws afford no protection to life or property." Burr advised that two persons who could testify feared to talk lest their lives should be in danger. . . .

The "Reformation" was an occasion for every Saint to purge his soul and to be rebaptized, to rededicate himself to the church. . . . Thousands were rebaptized. Repentant backsliders confessed and begged forgiveness of the congregations. There were allegations that many were dragged from their homes and beaten and their property destroyed. Burr did not exaggerate. Some of the Gentiles were in danger.

An example of reformation zeal was reported in a letter sent by Dr. Garland Hurt, sometime in the autumn of 1856, to Brigham Young. With General Burr and other members of the land survey he had visited central Utah. They were on their way to Corn Creek, near Fillmore, to visit the government farm of the Pahvante tribe. As they approached the farm, they noticed two men riding full speed ahead of them. They noticed also, on reaching the farm, that some Indians were riding away in the opposite

say what ought such a people to do with covenant breakers? "Why," says one, "forgive them to be sure." Very good, but what else ought they to do? What does the Apostle say? He says they are worthy of death. I wonder whether he was really in earnest, or happened to get into a wild frock and advanced principles and sentiments that were incorrect? I am inclined to believe his decision was a correct one.

Then what ought this meek people, who keep the commandments of God do unto them? "Why" says one, "they ought to pray to the Lord to kill them." I want to know if you would wish the Lord to come down and do all your dirty work?—Many of the Latter Day Saints will pray, and petition, and supplicate the Lord to do a thousand things they themselves would be ashamed to do. I would like men never to ask Jesus Christ the Lamb of God, his Father, their associates, or the angels of the high heavens, to do anything they would not be willing to do themselves.

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

In the days of Moses for certain crimes they were to bring the guilty persons before the congregation, and each man and woman were required to bring a stone to throw at the person worthy of death.

Then there was another odd commandment.—The Lord God commanded them not to pity the person whom they killed; but to execute the law of God upon persons worthy of death. This should be done by the entire congregation showing no pity. I have thought there would have to be quite a revolution among the Mormons, before such a commandment could be obeyed completely by them. The Mormons have a great deal of sympathy. For instance, if they can get a man before the tribunal admitting the law of the land, and succeed in getting a rope round his neck, and having him hung up like a dead dog, it is all right; but if the Church and Kingdom of God should step forth and execute the law of God, O! what a burst of Mormon sympathy it would cause. I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without a y contaminating influences of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions, that the people of God might lay the axe to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringing not forth good fruit might be hewn down.

"What! do you believe that people would do right, and keep the law of God, by actually putting to death the transgressors?" Putting to death transgressors would exhibit the law of God, no difference by whom it was done; that is my opinion.

You talk of the doings of different governments, the United States if you please. What do they do with traitors?—what mode do they adopt to punish traitors? Do traitors to that Government forfeit their lives? Examine also the doings of other earthly governments upon this point, and you find the same practice universal; I am not aware that there are any exceptions. But people will look into books of theology, and argue that the people of God have a right to try people for fellowship, but they have no right to try them on property or life. That makes the devil laugh, saying, I have got them on a hook now; they can cut them off, and I will put eight or ten splits, worse than they are, into their tabernacles, and send them back to mob them. What a fine thing it was that I got Oliver Cowdery to write that piece on law, and introduce it into the Book of Doctrine and Covenants!

But if the Government of God on earth, and Eternal Priesthood, with the sanction of High Heaven, in the midst of all his people, has passed sentence on certain sins when they appear in a person, has not the people of God a right to carry out that part of his law as well as any other portion of it? It is their right to baptize a sinner to save him, and it is also their right to kill a sinner to save him, when he commits those crimes that can only be atoned for by shedding his blood. If the Lord God forgives sins by baptism, and there is another law that certain sins cannot be atoned for by baptism, but by the shedding of the blood of the sinner, query, whether the people of God be overreaching the mark, if they should execute the law to save such? They used to do it anciently. We would not kill a man, of course, unless we killed him to save him. We would not baptize a man unless we baptized him to save him. We would not lay hands upon a man that he might receive the Holy Spirit, only for the salvation of the man. And every act of men having the priesthood upon the earth, should be for the salvation of the people.

