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The Battle of Nauvoo

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Abstract: A short historical essay on the Battle of Nauvoo, and the persecution that the Latter-day Saints endured in Nauvoo after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and as the Saints prepared to depart for the Rocky Mountains.

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“What thou seest, write in a book.” REV. 1, 11.

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THE BATTLE OF NAUVOO.

In the summer of 1846, while many of the Saints who had started westward from Nauvoo were pursuing their toilsome journey; while others were engaged in establishing temporary settlements and making farms in the wild and unreclaimed districts of the western frontiers (now parts of Iowa and Nebraska) for the accommodation of their brethren who should follow; while five hundred of their most able and serviceable men were responding to the call of the government and leaving their families destitute to march as soldiers to Mexico; and while all were suffering from the hardships and exposure which they, from their circumstances, were forced to endure, hostilities were renewed against those of the Saints who were left behind at Nauvoo. They were generally of the poorest class—persons who had not sufficient means to furnish themselves with teams and the necessary outfit to commence the journey, although they were all anxious to go and their labors were constantly directed to effect that end. Their enemies knew this, and knew also that by continuing their violence the Saints would be retarded in their

preparations to leave. As if this fact stimulated them to be more determined in their vile efforts than ever, they sought by every means in their power to harass them and cause them to abandon their homes without receiving any compensation for their property, or means with which to migrate. In commenting upon the state of affairs which there existed, the *Hancock Eagle*, a paper published in Nauvoo at that time, used the following language:

“In calmly reflecting upon the condition to which this country has been reduced by a gang of ruffians, who style themselves ‘Regulators,’ one is almost forced to the conclusion that we are living in a land over which a free government has not shed its blessed influence. Here, in one of the most fertile regions that the sun ever shone upon—in a district of country that has been settled for twenty years, and in the midst of an enlightened community, the families of worthy and respectable American citizens are as much harassed by the terrors of violence, as if they resided in a wilderness and were daily subject to an assault from savages.”

Nor were the Saints the only ones who suffered from the annoyance and persecutions of the self-styled “Regulators.” The new citizens—those who had recently purchased property and settled in Nauvoo, especially those who were at all friend-

ly to or sympathized with the Saints, were subjected, more or less, to the same threats of extermination and the same jeopardy of life and property.

July 11, 1846, while John Hill, Archibald N. Hill, Caleb W. Lyons, James W. Huntsman, Gardiner Curtis, John Richards, Elisha Mallory and J. W. D. Phillips were engaged in harvesting wheat in a field about 12 miles from Nauvoo, they were surrounded by an armed mob, who completely hemmed them in, thereby preventing their escape, and then ransacked their wagons for their fire-arms. After taking from them every weapon they had, the mob sent to the woods for some long hickory switches. Then taking the defenseless men one at a time they forced them to assume a stooping posture in a ditch, while each of them received 20 lashes across the back with the switches wielded by one of the mob party. As there were but eight of the brethren, they were so completely in the power of these merciless creatures they could not do otherwise than submit to the torture. The mob then smashed four of their guns to pieces over a stump and returned the fragments to them, while they retained the rest of the guns and pistols. The brethren were then ordered with an oath to get into their carriages and drive for Nauvoo, and not look back, and the mob fired a parting shot at them as they did so.

Several of the mob engaged in the affair were recognized, and two of them named McAuley and Brattle were soon afterwards arrested. Following this movement, and in retaliation for the arrest of these men, five of the brethren—Phineas H. Young, Brigham H. Young, Richard

Ballantyne, James Standing and James Herring—were pounced upon by a party of the mob while near Pontoosuc, a town situated about eleven miles northeast of Nauvoo, and forcibly taken into custody. When asked by what authority they acted, the mob replied, pointing their guns at their prisoners, that their weapons constituted their authority. It was sufficient offense for them to be "Mormons." They were taken into the town of Pontoosuc, where they were met by fifty more armed men. There they were informed that they were accused of no crime, but that they would be held as hostages for the safety of McAuley and Brattle, who had been arrested by the citizens of Nauvoo for lynching the brethren, as before described.

