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*Mormonism in Illinois 1839-1847: a study of the
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a sociological account of the development of conflict between a religious group, the Mormons, and the society which acted as their host, mid nineteenth century Illinois. It traces the deterioration of the relationship between the Mormons and their host from one of friendly sympathy to one of open warfare, and seeks to explain this decline with the aid of sociological concepts. It does not attempt to put forward a theory of conflict, nor to give a history of Mormonism in Illinois. Rather, it attempts to give as full an account as possible of one instance of conflict and place this particular sect in its social and historical context.

The thesis first considers whether social-structural conditions in Illinois, prior to Mormon entry, in conjunction with the scapegoat theory of prejudice, can help to explain the generation of hostility. It then goes on to consider possible alternative explanations emphasising the interaction between Mormon and Gentile within the context of Illinois society. The analysis concerns itself with the reasons why the Mormons were welcomed into the state and the possible influence which Gentile expectations had on subsequent definition of the Mormons as deviant. The escalating effects of the failure of two strategies designed to win the struggle, namely, the use of institutional facilities and mounting a moral crusade, are then examined. This is followed by an assessment of the reasons for the deterioration of the situation into violence and for the routinisation of this violent response. Finally, the effect of the conflict experience upon the development of the Mormons as a religious sect is considered.

Mormonism in Illinois 1839-1847: A Study of
the Development of Socio-Religious Conflict

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Ph.D. University of Durham, Department of Sociology, 1979.

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Declaration: This thesis is the individual work of the author.
 No part of the thesis has been submitted for any
 degree in this (Durham) or any other University.

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Introduction

This study began with an interest in the conflict which often occurs between a religious group and the society which acts as its host. Numerous lines of inquiry suggested themselves concerning the origins of such conflicts - how they developed and how they came to an end. The role of doctrine in precipitating conflict was also an early topic of interest. In narrowing down such a broad interest into manageable proportions two very basic problems had to be dealt with. Firstly, some analytical decisions had to be taken as to what one would count as an instance of "conflict" and how one should approach a study of it. The nature and causes of human conflict have been debated so often that any student approaching the literature is overwhelmed by its volume and variety. Before any empirical analysis was possible, however, some rudimentary decisions had to be taken concerning the relative merits of the existing approaches to conflict in terms of their potential usefulness in studying such a conflict as was envisaged. The second problem was choosing a suitable instance of what could be identified as "conflict" between a religious group and its host society. This was no less formidable a task than the first, given the plethora of religious groups which have been at the centre of disturbances in their social environments. It is the aim of this Introduction to outline the answers that were found to these two methodological problems.

Approaching the Study of Conflict

Given the vastness of the literature on conflict it is obviously

impossible, even if advisable, to present a systematic review of existing work. What is intended here is to place the thesis in the context of extant approaches to the study of conflict - to clarify which types of approach will be used and which avoided. Very generally, the literature on conflict shows that there cannot be one definitive approach. One can also clearly detect a tendency inherent in many studies to over-emphasise questions of how to define conflict and where to locate "the" cause of conflict within a given social structure. Such quests for all-embracing definitions and mono-causal explanations of conflict lead to a neglect of social processes which might influence the development or escalation of a conflict situation.

At the macro-sociological level, two extreme approaches compete for acceptance as general theories of society and of social conflict, namely functionalism and endemic conflict theory. The debate at the level of general theory is concerned with whether conflict is inevitable and how consequential it is for society, as well as seeking to locate "the" basis of conflict within the fabric of society.

Functionalism projects a view of society in which conflict, if its existence is explicitly admitted, is never considered disruptive of an underlying social order. Society is formally conceived as composed of inter-acting subsystems which are mutually inter-dependent and symbiotic. This encourages the belief that society, on the whole, maintains itself in a state of static harmony. This tendency to view society as in a constant state of equilibrium has led to criticism of functionalist interpretation on the grounds that it can

not deal with social change. Such concepts as dynamic equilibrium, structural differentiation and dysfunction have therefore been introduced. They attempt to explain change within a functionalist framework and account for phenomena which do not promote the adaptation of society.¹

Yet such concepts can not relieve functionalism of the criticism that it presents an essentially static view of society, lending itself to ideological defences of the status quo and advocacy of gradualism in social change. The ideological converse of functionalism offered by endemic conflict theorists presents a view of society in which conflict is inevitable and disruptive, although not necessarily undesirable. Such endemic conflict theorists gravitate, to a greater or lesser degree, towards a central Marxist hub. Some, like the "radical" sociologists see the role of sociology itself as the politicisation of sociologists, while others, like Chambliss² present a more generalised stance which is pro-Marxian, anti-bureaucracy and critical of existing social inequalities. The location and description of elites and classes figure prominently in such analyses which are self-consciously offered as more compatible with social reality than functionalism.

The problem of deriving empirically adequate theoretical concepts has been as crucial for conflict theorists as for functionalists. Dahrendorf, for example, attempting to go beyond Marx, saw conflict as inevitable given the unequal distribution of authority within society and it was the system of authority relations which he believed was the wellspring of class conflict.³ He became unhappy about the empirical validity of this definition, however. In a later work⁴ he

characterised society as being composed of structures of conflicting interests: interests being interpreted as the basic desire to improve one's life chances. The notion of conflict itself became "softened", being replaced by the notion of "contest". Many questions as to precisely how people acquire control over the life chances of others and how the struggle evolves, were left unanswered, partly because of the shortness of the work.

An eclectic approach was attempted by Collins, who derived his theoretical constructs from such diverse sources as Weber, Marx, Darwin, Durkheim and the German subjective idealists. A basic theory of stratification and a conflict theory of organisation formed the foundation of his work. From this foundation Collins believed it was possible to derive the rest of social theory.⁵ Collins' approach led to the generation of numerous hypotheses which, being highly specific, can not be used as a general guide as to how to approach the study of a conflict situation, but prove useful in suggesting various avenues of possible enquiry.

The ideological overtones of the functionalist versus conflict theorist debate render any decision to apply either almost a declaration of faith - a declaration of allegiance to either the conservative or radical camps. While such ideological questions must be left to one side and while the implementation of either approach would not offer a mode of explanation for the development of a particular conflict, such general theoretical propositions are not entirely without value. They both offer clues as to where conflict may arise within a given social structure and point to possible basic causes for the existence or non-existence of conflict in particular cases.

Similarly one can criticise definitions and typologies of conflict for ignoring questions of process, yet still acknowledge that they facilitate identification of potentially crucial differences between conflict situations. They provide labels for the stages in the development of a conflict but often leave to one side the question of what social processes are effective in between these stages. Simmel, for example, made much of the differences between conflict and competition, implicitly attempting to determine the degree of antagonism necessary to warrant use of the term "conflict".⁶ In general, debates about the definition of conflict have converged upon a view of conflict as a "clash of interests".⁷ Interests are usually classified into value, economic and power interests. Religious conflict in the context of such debates is seen as value conflict, in the same sense as competing political ideologies would be analysed as clashes of value interests.

Typologies of conflict may be little more than complex elaborations of the definition of conflict as incompatibility of interests. Often they become idiosyncratic lists which are not always transferable or in any way applicable to other areas of work. Some are more helpful, like Etzioni's "self-encapsulating conflict"⁸ or Gamson's "rancorous conflict"⁹ which seek to ground the type in the nature of the norms governing the course of the conflict. This approach to typologies of conflict goes beyond the definitional confines of interests and moves towards a characterisation of the more dynamic aspects of conflict.