I am aware that there are a great many strange things connected with religion. In one light they

it may be my weakness, and the narrowness of my understanding, that leads me to this conclusion.

The verbal instructions we receive from time to time are good, and refreshing to the mind. We get line upon line; I live on line upon line all the time; it is just as good to me as the sayings of the Bible, Book of Mormon, or Book of Doctrine and Covenants. I would like to see better revelation from those books than President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and the Twelve, have preached from this stand. It tastes to me just as sweet as the revelations contained in those books; their teachings are as delicious to me as anything contained in any of the written revelations of God.

We have line upon line, line upon line, here a little and there a little. We are advancing and growing in grace, and in the knowledge of the truth. When a man undertakes to contract and narrow in his views, he ceases to grow in grace and in the knowledge of the truth. That which is narrow is not Mormonism. That which is limited is not Mormonism! Mormonism is not like the bed that a man cannot stretch himself upon, or the cover that a man cannot wrap himself in.

What have I to do with the first principles taught to me? You talk of the endowments that will make you equalled with God. You talk of his ordinances; but as you advance, you will take upon yourselves more responsibilities, and covenants. When children first go to school, the responsibility on them is light; but as they advance, and become acquainted with principle after principle, doctrine after doctrine, precept after precept, it increases, and they are made more perfect, and prepared by their education and training to occupy an important station in their sphere.—So it is with the people of God. If you shall thus advance, and then turn and trample the holy commandments of God under your feet, and break your sacred and solemn covenants, and become traitors to the people of God, would you not be worthy of death? I think you would.

Do you think it would be any sin to kill me if I were to break my covenants? Let every man preach for himself; I am preaching my own faith to-day. Do you believe you would kill me if I broke the covenants of God, and you had the Spirit of God? Yes; and the more Spirit of God I had, the more I should strive to save your soul by spilling your blood, when you had committed sin that could not be remitted by baptism.

There are principles to suit every state to which we shall advance, thro' all the stages as we rise in the spheres of intelligence, and there are principles to govern us while in those spheres; consequently I want the Saints to understand one or two real practical points as to what they have a right to do.

"But" says one, "will not Uncle Sam play the devil with you?" We are next to him; Uncle Sam is a part of us, and we are a part of Uncle Sam, and it is Uncle Sam and us together. We have a right to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and have a right to carry out our religion; and there is nothing in the Constitution and laws of the United States to the contrary.

May the God of Israel bless you in the name of Jesus: AMEN.

AN ESSAY ON BOOK BORROWERS.

BY "FAUSTUS."

Among the acknowledged pests of polite society that stand pre-eminent, are, 'bores,' 'sponges,' and book-borrowers; the greatest, most unnatural, and most intolerable of which, is undoubtedly the latter.

For the 'bore,' you can cut; perhaps not without some exertion and difficulty, but still you can cut him. You may be 'not at home' when he calls; you may avoid him, or you need not listen to him. The 'sponge' is not difficult of disposal when you have learned his ways and habits. You can when he hasn't his pocket-book with him, or happens to have no other money about him than a bill of unusual magnitude, accidents that frequently occur to him, be yourself out of change or have nothing with you smaller than a ten. Or you can get along with him very comfortably by occasionally lending him a trifle.

But the book-borrower you are usually reluctant to 'cut' so unceremoniously, as he is, for the most part, among your intimate friends. Nor are his demands so easily satisfied. Not like the lion does he feed merely to satisfy hunger, but, tiger-like, is ever ready to pounce upon the unwary or inexperienced, and gorge himself upon the unfortunate victim. He follows with gloating and gluttonous eye the inviting morsel of literature you are carrying home with you, and marks it for his own. You may heap upon him the richest treasures of your library, you can-

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A photograph of the *Deseret News* for July 27, 1854. Jedediah M. Grant, a member of the First Presidency in the Mormon Church, stated that covenant breakers and traitors to the Church should be put to death.

direction. Later they learned that the riders were Mormons going to warn the Indians that the “Americans were coming to their camp to arrest the murderers of Captain Gunnison.” As previously mentioned, some of the Indians of this tribe had been tried and convicted for the murder of Gunnison, but they escaped and were still at large.