Some of the men engaged in making this last arrest were also engaged in the lynching affair, and as if their guilty consciences were smiting them for their evil deeds, they were continually imagining that the friends of their prisoners were on their track. They accordingly hurried them from one place to another, traveling a great deal in the night. Sometimes, when halting for a short time, fear would come upon them, and they would again take up their hurried flight, through woods, thickets and marshes, urging their prisoners on at times by goading them with the points of their bayonets, and this too when they were almost fainting from sickness and fatigue. Once the mob were on the point of shooting their prisoners, and had even cocked and pointed their guns at them, when the alarm was sounded by one of their party that the "Mormons" were on their trail and

it would not do to make a noise, when they again took up their flight. At another time, when the prisoners asked for water to quench their thirst, the mob tried to poison them by giving them liquor containing poison, of which, however, only one of their number, Brigham H. Young, drank. From the effect it immediately had upon him, the brethren were convinced that he was poisoned, but after having laid their hands upon his head and invoked the blessing of God upon him, he was soon sufficiently recovered to resume his march with a little assistance from the others. The mob evidently believed that all of their prisoners had partaken of their drugged liquor, as they afterwards expressed their impatience at their tenacity of life so loudly that the brethren overheard them. After openly consulting upon and attempting one or two other plans of disposing of their prisoners without boldly facing and shooting them, it was finally decided to adopt the latter plan, and the brethren were ordered to form in line to be shot. At this juncture Phineas H. Young plead with the mob to spare the lives of his brethren, and offered his own life if they would only do so. The delay occasioned by this appeal saved their lives, as just then one of the mob party came riding up and reported the "Mormons" 350 strong coming upon them; and again the prisoners were hurried off. After being held captive for twelve days, with very little food, and suffering from exposure and sickness, the brethren grew desperate and determined on attempting an escape, however great the hazard, if their guard could not be prevailed upon to let them go. They made a final appeal,

and the guards were sufficiently moved by it to allow them to go and even aid them in getting back to their homes.

When it was learned at Nauvoo that the above-named brethren had been kidnapped, writs were issued and a call made for a *posse* to go and arrest the kidnappers and rescue the prisoners. This company was under the command of William Anderson and William L. Cutler. They succeeded in arresting 15 of the kidnappers, and found some of the property belonging to the men who had been kidnapped, but could not find them. Another company was raised at Nauvoo for the same purpose, and put under the command of William E. Clifford. These movements excited the mob, and they circulated all manner of false rumors throughout Hancock and the adjoining counties respecting the intentions of the "Mormons," and used all their influence to get the surrounding counties to help them to drive the "Mormons" and "Jack Mormons," as they called those who were friendly to law and order, from the State.

"Another cause of excitement in the county," writes George Q. Cannon, "was the part taken by the Saints residing there, in the election. When the Twelve Apostles left Nauvoo they gave particular counsel that the Saints should take no part in politics or interfere in the elections, as such a course would have a tendency to exasperate the mob, and cause them to commence hostilities upon the defenceless and poor who were left behind, and to stop the sale of property by preventing the influx of new citizens into Nauvoo to make purchases. This counsel was neglected, and its neglect, besides

producing bad feeling, was productive of no good result, for the opposite party beat the party for which the Saints voted in the county by a majority of several hundreds. It is said, however, that this was done by making false returns.

“Levi Williams, who led the mob which murdered the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum at Carthage Jail, and who professed to be a Baptist minister, was very active in instigating the mob and giving them all the aid in his power. The mob succeeded in getting out writs for several new citizens who were objectionable to them, and tried to get them in their power for the purpose of murdering them, but failed to do so. The new citizens of Nauvoo held a meeting August 12, 1846, at which a report was made by the committee who waited upon the mob that had gathered at the house of Levi Williams, at Green Plains, to induce them to return peaceably to their homes. This committee stated that the utter recklessness and want of courtesy exhibited by the anti-Mormons precluded all hopes of treating with them. Several speeches were made and a committee of five appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. These resolutions set forth the threats of the mob to the effect, that if the new settlers of Nauvoo did not drive the Saints from said city across the Mississippi on or before the 10th of September following, they themselves would do so with their own hands in the most violent manner; also that the new settlers would not acknowledge the right of the anti-Mormon party to interfere with them or with their policy, also that they (the new settlers) still contin-

ued to place implicit confidence in the ‘Mormon’ people and the pledges given by them relative to their departure for the West that season.