It would therefore appear unprofitable to work towards some definition of conflict per se or of religious conflict as this could only describe one over-riding characteristic of the conflict and would ignore the multi-faceted character of its development. The problem would appear to be that the literature on conflict has become analytically diffuse without paying as much attention as one would like to the dynamic aspects of conflict. Definitions are useful, however, as starting points to ensure that all recognise the phenomenon under study. But there appears to be little to be gained by making that definition the centre of one's analysis. In view of this it would seem appropriate to operate with a minimal dictionary definition of conflict, rather than impose a type upon the situation under study and interpret all manifestations of antagonism in terms of that type. The term "conflict" will here be used to refer to those situations in which one can identify "collision, clash, incompatibility or a prolonged struggle".

A critical review of the macro-sociological approaches to conflict pointed to the presence of an analytical need to look at, and possibly explain, some of the dynamic aspects of conflict. Many of the micro-sociological approaches to conflict purport to do just this and so it is these which are given most emphasis in the thesis.

One such approach which puts forward an explanation for the development of conflict is that adopted by Gurr, which uses the concept of relative deprivation.¹⁰ Gurr attempts to use the concept to account for various forms of social rebellion. To be relatively

deprived is to perceive a discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities. The main deficiency of such a concept when applied to a dynamic situation is that it makes no allowances for changes in the situation. The cause of the conflict is stated at the outset and little attention is paid to the possible effects of changes which occur as the situation develops. Thus mobilisation of support, the changing alignments of parties and possible changes in issues are given little attention. (see Chapter 6 for further consideration of relative deprivation as an explanation of violent action). This freezing of the conflict into a form amenable to mono-causal explanation is also apparent in another common theory, used particularly where minority groups are involved, namely scapegoating. Scapegoating asserts that the object of hatred of one party to the conflict is the arbitrary choice of another party which is experiencing frustration from a third party. The notion of scapegoating in effect denies potency to the perceived grievances of the parties, for they are seen as mere rationalisations to justify an irrational expression of hostility. (see Chapter 1).

More directly concerned with an interactionist view of the generation of conflict and hostility are social-psychological studies such as those of Sherif which focus directly on the interplay between parties to a potential conflict, assuming that the conflict emerges from such interaction.¹¹ Great attention is paid to the development of in-group and out-group feeling, particularly the arousal of negative stereotypes which epitomise "we-they" feeling. Such approaches are useful when attempting to understand the initial

phase of a conflict as they offer a mode of explanation for the formation of parties to the conflict. But too great an emphasis upon the bald interaction of the parties can lead one into a too individualistic view of the conflict, in which one ignores external social-structural factors which may influence the nature of the interaction and thereby the course of the conflict. (see Chapters 3 and 4).

The question of the mobilisation of support for acts of collective behaviour which has often largely been ignored in definitional and mono-causal studies, has been tackled by Smelser in his work on collective behaviour.¹² Smelser attempts to draw out a theory of collective behaviour which can account for the rise of discontent and the organisational form which it takes. Smelser's work is rooted in the action-theory perspective which is an adjunct of functionalism. His analysis thus suffers from the tendency within functionalism to freeze the social system and analyze it in terms of formal inter-acting subsystems. His work is tightly embedded in an intricate framework of the restructuring of social action and does not lend itself to the formulation of easily transferable propositions concerning the dynamics of the organisational forms of collective behaviour. His strict typology also tends to separate certain forms of collective behaviour and elevate them as distinct types when in fact they may be highly inter-related aspects of one instance of collective behaviour. (see Chapter 7).

Another attempt to outline the stages through which a controversy passes has been made by Myers and Fuller who formulated

the "natural history" approach to social problems. This approach, as reviewed by Lemert,¹³ lays down certain stages through which a controversy is thought to move towards resolution. The three stages in outline being; awareness, policy formation, and reform. Specifically applicable to public opposition to Government policies, this approach contains many assumptions which may or may not pertain in any one particular empirical situation. It need not necessarily be the case, for example, that the controversy will be based upon a conflict of values, or that there will inevitably be reform at the end of the day. Studies which have looked at the progress of community conflicts concerning Government policies such as Crain et.al. on the adoption of fluoridation, have tended to stress the actions of administrators, largely bypassing the activity of potential grass-roots movements, and have, as a result, been rather one sided from an interactionist point of view.

One model of the generation of escalating hostility which seeks to be both dynamic and interactionist is the "Deviance Amplification" model, used to account for the growing polarisation between two parties to a conflict. The way in which Wilkins' model has been used implies a chain reaction between hostile public response and the increase of deviant behaviour.¹⁴ The deviant is assumed to become alienated from society when he perceives that society reacts to his behaviour in a negative and hostile fashion. This is believed to propel him into further deviance, pushing him away from the boundaries of normal, conforming social life. The immediate problem which this model poses for empirical application is its assumption that there will be uniform responses from both the deviant and the public. The increased deviance which results from the hostile public reaction is thought to intensify, or amplify,

the severity of that reaction. The mutual reinforcement of deviant behaviour and public response poses the additional problem of how conflicts ever end or at least de-amplify. The model does not allow for the contingent possibility that a hostile public reaction accompanied by social sanctions may be successful in eliciting conformity from the deviant.¹⁵ While deviance amplification may be criticised for not making allowances for major contingencies, it is recognised that it is notoriously difficult to do so if one is to make any coherent generalisations about conflict development. The problem is probably best demonstrated by the impasse into which a game theory approach leads. (see Chapters 3 and 5 for further discussion of deviance amplification).

Game theory models of conflict attempt to analyze interactive sequences in terms of the moves the parties will make as part of a rational strategy to maximise positive outcomes for themselves. Taking this kind of approach one can generate conflict spirals similar to the deviance amplification model. For example, North et.al., working in the field of international relations set out to test the proposition that

If State A - either correctly or incorrectly - perceives itself threatened by State B, there is a high probability that A will respond with threats or hostile action. As State B begins to perceive this hostility directed toward itself, it is probable that B, too, will behave in a hostile (and defensive) fashion. This threatening behaviour by B will convince A that its initial perceptions were correct, and A will be inclined to increase its hostile (and defensive) activity.¹⁶

The proliferation of such contingencies emphasises the problem of bridging the gap between analytical generalisation and empirical validity. Game theorists themselves have found it necessary to

delineate special types of conflict game in order to move closer toward empirical reality.¹⁷ Also problematic is the central assumption of game theory that all players will act rationally to realise their goals.

It would appear that no existing approach to conflict is entirely satisfactory. While such a conclusion would seem to pose the problem of finding "the" approach, this is not what is intended here. Rather, it is to be concluded that no single approach is satisfactory; nor could any approach alone give a full account of any complex empirical instance of conflict.

The search for a mono-causal explanation of conflict is thus thought to be something of a lost cause. What the micro-sociological approaches to conflict offer are a set of competing propositions which need to be applied. Such propositions require confrontation with detailed analysis of a conflict situation to assess their usefulness in understanding an empirical instance of conflict. It is this task which is to be engaged upon here.

A Case in Point

Before any such confrontation could begin, an empirical case of conflict which offered the potential scope for such a confrontation had to be located. Given the concern to examine the development of conflict in detail, Mormonism was originally decided upon because it had generated what would unmistakably be termed "conflict". It

also had the advantage of being extremely well documented in certain respects due to the stress which the Church has always placed upon keeping a record of its history. Other sects which were given cursory consideration did not seem to offer the same potential. It very soon became evident that it was the Mormon past rather than the Mormon present which offered the greatest scope for an examination of conflict between Mormon and non-Mormon. The Mormons have always participated in or sought to change the social environments in which they have found themselves. Such a willingness to interact with their surrounding society indicated that any conflict which developed would present an interesting admixture of social and doctrinal factors.

The ample documentation of Mormon history, while welcome, presented a formidable problem in terms of doing justice to it if the entire Mormon past was to be considered. It therefore seemed advisable to narrow the scope of the study further and look at one particular period within Mormon history.