Hurt and his party returned to Fillmore and stopped during the evening at the home of a Mr. Peter Robison. In the course of the evening a Mr. Edwin Pugh, a neighbor, stepped in and invited two young men of the party to visit at his house. No sooner did they enter Pugh’s house than some persons began to stone the place. “Mr. Pugh ran out and asked what they meant. They asked what he was doing with those damned Americans about his house.” Apparently the two men visiting with Mr. Pugh, although working for Hurt or Burr, were not “Americans,” but Mormons. Pugh so stated. The voices of the attackers responded from the darkness: “They are no better than Americans, or they would not be with them.”

The incident reported by Hurt reflected the prevailing attitude of the Saints toward the Gentiles. There were other reports of stoning at night the houses of Gentiles and apostates. Thus Utah Mormons in 1856 were conducting themselves like Missouri Gentiles in 1833, when Mormon houses were stoned in Jackson County. (*Desert Saints*, pages 149-153)

The feud between the Governor Cumming faction and the Judge Eckles faction of Utah’s carpetbag government is traced to the poison-pen letters of the latter. On July 9, 1858, Eckles wrote to Secretary of State Lewis Cass that “Brigham Young is de facto governor of Utah, whatever Governor Cumming may be de jure. His reign is one of terror. His unbridled will is king. Every apostate Mormon and every Gentile here, who has hitherto lived in the Territory is in constant fear of personal violence. To me the future is dark and gloomy.” In this letter Eckles expressed regret that all the federal officials in Utah were not united in what he considered the proper course in dealing with the Mormons. (*Ibid.*, page 195)

Those who were appointed to enforce the law in early Utah found themselves in a very difficult and dangerous situation. The U. S. Marshal P. K. Dotson wrote a letter to Judge John Cradlebaugh in which he stated:

I have received from you certain warrants of arrest against many persons, in your Judicial district, charged with murder, including one against J. D. Lee, John Higbee (a bishop), Hoyte (his counselor), and thirty-six others, for the murder of one hundred and nineteen men, women and children, at Mountain Meadows, also one against Porter Rockwell, John A. Wolf, president of the Seventies . . . for the murder of the Aiken Brothers and two others; one against Lewis Bentz and three others for stealing six mules, the property of the United States. . . .

I regret to inform you that it is not in my power to execute any of these processes, I have made repeated efforts by the aid as well of the military, as of the civil posse, to execute the warrants last alluded to, but without success. So great is the number of persons engaged in the commission of these crimes, and such the feeling of the Mormon Church, and the community in their favor,

that I cannot rely on a civil posse to aid me in arresting them. . . . (“Journal History,” June 3, 1859, as cited in *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, pages 292-293)

Thomas G. Alexander gives this information:

As the conflict evolved, a considerable degree of violence took place between Mormons and Gentiles in which McKean or his court was directly involved. . . . A body of what McKean thought were either Danites or members of the Nauvoo Legion tried to intimidate the judge in court. In October, 1874, a group of armed men knocked Marshal George R. Maxwell down and hurt him while he was trying to serve a writ on Brigham Young to secure his testimony before a grand jury. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 95)

J. M. Grant, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, frankly admitted that Brigham Young interfered with the grand jury and claimed that the Mormons did not need courts:

Last Sunday, the President chastised some of the Apostles and Bishops who were on the grand jury. Did he fully succeed in clearing away the fog which surrounded them, and in removing blindness from their eyes? No, for they could go to their room and again disagree, though, to their credit, it must be admitted that a brief explanation made them unanimous in their action. . . .

Several had got into the fog to suck and eat the filth of a Gentile law court, ostensibly a court of Utah, though I call it a Gentile court. . . .

A brief examination will soon convince a person, of only ordinary observation, that the laws of Utah are not administered in our courts, and that the judges must know that fact, and that they have been seeking from the first, with but few exceptions, to overrule them. . . .