“A man by the name of John Carlin was illegally appointed a constable by a justice of the peace, and he tried to raise a *posse* to go to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting, upon illegally-issued writs, certain new citizens who had been wrongfully accused of crime. This was a mere pretext for the purpose of creating difficulty and driving the Saints from the city. Mr. William E. Clifford, who was president of the trustees of the town of Nauvoo, but was not a Latter-day Saint, wrote and sent a letter by express to Governor Ford for assistance to protect the town against the mob. The governor sent Major James R. Parker, of the Illinois militia, to Nauvoo, and gave him instructions, that, in case of an attack on the city, he was to take command of such volunteers as might offer themselves, free of cost to the State, to repel it and to defend the city. In some correspondence between Parker and Carlin, the latter said that he would treat him and his officers as a mob, if they attempted to molest him. In the meantime he was doing all in his power to raise an armed force to aid him in executing his pretended writs. Parker issued several proclamations, in one of which he declared Hancock County in a state of civil war. In this proclamation he said:

“Nothing is more absurd than the idea that an armed force is necessary to execute civil process in Nauvoo. I hold myself in readiness to aid in executing warrants issued for the apprehension of any person in this place, or in any other part of the coun-

ty, so soon as the armed force now assembled under pretence of a constable's *posse* shall have been disbanded.'

"General James W. Singleton, of Brown County, took the chief command of the mob. He was assisted by J. B. Chittenden, of Adams County; N. Montgomery, of McDonough County; James King, of Schuyler County; J. H. Sherman, of Hancock County; and Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County. Major Parker wrote to Singleton, the mob commander, for the purpose of effecting a compromise; to which Singleton replied. Parker again wrote, stating that the conditions were under consideration, and soliciting an interview with such persons as Singleton might name to agree upon the articles of settlement. Articles of agreement were drawn up, requiring all the Saints to leave within 60 days, and were signed in behalf of the anti-Mormons by some of the parties above named, and by Major Parker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Edmonds of Nauvoo. Instead of Parker defending the city and resisting the attack of the mob, as he should have done, he treated them as his equals, and made a treaty with them, agreeing to their terms and signing the agreement in his official capacity.

"But the mob were not satisfied with these terms. Sixty days were too long for them to wait. Besides it was not the removal of the Saints they wanted—it was their blood. They wanted an opportunity to murder, to rob and to indulge in general violence. Singleton, when he found what a temper his officers and men were in, resigned his position as their leader; Chittenden also resigned. Singleton wrote to Smith,

Reynolds and Parker, stating that the mob had rejected the articles they had signed, which he thought were as fair as any reasonable or feeling man could ask the "Mormons" to do, and they must therefore consider him no longer connected with the mob camp in its future proceedings.

"Carlin immediately appointed Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County, to be leader of his party, who made "a soul-stirring speech to them." and gave orders to march. The mob themselves reported their number to be seven hundred, with many baggage wagons and every way prepared for a campaign; but it was believed they numbered over a thousand. Many of the new citizens of Nauvoo, feeling the danger was fast approaching, and expecting a general massacre, left the city for other parts. The remaining citizens, what few were fit for duty, prepared for the worst; but the larger proportion of those belonging to the Church were sick and destitute and included many women and children.

"'Old Tom,' as Brockman called himself, no sooner had taken command, than he gave orders for marching. At about half-past 9 on the morning of September 10th, the watchmen, posted on the tower of the Temple, discovered the mob approaching Nauvoo on the Carthage road. The instruction of the governor of the State to Major Parker had been to organize the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves. Four companies of volunteers had been organized. When it was known that the mobbers under Brockman were marching towards the city, these companies were ordered to march out and meet them. By noon they

had reached a copse of timber on the Carthage road, when John Wood, Esq., mayor of Quincy, Major Flood, Dr. Conyers and Messrs. Joel Rice and Benjamin Clifford, jun., also of Quincy, arrived at Nauvoo. The governor had given a commission to Major Flood to raise forces in Adams County for the protection of Nauvoo. These gentlemen were all indignant at the villainous conduct of the mob towards an oppressed and defenceless community. They were anxious, however, to avert the shedding of blood, and Mayor Wood proposed that they proceed to the mob camp and learn if there was any prospect of a compromise. Accordingly they repaired there in a carriage, and had an interview with Carlin and Brockman. That the reader may have a correct idea of the feelings and aims of the scoundrels composing the mob, we will give the proposals of Carlin and Brockman in full:

“September 10, 1846.