The Utah phase of Mormon history encompassing the years 1847 to the present, saw many controversies between the Federal Government and the Church, particularly the struggle over the practice of polygamy. The Mormons were the first white settlers in the Territory of Utah which made it "Mormon Country", the non-Mormon population being in a minority. This period, therefore, seemed limited insofar as it offered little scope for the analysis of conflict at the level of the community. Previous periods of Mormon history were also considered. The early periods in Kirtland, Ohio and various locations in Missouri, spanned the years 1831-1838, directly

preceding the Illinois period. Both periods saw some conflict between the Mormons and their hosts, yet both appeared less problematic than the Illinois period in terms of explaining the generation and development of the conflict which arose within the respective communities. The conflict at Kirtland was largely attributable to economic and internal problems; the hostility in Missouri was heavily coloured by the cultural clash between non-slaveholding Mormon Yankees and slaveholding Missourians. Illinois provided the best prospect for the study of the development of conflict, for the Mormons were primarily seen as suffering victims when they entered the state and yet within approximately five years, blood had been shed in opposition to them. The transition was worth investigating.

The Illinois period also offered greater possibilities in terms of original research. Much new material was coming to light about this period in the nineteen-seventies and it was hoped that it would be possible to capitalise upon this trend and bring additional material to light. While a great deal of primary source material of this period had been collected by various institutions, little interpretative work had been done by non-Mormons. Nor had there been any attempt to apply a broad sociological perspective to the problem of the generation of conflict in Illinois. There thus seemed to be an analytical need to be met here. Many histories of the Mormon Church have been written and so it was not intended to embark upon a history of the Church in Illinois per se. The task first and foremost was to understand the conflict.

The question remained of how to approach an analysis of this conflict between Mormon and non-Mormon in Illinois, given that no single existing framework was to be adopted as the major tool of exegesis. Some studies have approached the problem in terms of the various types of conflict which collectively make up the whole. The structure of such analyses is in terms of the economic, religious, social, political and organisational reasons for the generation of hostility. Such an approach leads to the reification of elements within the conflict by wrenching them from their context. It isolates factors which the actors themselves would not distinguish and which can not be fully understood apart from their context. How such factors inter-relate, or more correctly how they are perceived to inter-relate by the actors in the situation, would seem to be extremely important to an understanding of the situation and therefore premise any explanation of that situation. This is not to deny the importance of searching for causes as part of an explanation but only to point out that the elevation of causes as formal categories of analysis can lead to the neglect of the contribution which actors make to the development of the conflict.

What is necessary is an explanation of the steps in the interaction between Mormon and non-Mormon which make up the dynamics of the conflict. In view of this commitment to an analysis of the development of the conflict it was decided that a chronological structure was most appropriate. Such a structure allows one to do justice to the important contingencies which arose and often altered the course of the conflict. But such a chronological format needs to be accompanied by an interactionist perspective if it is to

avoid the pitfalls of some of the formal approaches outlined above. An interactionist perspective which interprets conflict in terms of one set of factors interacting to produce a set of outcomes which, in turn, significantly alter the situation, is able to incorporate chronology, change and the inter-relationships between the constituent elements of the conflict. More concretely, such an approach enables one to look at how issues, strategies, parties and goals change as the conflict proceeds. Escalation of the conflict may loosely be envisaged as the growing awareness that peaceful co-existence between Mormon and non-Mormon was becoming impossible. Such an awareness became more stark as the parties exhausted the many non-violent strategies which seemed appropriate to the developing situation as they perceived it.

Actors' perceptions of the situation are therefore important as a starting point from which to understand why they acted as they did when they did. This does not necessarily lead one to commit the individualistic fallacy inherent in methodological individualistic studies: for while actors' perceptions are considered important, it is emphasised that they will be influenced by the social structure within which actors are operating. Conflict is here seen as being negotiated within a given social structure. The social structure is seen as active in the conflict insofar as parties to the conflict will make use of it and be constrained by it in certain respects.

In short, the aim is to understand the complexity of a single instance of social conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons. As a

means to this end certain sociological propositions will be applied to examine their usefulness in understanding such a situation. Given that only a single instance is being considered, the critique of such propositions must be viewed in the context of that single case. Such a critique can only indicate shortcomings which may apply elsewhere. Conclusions must be somewhat limited, given the scope of this study. Attention to such a small empirical area is, however, believed justified for many reasons, principally the need to examine a case of conflict in some detail. While the main aim is not to give a history of the Mormon Church in Illinois, it is hoped that new evidence concerning this intriguing and intricate saga will be forthcoming. The Illinois period saw the introduction of many of the most controversial doctrines of the Church as well as the death of its prophet Joseph. Smith. While much more work needs to be done, and what follows can in no way claim to be a definitive account of the Illinois period of Mormonism, this study is an attempt to understand the conflict of that period more fully than has hitherto been possible.

Notes for Introduction

1. See in particular R.K.Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 73-138; and N.J.Smelser, "Toward a General Theory of Social Change", in N.J.Smelser, Essays in Sociological Explanation (Prentice Hall Inc., 1968), pp. 192-280.
2. W.J.Chambliss ed., Sociological Readings in the Conflict Perspective (Reading Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1973).
3. R.Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959).
4. R.Dahrendorf, Conflict after Class: New Perspectives on the Theory of Social and Political Conflict (Univ. of Essex, Noel Buxton Lecture, Longmans, 1967).
5. R.Collins, Conflict Sociology (London: Academic Press, 1975).
6. G.Simmel, Conflict trans. K.H.Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1955).
7. See for example V.Aubert, "Competition and Dissensus: Two Types of Conflict and of Conflict Resolution", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 7, (1963), pp. 26-42; R.W.Mack, "The Components of Social Conflict", Social Problems, 22, (1965), pp. 388-397. For a review of literature see C.F.Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 12, (1968), pp. 412-460.
8. A.Etzioni, "On Self-Encapsulating Conflicts", in A.Etzioni ed., Studies in Social Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), pp. 115-135.

9. W.A.Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics", American Sociological Review, 51, (1966), pp. 71-81.
10. T.R.Gurr, Why Men Rebel (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970).
11. M.Sherif, Group Conflict and Co-operation (London: Routledge, 1966); see also M.Sherif & C.W.Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension (New York: Octagon Books, 1953).
12. N.J.Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (Routledge, 1962).
13. E.M.Lemert, "Is there a Natural History of Social Problems ?", American Sociological Review, 16, (1951), pp. 217-223.
14. L.T.Wilkins, "The Deviance-Amplifying System", reprinted in W.G.Carson & P.Wiles eds., Crime and Delinquency in Britain (Martin.Robertson, 1971), pp. 219-226. For examples of the way in which this model has been used see S.Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics (Paladin, 1973); R.Wallis, The Road to Total Freedom (London: Heinemann, 1976), ch.7.
15. Such arguments have been rehearsed in many critiques of labelling theory to which deviance amplification is related. See, for example, R.S.Broadhead, "A Theoretical Critique of the Societal Reaction Approach to Deviance", Pacific Sociological Review, 17, (1974), pp. 287-312; C.R.Tittle, "Deterrents or Labelling", Social Forces, 53, (1975), pp. 399-410.
16. R.C.North et.al., "Some Empirical Data on the Conflict Spiral", Peace Research Society Papers, vol. 1, (1964), pp. 1-14, p. 1.
17. P.Swingle ed., The Structure of Conflict (London: Academic Press, 1970).