I want the Gentiles to understand that we know all about their whoredoms and other abominations here. If we have not invariably **killed** such corrupt scoundrels, those who will seek to corrupt and pollute our community, I swear to you that we **mean to**, and to accomplish more in a few hours, towards clearing the atmosphere, than all your grand and traverse juries can in a year. . . . we are determined to do right, and to set at defiance wickedness and wicked men, and to send them to hell across lots, as quick as we can. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, pages 233-235)

John Cradlebaugh, who served as associate justice of the Second Judicial District in early Utah, made these revealing statements in a speech delivered before the House of Representatives:

Mr. Speaker, having resided for sometime among the Mormons, become acquainted with their ecclesiastical polity, their habits, and their crimes, I feel that I would not be discharging my duty if I failed to impart such information as I have acquired in regard to this people. . . .

Mormonism . . . not only permits, but orders, the commission of the vilest lusts, in the name of the Almighty God himself, and teaches that it is a sacred duty to commit the crimes of theft and murder. . . . And, as if

to crown its achievements, it establishes itself in the heart of one of the greatest and most powerful Governments of the world, establishes therein a **theocratic government** overriding all other government, putting the laws at defiance, and now seeks to consummate and perpetuate itself by acquiring a State sovereignty and by being placed on an equality with the other States of the Union. . . . They teach the shedding of blood for the remission of sins, or, in other words, that if a Mormon apostatizes his throat shall be cut, and his blood poured out upon the ground for the remission of his sin. They also practice other revolting doctrines, such as are only carried out in polygamous countries, which is evidenced by a number of mutilated persons in their midst. . . . they teach that it is a duty to rob and steal from Gentiles. . . . the picture, true to life as it is, has yet darker shades. Murder is openly commanded, and incessant appeals from the self-constituted apostles of Almighty God prove beyond all doubt that its execution is considered and urged as one of the fundamental doctrines to be enforced and acted on by the faithful of the Latter Day Saints. . . . In the few extracts I have to give you, . . . the right and duty of the church to “spill blood” is asserted in the plainest and coarsest words that our Anglo-Saxon language affords. . . . Brigham himself is king, priest, lawgiver, and chief polygamist. Is treason hatched in Utah—Brigham is the head traitor. Are rebel troops mustered against the United States—Brigham is their commander-in-chief. Is a law to be enacted—Brigham’s advice determines it. Is an offending “Gentile” or an apostate Mormon to be assassinated—the order emanates from Brigham. . . . His deluded followers yield him implicit obedience, and a church organization known as “Danites” or “destroying angels,” stand ready to protect his person, to avenge his wrongs, and to execute his pleasure.

Brigham is both Church and State. True, the atrocities committed in Utah are not committed by him with his own hands, but they are committed by his underlings, and at his bidding. He claims that he is not a criminal, because his hand is not seen in the perpetration of crime. He pleads an “alibi,” when he is known to be everywhere present in the Territory. He seeks to avert censure by feigning ignorance of the atrocities of his underlings. Such ignorance can only be supposable on the hypothesis that Mormonism is not a system and Brigham is not its head; that he is a despot without power, or a prophet without the ability to force.

Now, Brigham is either complete ruler in Utah, or he is nothing. The complicity of the church dignitaries, mayors of cities, and other territorial officials, in the crimes that have been committed, demonstrates that those crimes are church crimes, and Brigham is the head of the church. . . . Mormon punishment for Mormon apostasy is like the old curse of former Popes; it extends from the soles of the feet to the hairs of the head. It separates husband and wife; it reaches from the confiscation of property to the severance of the windpipe. Armed with such power over the hearts and lives of the people, Brigham defiantly drives the barbaric chariot of Mormon robbery, murder, polygamy, and incest over all law, in defiance of all Federal officials in the Territory. Brigham not only controls the legislation, but he controls the courts. . . .

This attempt of the Mormons to interfere with the administration of the law, and control the courts, has been one of the chief causes of difficulty between the judges

sent by the Federal Government to Utah, and the Mormon people. From almost twenty judges sent to the Territory, with the exception of two—Judge Zerubbabel Snow, a Mormon, and J. F. Kinney, the present chief justice, the only territorial judge who has not been removed by the present Administration, and who bears the unenviable reputation of being the “creature and tool of Brigham Young”—the testimony has been uniformly to the effect that the laws could not be enforced. Not one of these judges, with the exception of the two named above, have been enabled to serve out the short term of four years. Some have left in disgust, while others were driven away by force.