“It is proposed, on behalf of the anti-Mormon forces assembled, camped in the vicinity of Nauvoo, by the officers in council:

“1st—That the writs in the hands of John Carlin shall be served, if the individuals against whom they exist, can be found.

“2nd—The Mormons shall all give up their arms to some gentleman, to be agreed on by the parties, and any gun or other weapons shall be returned to the owner, whenever the owner of said gun has *bona fide* left the State with his goods and chattels.

“3rd—The anti-Mormon forces shall be permitted to march peaceably through the city, we pledging ourselves to molest neither person nor property, unless attacked, in which case we will defend ourselves as best we can.

“4th—The Mormons shall leave the State in thirty days.

“5th—The anti-Mormons shall station a force at their discretion in the city, to see that the above terms are complied with.

“JOHN CARLIN,

“THOMAS S. BROCKMAN.

“In behalf of the officers in camp.’

“Carlin had been illegally appointed as a special constable to serve a writ on a supposed criminal. This was the only service it was claimed that he had to perform. But what a change had now taken place! He had become a dictator and claimed the exercise of more despotic power than any king could wield. He had not only called out soldiers by the hundreds from Hancock, the only county in which he could pretend to any jurisdiction as a constable, but from all the surrounding counties. Majors, colonels and other officers were summoned by him. And all this for the purpose of forming a *posse* to serve a constable’s writ in Hancock. At the head of these forces which he had thus summoned he dictated terms to a city, threatening the people with his vengeance unless they complied with them. A so-called constable demanding the arms of the people under pains and penalties, and insisting on expelling them from their homes and from the State, because, forsooth, they were ‘Mormons!’ This was one of the most outrageous proceedings ever attempted.

“Carlin, ‘Old Tom’ and their mob manifested but little respect for the Quincy gentlemen, after giving them the terms upon which they would make a compromise, for, as they returned to Nauvoo the mob fired several cannon balls over their heads. Major Flood had seen enough to satisfy him probably that it would be unpopular with the mob to defend or protect Nauvoo, so he declined to accept the commission of the governor to raise forces in Adams County for that purpose, but as he was empowered to transfer the commission to some citizens of Adams County,

he did so, and it was accepted by Benjamin Clifford, jun, of Quincy. Clifford then took command of the volunteers. Under him Charles M. Johnson continued to act, as he had under Parker, as colonel of the volunteers. Wm. L. Cutler acted as lieutenant-colonel and Wm. Anderson as aide-de-camp. The first, second, third and fourth companies were under Captains Andrew L. Lamoreaux, Alexander McRae, Hiram Gates and Curtis E. Bolton. The next day William Anderson, having received permission, proceeded to choose a band of select men for flankers and sharpshooters. They were called the Spartan Band and were principally armed with repeating rifles. They organized at President D. H. Wells', who was then known as Esquire Wells, because of his being a magistrate, and who took a very active and prominent part in the defence of Nauvoo. Wm. Anderson was chosen first and Alexander McRae second captain. Curtis E. Bolton also joined this band.

"The mob had artillery, and seemed to be well supplied with ammunition of all kinds. For the want of other enemies to fire at, they, in passing corn-fields on both sides of the road, fired their grape and canister shot into them; they made great havoc in cutting down cornstalks. There was no artillery in Nauvoo and it was felt to be greatly needed. Two steamboat shafts, which had lain for years on the banks of the Mississippi River, were found. These shafts were hollow, and it suggested itself to some of the citizens that by cutting them in two, and plugging up one of the ends of each piece with iron fastened in its place by wrought-iron bolts and made

tight by filling up with spelter, a rude but effective kind of cannon might be manufactured. The plan was deemed feasible, and four of this kind of cannon were soon made ready for service. There were probably some fears felt as to whether they would answer the purpose or not, and the first discharge from them was doubtless watched with considerable interest. They might, after all the trouble, burst upon the first discharge. It was no time, however, for nervousness. The mob forces were at the people's doors, and they had to defend themselves against their attacks with such means as were at their command. But the shafts did good service. They stood the fire excellently, and they were the means of intimidating the mob and keeping them at bay. They had expected to make Nauvoo an easy prey, for they knew there was no artillery there. When, therefore, they heard the cannon, they did not know what the sound meant. The "Mormons" were better prepared for defence than they imagined them to be.