Chapter 1: The Host Society, Social Change and Scapegoating

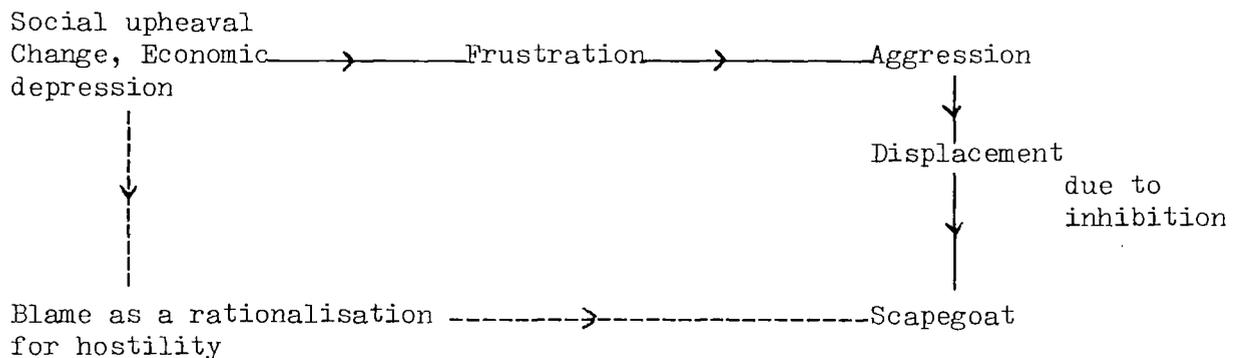
The character of the society which the Mormons entered in 1839 is important for reasons other than contextual interest alone. The scapegoat theory of prejudice has been used in the past in such a way as to make the social climate appear causative in the generation of hostility towards various minority groups. Scapegoating, a theory popular since the late nineteen-forties, asserts that the scapegoating individuals who express hostility towards others are in some way frustrated. This frustration is believed to lead to aggressive impulses which can not be directed towards the precise cause of the frustration. This may be because the source of frustration can not be identified, or, because it is too powerful to safely express aggression towards. The aggression which builds up is, therefore, displaced onto an accessible, recognisable and preferably safe object, such as a weak minority group. Social change, particularly when that change results in economic decline or some form of social dislocation, is often cited as the "actual" cause of frustration when individuals act in a hostile fashion towards minorities.

Many examples of the use of this form of explanation could be cited. Perhaps one of the most common links made between economic depression and the growth of hostility is in explanations of the rise of anti-semitism in Germany.¹ Similarly, Davis detects the same kind of relationship between social upheaval and the rise of anti-semitism in America in the nineteen-twenties,

At a time when Americans were painfully conscious of disrupting change, it was illuminating to discover that social dis-integration had long been the prime method of Jewish conspirators aspiring toward world domination.²

The confusion or anomie which is believed to result from rapid social change or economic depression is thought to be relieved by pointing to a relatively weak group as the cause. As Davis notes, finding the cause of the problem relieves the tension created by previous ambiguity. The scapegoating theory of prejudice by embracing such ideas tends towards a view that the stigmatised minority group is wholly undeserving of the hostility directed toward it. Such a group is conceived to be the innocent victim of an essentially irrational process.³ The role of the vilified group is thus reduced to that of passive receptor of stigma and little attention is given to the role it might play in eliciting hostility.

The escalation of hostility is explained in terms of the consequence of misplacing the blame for the frustration which is experienced. Because aggression is directed at the scapegoat and not at the "real" cause of frustration, the "real" cause continues to do its work which leads to greater hostility being built up and directed towards the "unrealistically" blamed group. In short, the scapegoating theory of prejudice gives rise to the following pattern of explanation:-



There are two main areas of discussion through which the merits or demerits of scapegoating as an explanation may be explored. The first surrounds the empirical question of whether there is evidence that the people of Illinois in the later eighteen-thirties could have been experiencing a form of frustration which could have been the result of dislocative social change or economic depression. The second area concerns the cogency of the propositions within the pattern of explanation itself, such as the links made between frustration, aggression and the deflection of hostility.

Social Change in Illinois

Illinois in the late eighteen-thirties was a relatively young state, having attained statehood and a constitution in 1818. Originally settled by Frenchmen in the eighteenth century, Illinois had liberated its territory from the English and more latterly from the Indian. The Sac and Fox tribes had been roundly defeated in the Black Hawk War of the early thirties and had been forced westward.

It was during the thirties that the pioneer Americans in Illinois first began to venture out from their original settlements along the timbered river banks to break the fertile soil of the prairie. Primarily agricultural, Illinois, like many other states of the old Northwest Territory, was populated by owner-occupier or tenant farmers. While a labouring class can be detected it did not form a sizable portion of the population.⁴ First impressions of life in Illinois

at this time are images of a hazardous, somewhat dreary existence, battling against the severe winters and hot summers which rendered travel difficult and health precarious.

The first obstacle to answering the question of whether there were signs of rapid or dislocative social change is the relativity of the notion itself, that is, how rapid is rapid social change? It would be virtually impossible to characterise any historical period as void of change and yet, by the same token, difficult to evaluate one period as necessarily more changeful than another. Certain major changes such as industrialisation stand out, for such a process involved the metamorphosis of established patterns of work and family life. But no such indisputably clear example of change exists with respect to Illinois in the eighteen-thirties. The agricultural character of society remained intact without substantial mechanical innovation. Change itself would be relative to the perceived status quo, and experience of change for the actors in the situation could be rapid for them without seeming so for an observer. Small scale changes, if perceived as disruptive, could therefore, be conducive to the kind of frustration which the scapegoat theory suggests.

Acknowledging that this relativity may be considered a criticism of the theory, it is still possible to engage in a less than formal search for trends which could be interpreted as relative rapid social change and to investigate whether such trends were perceived as dislocative by contemporaries.

To begin with what might be thought of as the most general aspect of social life, namely culture, one can detect changes in the balance between the "Southerner" and "Yankee" types within the population of

Illinois. It had first been settled by the "Southerner" type, those sympathetic to the plantation slave-owning culture of the South, from the Southern states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. By 1830 there was a noticeable shift in the pattern of settlement in favour of central and northern Illinois which received settlers from the Eastern "Yankee" states. While the most northerly counties were not to experience heavy settlement until later in the decade, emigration from the Eastern states into Illinois was stimulated by the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and dissatisfaction with economic conditions in the East.⁵ Emigration from Europe, particularly from Ireland and Germany, was also eroding "Southerner" dominance.

Yet the southern element was strong enough to withstand dissolution. Its persistence gave rise to a sectional alignment most noticeable in the field of politics. In the 1834-1835 legislative session, for example, the vote for the Canal Act was sectional, the southerners appearing reluctant to foster the development of the North, fearing that the passage of the act would open the flood-gates and yankees would pour into the state. More generally, Pease interprets the system of Internal Improvements adopted by the state as an attempt by the south to regain ground lost to the north in terms of economic and social development.⁶ Shaw perceives the maintenance of sectional difference at the level of local government; the south preferring the county form of organisation, while the north favoured the township.⁷

The sectionalism apparent in the state reflected the traditional differences between the southern and yankee types rather than a collapse of established life styles. Any sense of threat, dislocation

or break-down would most likely have been experienced by those in the southern counties of the state, for the cultural challenge was being presented to them. This aspect of change, therefore, provides little support for the scapegoat interpretation of the development of prejudice, for the Mormons settled in the Western part of the state and opposition to them was strongest in surrounding counties.⁸

The stability of Illinois society was in no way threatened by that common catalyst for change, education. There was a discernible anti-intellectual streak in the state illustrated by the absence of any mention of education in the state constitution, unlike other states of the old Northwest. Congress had set aside lands for the support of schools but these were often sold and the funds badly handled. It was not until 1845 that Illinois passed an act allowing voters in school districts to levy a special tax for the support of schools.