As one of the associate justices of the Territory of Utah, in the month of April, 1859, I commenced and held a term of the district court for the second judicial district in the city of Provo, about sixty miles south of Salt Lake City. Upon my requisition, General A. S. Johnston, in command of the military department, furnished a small military force for the purpose of protecting the court. A grand jury was impaneled, and their attention was pointedly and specifically called to a great number of crimes that had been committed in the immediate vicinity, cases of public notoriety both as to the offense and the persons who had perpetrated the same; for none of these things had “been done in a corner.” Their perpetrators had scorned alike concealment or apology before the arrival of the American forces. The jury thus instructed, though kept in session two weeks, utterly refused to do anything, and were finally discharged as an evidently useless appendage of a court of justice.

But the court was determined to try a last resource to bring to light and to punishment those guilty of the atrocious crimes which confessedly had been committed in the Territory, and the session continued. Bench warrants, based upon sworn information, were issued against the alleged criminals, and United States Marshal Dotson, a most excellent and reliable officer, aided by a **military posse**, procured on his own request, had succeeded in making a few arrests. A general stampede immediately took place among the Mormons; and what I wish to call your attention to as particularly noticeable, is the fact that **this occurred more especially among the church officials and civil officers**. Why were these classes so peculiarly urgent and hasty in flight? The law of evidence, based on the experience of ages, has but one answer. It was the consciousness of guilt which drove them to seek a refuge from the avenging arm of the law, armed at last, as they supposed, with power to vindicate its injured majesty. It is a well-known fact that many of the bishops and presidents of “stakes” remained secreted in the mountains until the news was confirmed beyond doubt which announced the retrograde course of the Administration at Washington. . . .

The courts being deprived of aid and protection in the administration of the law, no arrests can be made, and no criminals brought to punishment.

Marshal Dotson, holding warrants for the arrest of almost a hundred murderers, including the participators in the horrible butcheries at the Mountain Meadows, is compelled to return those warrants unexecuted, for the reason, as he solemnly states, that he has not the ability to serve them. In utter disgust he resigns his office; and in this connection his letter of resignation, addressed to the President, is worthy of perusal:

The Mormon Kingdom

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY,
August 1, 1859.

Sir: I hereby tender to your excellency my resignation as United States marshal of the Territory of Utah, to take effect from the 20th instant. . . .

The courts of the United States in the Territory, **powerless** to do good, in dreadful mockery of justice, are compelled to lend the power and majesty of the law to subserve the evil designs of the very criminals they seek to punish. Impotent to protect innocence, they encourage crime. . . .

Though willing to serve the Administration from which I received my appointment, I cannot remain an officer of the Government without the power to maintain its dignity. . . .

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
P. K. DOTSON, . . .

I have also shown that they teach and practice the crime of robbery under the assumed garb of religion, and that they also teach and practice the doctrine of shedding of blood for the remission of sins. I have given to you instance after instance wherein they have committed their robberies and murders. I might continue the catalogue if it was necessary. . . .

The people of Utah have nothing but ill will towards our Government. The great masses know nothing of our institutions—they come to Zion, not to America. . . .

Upon arriving in Utah they hear nothing but abuse of our people; the whole fountain of patriotism is polluted, and they are taught that they owe neither allegiance nor love to our Government. Treason and insubordination are openly taught. . . . (“Utah and the Mormons,” a Speech of Hon. J. Cradlebaugh, in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1863, as printed in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, February 23, 1863, pages 119, 120, 121, 122, 124 and 125)

Although John Cradlebaugh presented an accurate picture of conditions in early Utah, conditions have certainly changed. The police in Salt Lake City give full protection to both Mormons and Gentiles, and an apostate no longer has to fear for his life or property. Wallace Turner makes this interesting observation concerning this matter:

A modern apostasy can be understood through the story of the Tanner couple. The fact that today they can live comfortably in Salt Lake City, relatively unmolested by the LDS church (beyond a letter or so from anguished apostles) demonstrates as much as anything could the way the church has changed. In the old days, those who disagreed had better be able to defend themselves. (*The Mormon Establishment*, page 163)



Sandra and Jerald Tanner

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