"Major Flood did not show his commission to 'Old Tom' Brockman when he was at the mob camp. Mayor Wood and Joel Rice, therefore, walked out there again and read the commission that Brockman might know that he was fighting forces which had been raised by the governor's order. But neither he nor his forces cared for the governor or his orders. They were resolved to drive the people from Nauvoo, and they drew nearer and nearer, advancing in solid columns against the city. There was naturally great anxiety felt by the people of the city. Major Parker, when he left, gave them

reasons to hope that recruits would be sent, by the governor, to their relief. But no reinforcements came, and it became evident that they must rely upon their own resources."

Friday, Sept. 11, 1846, the mob steadily but cautiously advanced towards the city, taking great care to select the places of marching, as they were afraid of secret mines. Their cannon loaded with grape and canister were fired at the companies of volunteers who were endeavoring to check their advance. They fired three rounds at Esquire Wells' house, where his family was at the time. One of the shot tore up some brick at his well; another struck near his barn, and the third passed over his house, just missing a young man who was sitting there watching their movements. William Gheen and his party, who had charge of a cannon, succeeded in checking their advance somewhat, and though the mob made several attempts to outflank the volunteers they were unsuccessful. The missiles which were fired from Captain Gheen's cannon, as well as the others, consisted principally of old irons and bar lead, cut and put into small sacks. At one or two points the mob forces were repulsed and driven back. Several families (some of whose members were sick), living in the east part of the city of Nauvoo, had to vacate their premises hastily, for the mob cannon balls passed their doors and struck in their lots. They fled and left everything in their houses. In the evening, after the firing had ceased, they returned with teams to their dwellings, and removed their clothes, etc.; but their furniture was mostly left.

On Saturday, the 12th, a flag of

truce was brought into the city with the following communication:

"To the Commander of the Mormon forces in Nauvoo:

"SIR—The forces under my command, assembled as a *posse comitatus*, now encamped within half a mile of your city, are determined to enter the same by force unless a surrender be immediately made.

"From motives of humanity I am prompted to give you an opportunity to save the destruction of life and property.

"You can surrender on the following terms.

"1st—Deliver up your arms to our charge, to be returned as soon as your people shall have left the State.

"2nd—The army under my command to enter the city without molestation—for the purpose of making arrests, the men having pledged themselves to me individually and severally, not to destroy life or property unless under my command; and I pledge myself to you that, if you surrender, no property shall be destroyed or life taken, unless absolutely necessary in self defence.

"If you see proper to surrender you can signify the same by nine o'clock this morning; if not, the consequences be upon your own head.

"THOMAS S. BROCKMAN,
Commander-in-chief of *posse* assembled by
JOHN CARLIN, Hancock County, Ill."

To which the following reply was made and sent back in about two hours:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ILL. VOL. CAMP,
NAUVOO, Sept. 12th, 9½ a. m.

*"To Thomas S. Brockman,
Commander of Forces near this place:*

"SIR—Your communication of the 12th inst., sent in my camp this moment under flag of truce, is before me; and after due deliberation I reply; inasmuch as there is no commander here of Mormon forces, I take the liberty to answer your letter.

"I am commissioned by the governor and commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia to disperse your forces in the name of the people of Illinois.

"Your proposition, directed to the commander of the Mormons, can not be complied with. While I deprecate the shedding of blood, even in upholding the laws of our State, I am determined to carry out the instructions of the Executive of the State of Illinois. So far I have acted on the defensive, and for the sake of humanity, if for no other purpose, I hope you will at once see

the propriety and justice of dispersing your forces. The armed force under your command is not necessary for any lawful purpose in this city or county.

"There are a number of highly respectable gentlemen in this city from abroad, who are desirous that there should be no bloodshed. Among them I would name the Honorable John Wood, mayor of the city of Quincy, and J. P. Eddy, Esq., merchant of St. Louis, Mo. They will be the bearers of this communication.

"Any proposition which you may be pleased to make, tending to avoid the taking of life, will be considered.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN CLIFFORD, JUN.