Much of the early work in education was undertaken by Protestant preachers. The Presbyterians, for example, encouraged the growth of Sabbath Schools. Yet provision remained sparse and methods of instruction primitive. Samuel Willard in his recollections of his life in Illinois commented on the "loud school" in which all pupils were required to read their lessons aloud to demonstrate their continued industry.⁹ The lack of refinement in western speech was a source of satirical comment by some Eastern visitors.¹⁰

Particularly noticeable was the lack of education among many of the Baptist and Methodist preachers. As Governor Ford of Illinois unsympathetically commented

However ignorant these first preachers may have been, they would be at no loss to find congregations still more ignorant, so that

they were still capable of instructing some one...they made up in loud hallouing and violent action what they lacked in information.¹¹

This was not true of all, however, as the many educational institutions set up by religious denominations demonstrate. The New School Presbyterian, the Reverend George.W.Gale was responsible for the founding of Knox Manual Labour College, while the visionary "Yale Band" set up Illinois College under the auspices of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians.¹² John.Mason.Peck, the first Baptist missionary in the West attempted to set up numerous Bible Societies and Sunday Schools and place qualified teachers in them. His efforts led to the establishment of Rock Spring Seminary in St.Clair County in 1827.¹³ Governor Ford noted in his history of Illinois that the public seemed antagonistic towards seminaries, for many educated clergy had difficulty obtaining charters for them.

There was also some opposition to missionary activity and uncertainty as to how much a congregation should contribute to the support of the clergy. Ann.Archbold, travelling in Western Illinois at the height of the Mormon troubles encountered one vehement objector,

We would have reached Quincy that night, but my horse became very sick, and we had to stay at a house of private entertainment, where the good lady told rather a hard story on her preacher, said that he wanted pay for preaching, and more than that, he held out the idea that something must, or ought at least, to be done to send the gospel to the heathen. This she thought was intolerable, as it was trying to take the work out of the Almighty's hands; said she, "If the Lord wants them converted he can do it, without mens' meddling with it." It was in vain to tell her that men who preached ought to be supported, or that the heathen needed attention. I was glad to get off from her on any terms, finding her a most devout worshipper of Mammon, and an awful opposer of what she called Missionary Baptists.¹⁴

Many clergy found it difficult to live on the allowances made by their respective denominations as the letters of the clergy of the

American Home Missionary Society illustrate. The Methodists and Baptists also made insubstantial provision for missionaries whom they sent into the field. Many itinerant preachers like John Peck were, therefore, also, of necessity, farmers. A citizen of Bluff, Illinois applauded the versatility of his circuit preacher,

Our circuit Preacher W. Pitner has been and still wears the appearance of a Pioneer of the West. He is a man of good Mother wit and Preaches quite well. I heard him on yesterday and when resting from traveling and Preaching he follows Trapping he tells me he has taken 12 Otters in the course of the winter their skins is worth from five to eight Dollars a piece. One of which he himself made into a cap which he wears and is very respectable. We have a Camp Meeting appointed commencing on the tenth of June...¹⁵

The relative strengths of the denominations on the eve of the Mormon settlement of Illinois reflect an expected pluralistic balance of power. John Peck in his Travellers' Directory for Illinois of 1839 clearly depicts this.¹⁶ The Methodist Episcopal Church is listed as most powerful in terms of membership with 20,000 members, its closest rival being the Baptist Church which had 4,439 communicants who co-operated in missionary societies and 4,300 who did not. Old and New School Presbyterians combined mustered 2,500 communicants and Peck estimated that the ratio of Old to New School was 1:2.¹⁷ The Methodist Protestant denomination had 670 members "in the classes", while the Cumberland Presbyterians had an estimated 2,000 communicants. The Congregationalists numbered only 750 estimated communicants and the Protestant Episcopal Church only 200. Unitarians and Lutherans had a few congregations scattered throughout the state. The small societies of Quakers were concentrated in Tazwell and Crawford Counties, while the Roman Catholics, by no means numerous, were mostly to be found in the old French villages and among the settlements of canal and railroad labourers. The Reformed Presbyterians numbered about 280

communicants, while the United Brethren or Dutch Methodists had only one society located in McLean County. Under the heading for Mormons Peck noted that there were a few scattered about the state and that they were becoming more numerous in Adams and Hancock Counties.

The eighteen-thirties was a decade of steady growth and consolidation for the major denominations. Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians continued to dominate the religious scene. The Catholic Church received a flow of converts as German and Irish immigrants entered the state. Organisationally, however, the Church remained weak. The diocese of Chicago was not formed until late 1843 and prior to this time Catholics in Illinois had to look to St. Louis or the Vincentian missionaries who served the Western part of the state.¹⁸ Similarly, the Lutheran Church received injections of strength from Scandinavian immigrants in the eighteen-forties, but could never rival the dominant groups. Nor were the Episcopalians, organised in 1835, to offer any severe competition which would upset the status quo.

Yet the position of the dominant denominations was not one of quietly enjoyed supremacy. Both Methodists and Presbyterians experienced internal conflicts over the slavery issue. The question of whether slavery and Christianity should or could co-exist became more traumatic for the Methodists, finally splitting the Church. The Methodist General Conference in 1844 voted by 117 to 56 that a slaveholder in a state where emancipation was not absolutely prohibited could not exercise the functions of a minister.¹⁹

While there was rivalry between the denominations as the autobiography of Peter Cartwright makes clear,²⁰ the shortage of men in the field

and the mobility of some parishioners led to a measure of co-operation. Ministers were obliging enough to offer their services in Churches other than their own and parishioners to enter other Churches when necessity demanded.

Certain religious groups were considered beyond the pale of "normal" religious rivalry and theological error. These were the "impostures" to which Mormonism was later compared. While never important in Illinois,²¹ Millerism was one of the great "pretensions" of the decade. William Miller, a New England Baptist, aroused intense excitement by predicting that the end of the world and the day of judgment would arrive on March 21 1843, for which precision he was much ridiculed by the Mormons. His exact following is difficult to estimate, but it has been put as high as one million. As the day approached, the fervour of his converts increased only to call forth ridicule from the Press and righteous indignation from clerics. Millerism was even listed as a specific cause of insanity among the inmates of New York State Lunatic Asylum.²²

More exotic was the "pretension" of Robert Matthews, commonly called Matthias, who considered himself to be the Spirit of Truth and who roamed the streets of New York groomed to resemble Jesus Christ. He attracted some rich followers who became disillusioned and dragged the "prophet" into court. Undaunted, Matthias appeared in a green silk frock coat lined with pinkish silk and decorated with a silver sun and stars. He received a sentence of four months for assault and contempt of court and sank into obscurity.²³

Such opposition to what came to be defined as ridiculous and fanatical delusion in no way indicates that there was a general

intolerance of the peculiar or inexplicable. Many signs and wonders were reported in newspapers without derisory comment, particularly such paranormal occurrences as showers of "flesh and blood."²⁴

In short, the religious situation in Illinois was fluid but not revolutionary. There were not to be any major changes in the balance of religious power within the state. Although the frontier states were generally considered to be less religious than the East, the influence of religion does not seem to have undergone substantial change. There were complaints by contemporaries that their fellows were neglecting Sabbath observance,²⁵ but no other evidence that religious forms were losing their efficacy presents itself. More generally, the challenge which scientific advance was to present to religious believers, principally through geology and Darwinism, was for the moment held back by the very religiosity of the scientists, who could still encompass their researches within a religious frame of interpretation.²⁶

There were no looming external political threats to American stability which could be thought of as incitements to generalised frustration. The popular war with Mexico over the suzerainty of Texas was not begun until 1846. A dearth of aggressive neighbours and the seeming remoteness of war rendered the American Peace movement of the thirties a relative non-starter. Despite protracted arguments with Britain over the joint occupancy of Oregon, peace was not shattered: the Polk administration finally backed down.²⁷