Major Commander Ill. Militia."

The citizens of Nauvoo had remained during the night at the points most likely to be attacked, and had occupied the time in erecting breastworks. Major Clifford occupied Beach's tavern as his headquarters; and Colonel Johnson, who commanded in the field, being sick, the command in the field devolved upon Lieut. Colonel Wm. E. Cutler, with Daniel H. Wells as his aid. After the mob had received Clifford's reply, they commenced the attack with a good deal of vigor, and cannonading, and firing on both sides was very brisk. Captain Anderson, of the Spartan Band, who had displayed great bravery throughout the entire fight was shot in the breast by a musket ball. He lived fifteen minutes, and his last words were those of encouragement to his men. He exclaimed as he was hit, "I am wounded; take my gun and shoot on." His son Augustus L. Anderson was struck by a cannon ball, which hit him in the side and broke his arm. He lived only a few moments. He was aged fourteen years, and was the first person shot while fighting, as he previously remarked he would do, for his mother. The

command of the Spartan Band, after the death of Captain Anderson, devolved upon Captains Alexander McRae and Almon L. Fullmer. Hiram Kimball was slightly wounded on the head by a splinter. David Norris was killed by a cannon ball, which passed through his shoulder, Benjamin Whitehead was shot in the leg, and John C. Campbell in the foot. Curtis E. Bolton was also hit by a bullet, which, however, did not penetrate the flesh.

Doctors Berry and Charles, of Warsaw, who were surgeons in Mr. Brockman's Camp, reported twelve mobbers wounded in the engagement, namely, "John Kennedy, of Augusta, in the shoulder; Jefferson Welsh, of McDonough County, in the thigh; Mr. Rogers, of Adams County, thigh and hip; Uriah Thompson, of Fountain Green, in arm; Mr. Humphreys, of Hancock County, in the thigh severely, and died ten hours afterward; George Wier, Warsaw, in the neck; Captain Robert F. Smith, who commanded the First Regiment, slightly in the neck; Mr. Crooks, of Chili, in the head slightly; Mr. Winsor, of Nauvoo, in the back, while loading; Mr. Denny, of Green Plains, at camp guard; Dr. Geiger, of Nauvoo, in camp; and Mr. Stinson, of Brown County, in the thigh."

The Warsaw *Signal*, a bitter mobocratic paper, said that the mobbers' reason for retreating was that their cannon balls were exhausted, and their commander deeming it imprudent to risk any further advance without these, ordered the men to be drawn off; but, if their cannonballs had held out ten minutes longer they believed they would have taken the city. They stated that they had about five hundred men and four

pieces of artillery engaged in the action; and they thought there was not on record an instance of a longer continued militia fight than occurred on that day. The *Signal* gave the "Mormons" the credit of having stood their ground manfully. Considering how few there were to defend Nauvoo, and the character of the artillery which they had manufactured, the defence was very remarkable. The success which attended the efforts of the citizens to repulse the enemy was due to their bravery and the energy and zeal of their commanders, as well as to the fear which the mob had of the "Mormons."

On Sunday, the 13th, there was considerable skirmishing, and the *Warsaw Signal* reported one anti-Mormon badly wounded. After dusk the citizens of Nauvoo advanced with two of their cannon and fired into the mob camp and caused them to scatter. At the second discharge one of the cannon, as the steamboat shafts were called, burst into thirteen pieces without injuring anyone.

On the 14th there was some cannonading during the day, and the people of Nauvoo repaired and extended their batteries.

On the 15th the Spartan Band and the "kill-devils," as a band composed principally of new citizens was called, kept so strict a watch on the movements of the mob that they could not go to water their horses without being saluted by rifleshots. Occasionally a few rounds from the cannon were fired that day.

Several gentlemen from Quincy were in the tower of the Temple, in Nauvoo, watching the progress of the fight on Saturday the 12th. Immediately after the battle, Mayor

Wood and Mr. Rice started for Quincy, called a meeting of the people, and gave an account of what had taken place in Nauvoo. It was decided that a committee of one hundred citizens of Quincy should go to settle the difficulties in Hancock County. They arrived in Nauvoo on the 15th. The ostensible object in coming was to prevent the shedding of blood; but their friendship for the citizens of Nauvoo was not real. They were the strongest anti-Mormons that could be found in Adams County. On that account Messrs. Wood and Rice, with several others, refused to act as members of that committee. These people brought their fire-arms with them, which they took great pains to conceal, and it was understood that if they did not succeed in making the compromise, they intended to join the mob. Only a part of them came into Nauvoo, as sub-committees were appointed to transact the business.