Internally, within the state of Illinois, the political arena was becoming more stable both constitutionally and with respect to

the party system. The pro-slavery faction in Illinois had been finally defeated in their efforts to secure a constitutional convention to amend the State Constitution, in the mid eighteen-twenties. Discrimination against the negro, however, did not diminish. The 1818 Constitution remained in force until 1848 and squarely placed the balance of power within the state in the hands of the State Legislature rather than the Governor. The legislature selected United States Senators, Supreme Court Justices, secondary state officials and most local officers. The Governor had only a minor role in the legislative process as a member of the Council of Revision. The Council formed what might be termed a "third house" of the legislature, in addition to the House of Representatives and Senate. It could alter bills or otherwise return them to the originating body. The Governor could not act on his own, however, and the Council could be over-ridden by a bare majority of the two houses.²⁸

The State Constitution said little about local government, providing only for three County Commissioners to be elected to deal with county business. The elected commissioners appointed election judges, road supervisors and overseers of the poor. Every election precinct was entitled to two justices of the peace, who after 1826 were popularly elected.²⁹

Party politics in Illinois developed somewhat later than in other states.³⁰ Illinois moved in the direction of the Second American Party system in the mid eighteen-thirties. As Pease explains,

Out of the presidential contest in Illinois in 1835-1836, emerged the forms of the Whig and Democratic parties; out of the struggle over the subtreasury and the specie circular in 1837-1839 came a close alignment of the parties on party measures. Between 1835 and 1839 the doctrine of the necessity of party regularity was forced on the Democratic party, and that party became a closely organised body with accepted principles.³¹

The Whig party did not hold its first state convention until 1839. Despite the move towards closer party alignment, policy lines between the parties were not hard and fast divisions. Often the criterion of alignment was non-policy orientated, still devolving on personality factors such as whether one was for or against Martin Van Buren. In general, however, the Whigs tended to favour policies of economic expansion, supporting the U.S. Bank, a protective tariff and the Internal Improvement scheme. The Democratic party opposed the Bank and discountenanced what it saw as a system of reckless money. Democrats often accused the Whigs of being non-productive, speculative and having pretensions to refinement. They favoured a land policy which would open up the West but were moderately opposed to such expansionist devices as corporate charters.³² Both parties claimed to represent the "common man" - that inscrutable figure who rose to prominence in the Jacksonian age.

Elections were characterised by a marked lack of uniformity in procedure. While chaos does not seem to have resulted, confusion did arise on occasion. In the General Assembly of 1842-1843, for example, more than three cases of double representation had to be sorted out. Very little is known about the financing of elections. It would appear that individuals put up money for candidates on the understanding that it would be repaid only in the event of success. Debates, stump speeches and the Press were the main vehicles of electioneering.³³ Lawyers and preachers figured prominently among candidates.

The franchise qualification laid down in the 1818 Constitution was only six months residence in the state and this applied equally to citizens of other states and non-U.S. citizens. Given the influx of

immigrants into the state and the tendency for immigrants to vote for the Democratic party, the Whigs agitated for a change in the franchise qualification. Some interpreted this as a move towards a nativist position. Prior to the 1840 Presidential election the Whigs brought a test case in Jo Daviess County to try to establish a precedent for excluding all from the poll who were not citizens of one of the states of the Union. The case was appealed by interested Democrats, notably Douglas, gaining sufficient delay to retain the alien vote on the day. The Democratic party was extremely strong in Illinois, carrying the state in this Presidential election despite the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of the Whigs and their nationwide victory. The increase in population in the state during the forties, particularly the settlement of NorthWestern Illinois, may have aided the Whig party, for such immigrants were often of New England origin.³⁴ This did not affect the position of the Democratic party, however. Perhaps the only locus of Whig strength was the State Supreme Court which was dominated by Whigs.

The Legislature and the Judiciary were not the only sources of power and authority. The sense of individualism was strong. Popular Sovereignty was sometimes more powerful than the law and could be used to justify popular acts of violence. This did not produce an anarchistic social order, however. "Self interest rightly understood" was the principle which guided action and prevented any contradiction between individual and societal interests.³⁵ What would be considered lawless was often a matter of negotiation. Vigilante action was considered legitimate if it filled a gap in statutory law enforcement and expressed the desire of the majority. As one contemporary lecturing on the early history of Illinois explained,

The difficulty and expense of detaining culprits until the regular session of court, gave rise, in the early days of the territorial government, to the companies of "Regulators", which were organized in almost every county, and existed at the formation of our state government, and for a few years afterward. The "Regulators" were generally composed of the more enterprising and respectable class of the inhabitants. The captain acted as commander and judge. Their vigilance and energies were directed principally against horse thieves and passers of counterfeit money, with which the country abounded...this system of jurisprudence was approved and sustained by public opinion, and was, unquestionably, productive of much good.³⁶

The "Regulator" phenomenon remained throughout the Mormon period of Illinois history. A serious outbreak of violence occurred in the mid-forties in the southern counties of the state, particularly serious in Massac county. The regulators were ostensibly kicking out horse thieves and an ineffective sheriff.³⁷ Spasmodic outbreaks continued after state intervention had initially quietened the troubles. Legislative action was taken in 1847 to try to subdue this form of initiative.³⁸ Extralegal initiative was also exercised, when necessary, to protect land claims prior to the passage of the pre-emption act of 1841.

The state had great difficulty in suppressing acts of violence which had popular support. It had to rely on the state militia for physical enforcement of the law. Organised on a territorial basis and recruited locally, such a force was often more in sympathy with the violators than the executive. It was extremely difficult for the Governor to secure forces recruited from outside the state prior to the civil war. Similarly, the detection of criminals was often left to the initiative of private investigators like Edward Bonney, an ex-Mormon who set himself the task of tracking down the gang of violent thieves which infested the Upper Mississippi.³⁹

Lawlessness did stop short of chaos, however, due to a basic respect

for law as long as it worked. Lengthy and intricate legal proceedings were not unknown. The combination of respect for law and popular sovereignty produced a fine balance which was well understood by contemporaries. The pattern of violence which one discovers in the thirties would not, therefore, have been perceived as evidence of social breakdown by contemporaries. It is unlikely that it would have constituted a cause for generalised frustration. Riots and the use of violence were also common in the East in the thirties, so it is equally unlikely that emigrants to the West would have been confronted with an unintelligible level of violence. Contemporary accounts appear more concerned with the coarseness of speech and manners in the West than the presence of populist violence.

If not a frustrating time to live in because of anarchy brought on by violence, could it be considered a period of anarchy in ideational terms - anarchy precipitated by destructive social ferment ? Certainly McCarthy surveying the national scene at the time of the advent of anti-masonry, in the late eighteen-twenties, considered the ideational climate to be a "seething mass" of humanitarian and reform movements and was not in the least surprised to find anti-Masonry arising from such a context. Specifically, he mentions the extension of the franchise, temperance, the movement for the abolition of capital punishment, the struggle for workingmens' rights, educational reforms, Owenism, Fanny Wrightism and the beginnings of abolitionism. Anti-Masonry itself was in decline in the eighteen-thirties, perhaps with the exception of some German Pietist groups in Pennsylvania. The opposers of Masonry had vilified it as a blasphemous and conspiratorial association, choking the roots of American freedom. The impact of anti-Masonry on politics was to act as a catalyst for the formation of the Whig party. In its early phase it had been heavily influenced

by religion, Baptists being particularly prominent especially in Genesee County (New York), and took upon itself the form of a religious crusade. By the eighteen-forties it had become appropriate to deny former association with anti-Masonry, as Clay did. In Illinois feelings against Masonry, if ever aroused, had returned to such a level of normality as to make it feasible to petition for a second Grand Lodge at Quincy in 1835.

Anti-Masonry bequeathed a legacy of personnel to other, later movements. The numerous reformist elements with which it was associated did not necessarily share in its demise. It had links with Temperance, for example, which was a vital movement throughout the Mormon period. Popery had been denounced alongside Masonry and many prominent anti-Masons became leaders in the Native American movement. While Native Americanism did not find formal expression in Illinois until the appearance of the "Know-Nothing" movement in 1854,⁴¹ nativistic sentiments can be detected in Illinois newspapers in the forties. The Alton Telegraph was taken to task by some of its readers for its alleged sympathies with Catholic schools.⁴² The party presses denied association with Nativism in order to preserve the alien vote, particularly that of the expanding German community; yet ascribed the trait to their political opponents. The Whig Sangamo Journal and the Democratic Illinois State Register embarked on a nativist mudslinging exercise in late 1844.

Abolitionism was another major area of controversy in the Illinois press. The Legislature and much public sentiment were opposed to abolitionism because it seemed such an extremist philosophy to free slaves without compensation. Elijah Lovejoy of Alton was shot in 1837 because he would not temper the explicit abolitionist sentiments which

Even if one allows that the existence of social movements indicates that there is unrest or social ferment, this is not to say that the experience of change need be frustrating and lead to scapegoating. Many of the controversies were joined with issues clearly defined. The advocates of change and their opponents need not have experienced bewilderment or ambiguity about the source of their frustration as the scapegoat theory of prejudice implies they would. It is in this sense that the scapegoat theory makes the perhaps dubious assumption that self-reported motives are not accurate representations of "real" motives. Such an assumption casts a shadow over the value of primary source evidence, for it relies more heavily on evidence from the external environment than the subjective world of contemporaries.

It is clear that there is little evidence from the cultural, religious and political spheres of Illinois life which would support a conclusion that there were structural reasons for a general feeling of frustration. One area of life which comes closest to providing such evidence is the economic realm.

The year 1837 had seen the collapse of a speculative boom which had nation-wide ramifications which some see as lasting for up to five years.⁴⁴ Land prices fell as did grain and meat prices: businesses were ruined and mechanics in particular found themselves out of work. Exacerbating this situation for the people of Illinois was the disastrous internal financial policy of the state, epitomised in the ill-fated Internal Improvement system. A new state with fertile land, all Illinois seemed to lack in the thirties was a good system of roads, canals and railroads to stimulate a market economy. Therefore,

in 1836 the Tenth General Assembly voted approval of a system of internal improvements which was to ruin the credit of the state for years to come. Thomas Carlin, Governor of the state from 1838-1842, was determined that the program should be carried through, despite the financial crash and the mounting interest on the debt contracted to finance the system. Believing that a state bank would help finance the system and not learning the lesson of the failure of a similar venture in 1821, a second state bank was founded. It encountered difficulties as speculation in land spread across the state like wildfire. Other banks had opened their doors to take advantage of the economic expansion which the early thirties seemed to promise. The Bank of Cairo and the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown were two such ventures. The former was to go out of business when its notes became devalued and the cashier vanished with the specie in the vault.⁴⁵

The State Banks and the Internal Improvement system together led to a severe overstretching of the State's ability to contract debt. By July 1841, the state had defaulted on the payment of the interest due on the state debt, which by then exceeded fifteen million dollars. The State's lack of credit reflected adversely on its currency. Many bank bills were worth less than half their face value: "...there was scarcely a half-million dollars of good money in the hands of the people."⁴⁶ The state was on the verge of bankruptcy and repudiation of the state debt seemed the only course open to the governor. The "fiscal honour" of Illinois was, however, saved by Governor Ford, who preferred taxation to repudiation, a policy which was continued by his successor Augustus French. After the lean years of the thirties and forties, the fifties saw increased prosperity which made it easier to meet remaining debt commitments.

Times were obviously hard and many contemporaries clearly perceived them as such. But not with an air of desperation or confusion as to who was to blame. Stephen Eames, for example, wrote from Walnut Grove, Knox County, Illinois in August 1840 that "...we have many inconveniences in this new settled country money scarce and times hard and plenty hard work."⁴⁷ Yet this letter was cheerful and firmly evinced a determination to stay in the area. Blame for the economic situation was laid squarely at the door of government, either party being blamed depending on the predilections of the individual. John Birket writing to his brother in England divided the blame between government and divine retribution:

...I will endeavour to give you some idea of the state of things in this county. I recd your kind letter of Sept 23rd in it I find that you have had the whigs to rule, and they proved incompetent. On the contrary we have had the democrats to rule, and am now trying for a whig government, those things are an alegory, and leads me to think that the government is not altogether in the fault, but that God is angry with his people and takes this method of chastising them, for instance in this country God has seen fit of his Great goodness to send us plentiful times and money plenty for years back, and we have laid it out for treasures in this world and forgot the Hand who gave it, therefore the moth doth eat & c. or in other words Silver is mine and gold is mine said the Lord, But where am I wondering, the democrats ruled this state till they run it in debt, I know not how much, at the same time crying down with the banks and give us specia currency, at this crisis the Banks stopped specia payments which threw all things in stagnation, our paper not good, the silver and gold gone, and a large amount of interest to pay which raised our taxes about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on land, and every other kind of property in proportion, this throwing down the price of land so that many poor people who had not got through with paying for their land will be sold up for less than they had payed towards it, and loose all...⁴⁸

Birket's assignment of causation and blame was extremely clear echoing similar arguments put forward in the Whig press. It would be difficult to conclude that scapegoating could have occurred because of unawareness of the frustrator if one poses economic depression in that role. It could, however, be argued in favour of retaining the notion of scapegoating that while the frustrator was known, the frustration was still

"taken out on" an innocent victim, or that the real frustrator was too formidable to express aggression towards. More specifically, perhaps not all contemporaries were as rational as Birket and Eames. Such a question is impossible to answer with any certainty due to the limitations of the primary source material available. What is possible is a consideration of whether those who engaged in anti-Mormon activities were indeed suffering from economic hardship.

Economic Depression and Scapegoating

Information concerning the occupations of identifiable anti-Mormons is given in Appendix I. Both anti-Mormon and pro-Mormon listings have been given and appear separately so that any bias is immediately apparent. It is somewhat unfortunate that no more objective biographical information exists. Later histories of Hancock County which appeared after Thomas.Gregg's rely so heavily on his work that it would be pointless to portray their findings.

From the lists it emerges that while many of the anti-Mormons were farmers who would be likely to be suffering from low land and cash crop prices, and possibly foreclosure due to failure to pay taxes, this was not the occupation of the majority. An upper figure of fourteen of the twenty-nine anti-Mormons listed in the non-Mormon source and twelve of forty-nine on the Mormon list were farmers. Because the numbers of anti-Mormons listed are so small it is difficult to pass an unequivocal opinion as to whether the numbers of farmers in the anti-Mormon population were representative of the agricultural population of Hancock County as a whole.⁴⁹ Many anti-Mormons were merchants or professional persons, some holding important public office.