On the 16th the mob commenced cannonading. A compromise was, however, in progress. A lengthy correspondence was going on between the sub-committees of the Quincy committee, the mob camp, Major Clifford and the Church trustees, which resulted in the following:

"Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into this 16th of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer, trustees-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the *posse*, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the *posse* of Hancock County, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

"1st—The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock p. m.

"2nd—The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

"3rd—The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

"4th—The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

"5th—The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

"6th—Five men, including the trustees of the Church (William Plekett not one of the number), to be permitted to remain in the city, for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

"7th—Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of the duty as soon as they think proper.

"We, the undersigned, subscribe to ratify and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year above written.

"ANDREW JOHNSON,

Chairman of the Committee of Quincy.

"THOS. S. BROCKMAN, Commanding *Posse*.

"JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.

"A. W. BABBITT, } Trustees-in-trust for the
"J. L. HEYWOOD, } Church of Jesus Christ
"J. S. FULLMER, } of Latter-day Saints."

When many of the volunteers learned that articles of agreement had been agreed upon between the trustees and the mob for the surrender of the city, that the mob forces were to occupy it, the "Mormons" to deliver up their arms and leave as soon as they could cross the river, they felt very enraged. In discussing the affair at Beach's tavern, Squire Wells, who overheard their remarks, expostulated with them, and said:

"There is no use in the small handful of volunteers trying to defend the city against such an overwhelming force. What interest have the Saints to expect from its defence? Our interests are not identified with it, but in getting away from it. Who could urge the propriety of exposing life to defend a place for the purpose of vacating it? I have been in the councils of Joseph and Hyrum and the Twelve, and I know they

were desirous that the Saints should leave the State and go westward. Have not the Twelve and most of the Church gone, and is not their counsel for us to follow? Have not they told us that our safety was not in Nauvoo, but in our removal westward?

"The trustees have no means with which to carry on the defence; they are already involved. Major Parker, who was sent by the governor to aid us, when he left, promised to raise men and return immediately to our assistance, but he has forsaken us, and is it not well known that the Quincy Committee was prepared to join the mob, if a treaty was not effected? Under these circumstances, I have thrown in my influence with the trustees for the surrender of Nauvoo upon the best terms we could get, and as being the best and only wise policy left for us to pursue.

"Brethren, reflect, we have nothing to gain in defending Nauvoo, but everything to lose; not only property, but life also, is hourly in peril."

Esquire Wells had but recently joined the Church; but he had been a prominent man in the affairs of Nauvoo from the time of the organization of the city, and had been intimate with the Prophet Joseph, President Young and the Twelve Apostles. This, and his distinguished gallantry in helping to defend the city, gave him influence among the people, and his counsels and words had great weight with them.

Mr. Brayman, agent of the governor of Illinois, upon hearing the treaty read, declared that it surpassed anything of the kind that he had ever read or heard of. He knew the volunteers were acting under the orders of the governor, and yet they were overpowered by the mob and forced to agree to terms of banishment to save the lives of themselves and their families. There were women and children also there, some of whose husbands and fathers were in the United States army, and had started for California on foot, over pathless deserts and mountains,

to plant their country's flag in distant lands. To see their wives, children and friends driven from their homes by a bloodthirsty mob, caused Mr. Brayman to shed tears. There were others also from different parts of the Union who were eyewitnesses of these outrages, who were similarly affected at the sight.

As soon as the treaty was effected, the volunteers were disbanded, and made preparations to vacate the city. Some went up the river, others down, while a few crossed over to Iowa as fast as they could. About 3 o'clock on the 17th of September the mob forces, numbering over fifteen hundred, marched into the city. They camped at the foot of the hill near Parley Street. Speeches were made to them, and some of them screamed and yelled like savages. The chairman of the Quincy Committee took possession of the keys of the Temple; but the mob paid no attention to the treaty, and the Quincy Committee, had they been so disposed, had not the force to compel them to regard it. No sooner had they encamped than a company was dispatched to search the wagons that were on the bank of the river, and they took all the guns and pistols they could find. The houses of Brothers Fullmer and Heywood were entered, and everything in the shape of arms and ammunition was seized, and their families threatened. Parties of armed men roamed around town ordering families to leave at short notice. Even the sick were treated with cruelty, and families were molested while burying their dead. The mob went through the Temple, up to the dome of the tower, and rung the bell, yelling and shouting, some of them inquiring, "Who

is the keeper of the Lord's House now?" A preacher, who was in the mob, ascended the top of the tower, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "Peace! Peace! Peace! to the inhabitants of the earth, now the Mormons are driven!"

The mob forces held their headquarters at the Temple. They established a sort of a court at which the right of several of the inhabitants, who were not "Mormons," to citizenship was tried. Some of these people, with their families, were ordered forth in two hours. This mob company went from house to house plundering cow-yards, pig-pens, hen-roosts, bee-stands, bursting open trunks and chests, and taking everything they wanted without stopping to inquire whether the plunder belonged to the "Mormons" or not. Several of the Saints, including Charles Lambert, Daniel Davis, Silas Condit and some others, were seized by the mob and baptized in the river. The mobbers thus engaged used the most blasphemous language, while their companions stood swearing and yelling on the bank. They also seized Colonel C. M. Johnson, led him to the Temple, tried him by court-martial and passed sentence of death upon him; but they disagreed about the manner of his execution, and finally ordered him to leave the city. W. E. Clifford, in alluding to what had occurred in Nauvoo, wrote:

"When the mob marched into and took possession of Nauvoo, I proceeded to Burlington. I returned to Montrose in ten days, and remained two weeks, not being permitted to enter Nauvoo. I find cases of suffering and destitution at which I shudder. The poor, the sick and the infirm on the banks of the Mississippi; some with nothing but God's canopy for a shelter, no food but what they received at the hands of

charity, and this, too, in a government that is called republic, the constitution of which guarantees to every one his just and equal rights."

Several articles appeared in the St. Louis papers describing, in eloquent and heart-touching language, the condition of the Saints, on the bank of the Mississippi River. The St. Louis *Reveille* said they were literally starving under the open heavens, with not even a tent to cover them. Women and children, widows and orphans, the bed-ridden, age-stricken, and the toilworn and pauper remnant of a large community; and that paper called upon the people to help them.

The condition of the exiled Saints was indeed wretched, and had it not been for a providential flight of quails in large flocks, they would have endured much greater suffering. But it seemed as though the Lord had special compassion for His people in their deep distress, for He sent them a supply of food, in the shape of quails which settled in such numbers

about their tents and wagons that many caught them with their hands. The people praised God that in their persecutions and wanderings in the wilderness, His goodness and mercy were manifested towards them as strikingly and in a similar manner to what they had been to the Children of Israel, while Moses was leading them on their dreary march through the wilderness to the Promised Land.

The arms which the mob took from the brethren's wagons were never returned to them. If there was a good rifle taken, some anti-Mormon would be sure to appropriate it to his own use, and if anything was left in its place, it would be a poor gun, of little or no value to anybody.

After camping for several days on the banks of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, this last remnant of the Saints were enabled to remove to Winter Quarters, from whence teams had been sent for the relief of the poor. (See page 838.)

THE NAUVOO TEMPLE.

Soon after the Saints commenced to gather at Commerce, Hancock County, Ill., the authorities of the Church began to talk upon the subject of building a Temple at that place. Several councils were held and a place selected whereon to erect such a building. The place selected was the most elevated piece of ground within the Nauvoo town survey, being also centrally located on what afterward became Block 20 of the Wells Addition. The Temple site overlooks the Mississippi River, the landscape on the Iowa side and all the surrounding country for miles.

The matter of building a Temple was laid before the general conference held at Commerce, Oct. 6, 1840, when the Church voted to commence the work immediately. On this day also the conference appointed Alpheus Cutler, Elias Higbee and Reynolds Cahoon as a committee of three to carry the business into operation and to oversee the work. During the conference, which lasted three days, the Prophet Joseph explained to the Saints the law of tithing and the plan upon which the building of the Temple was to be conducted.