The non-Mormon source does not note "unemployment" as such, but does mention the misfortunes of those whose biographies are considered. For example, the misfortunes of Jacob.Mendenhall are noted, not least of which was his disastrous mercantile business; but these occurred prior to his settling in Hancock County. Such information as would indicate personal economic problems does not appear for other anti-Mormons. Manuscript sources, however, reveal that George.Weston, probably a mechanic, was experiencing hard times, and that Walter.Bagby was having trouble with an estate which he owned. Certain forms of hardship may have been accepted as the natural consequence of occupational mobility and speculation. It was not uncommon for a man to move from farming to land speculation to commerce and back. J.M.Sharpe, for example, dealt in land in Indiana in 1843, travelled to Nauvoo via Ohio and Missouri as a merchant, buying land in Illinois in 1844, where by October of that year he was in debt to the sum of \$1600.00. In May 1847 he was engaged in a boat venture which failed so he turned his hand to reading law and teaching school. By the end of the year he was a full-fledged "country" lawyer.⁵⁰

The Mormon listings are more specific; six persons are listed as having "no business" and one as a "loafer". Those said to have "no business" invariably came from the town of Warsaw, which was considered to be the most ultra-anti-Mormon town in Hancock County. The economic health of the town is difficult to determine as available evidence points to contradictory conclusions. A cleric writing in 1839 described Warsaw as growing.⁵¹ Other writers date the decline of the town to the post-Mormon period when, in the mid-fifties, it was bypassed by railroad development.⁵² Many have suggested that Warsaw entered a decline because of the relative success of Nauvoo. Even if

this were the case, which is doubtful,⁵³ it would not affect the argument here as such a decline would be Mormon induced. In other words, the Mormons rather than the general economic situation would then be the cause of frustration during the Mormon period.

It would certainly be unjustified to characterise the anti-Mormons as an unemployed mob wreaking cathartic vengeance on the Mormons. Unlike the rioters Grimsted studied in the East,⁵⁴ the anti-Mormons of Hancock did not conform to the "young gang" image. The evidence suggests that most anti-Mormons were in their twenties, thirties or even older. While some anti-Mormons may have suffered economic hardship one can not conclude that this was their defining characteristic.

The link between economic unrest and scapegoating is also rendered problematic by the non-occurrence of widespread, organised, hostile action against Mormons in England in the eighteen-forties. At that time there was widespread economic distress and considerable political and economic agitation. Yet there was no anti-Mormon hostility even in the NorthWest where Mormonism was making some headway. Such "anti-Mormons" as one can find were clerics worried about conversion of their parishioners. Anti-Mormonism did break out in England prior to the First World War, however. This poses the question, if one allows that there is a connection between economic unrest and scapegoating, of whether there was more economic unrest in 1911 than the eighteen-forties? Or whether the form of economic unrest in Britain in 1911 was more like that in Illinois in the eighteen-thirties and forties? These questions do not require an answer here because it has been argued that economic distress can not be uniformly linked to anti-Mormon personnel. It does point very strongly to the problems created by the over-simplification of the causal connection made between the two factors by scapegoating theory.

The other weak links in the scapegoat theory chain are those between the variables frustration, aggression and displacement, which are put forward as causally connected in a sequence which invariably leads to the stigmatisation of an innocent party. That frustration is the necessary correlate of aggression is open to question. As Yates points out, some studies have shown that children may express aggression as a result of imitation of their parents and in the absence of frustration.⁵⁵ The frustration-aggression link fails to take account of factors which may reduce the instigation to aggression, such as the reasonableness of the frustrating situation to the actor. Nor does it give any clues as to how aggression becomes directed toward a single object. The notion of displacement assumes that the scapegoater can not release aggression on the "real" frustrator because he is inhibited from doing so. Yates mentions an experiment by Jensen which threw some doubt on the hypothesis that aggression is displaced if inhibited.⁵⁶ Simpson and Yinger have concluded that

There seems to be good evidence that frustration does not always lead to aggression and hostile acts. The theory does not explain how the hostile impulses become transformed into hostile attitudes - persistent, patterned hostility toward an individual or a group - rather than selecting some new and unique target each time.⁵⁷

Perhaps one of the greatest shortfalls in the scapegoating model is its failure to give the scapegoat a role. Because the model assumes that blame for frustration is misplaced, it follows that the scapegoat is not responsible for the frustration. This raises the serious problem of determining how any one particular scapegoat comes to be selected. Blalock in his account of prejudice, surmises that the ideal target would be one from which anticipated punishment would be minimal and for which aggression would be instrumental in achieving other objectives.⁵⁸ White and Lippitt, however, found that in the groups of boys which they studied it was never the weakest person who was scapegoated. They

interpreted this kind of scapegoating as a vehicle for recovering self-esteem.⁵⁹

Such findings indicate that one should look at the scapegoated as well as the scapegoater to ascertain whether indeed there is a functional relationship between the two and whether this influences the choice of a particular scapegoat. Berkowitz and Green emphasise that the scapegoat may have stimulus qualities eliciting the release of aggression. They maintain that the choice of scapegoat under a situation of frustration will be made in the direction of prior dislike.⁶⁰ Such a conclusion premises some prior interaction which creates dislike, at least on the part of the original stigmatisers. It thus implies that factors outside the scapegoating sequence - over and above the object of frustration - are causally relevant. It still retains the notion that the scapegoat is unrealistically blamed, however, for it sees the aggressive response as cued via stimulus generalisation from the frustrator to the prior disliked scapegoat, because aggression is inhibited towards the frustrator. Berkowitz and Green assert that the scapegoat may have "real" characteristics which are similar to those of the frustrator. These characteristics are "really" disliked and not merely a post hoc rationalisation of expressed aggression.

The attributes of the scapegoat thus become as relevant as those of the scapegoater and as significant as the object of frustration. The prior interaction of scapegoated and scapegoater must be considered if any explanation of the choice of scapegoat is to be offered. By implication, it is no longer adequate to link the stigmatisation of a group via the scapegoating process to social-structural factors alone, if one is to provide a full explanation of the arousal of hostility.

Summary and Conclusion

It has been the aim of this chapter to discuss whether the existence of social upheaval or change together with the scapegoat theory of prejudice could account for the rise of hostility towards the Mormons in Illinois in the early eighteen-forties. It was ascertained that the most likely source of frustrating change was the decline of the economy in the late thirties and early forties. Given the existence of a source of frustration it was then considered whether this could be linked empirically to the anti-Mormons and whether the scapegoating theory could explain the transition from "existence of frustration" to "expression of hostility towards a scapegoat". Both links were found to be weak. One could, therefore, only conclude that if the scapegoating phenomenon did exist it could account for the hostility of only a very few anti-Mormons.

The weakness of structural explanation of this kind underlines the need to look at the interaction between the parties to the conflict. It also serves to emphasise the unnecessary ideological biases which can creep into explanation. The major bias in scapegoating has been found to be the assumption that the scapegoated party is entirely innocent of the charges made against it.⁶¹ In the search which follows for a more adequate explanation of the rise and development of anti-Mormonism, no such assignment of guilt will be made.

Notes for Chapter 1

1. G.E.Simpson & J.M.Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (Harper & Row, 1953); D.Caplovitz & C.Rogers, Swastika 1960 The Epidemic of anti-Semitic Vandalism in America (Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, 1961).
2. D.B.Davis ed., The Fear of Conspiracy (Ithaca & London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1971), p. 228.
3. H.R.Veltfort & G.E.Lee, "The Coconut Grove Fire: A Study in Scapegoating", in R.H.Turner & L.M.Killian eds., Collective Behaviour (Prentice Hall Inc., 1972), p. 120.
4. R.P.Howard, Illinois: A History of the Prairie State (Michigan: W.B.Eerdmans, 1972). Figures are difficult to obtain for this early period. In 1850 there were 27,910 labourers compared with 140,894 farmers - see J.L.Peyton, Statistical View of the State of Illinois (Chicago: Spaulding & Tobey, 1855), p. 28.
5. Howard, 1972, p. 155.
6. T.C.Pease, The Frontier State 1818-1848 (Springfield Ill.: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918), p. 218.
7. A.Shaw, "Local Government in Illinois", John.Hopkins Univ. Studies in Historical and Political Science, 3, (1883), pp. 5-19.
8. See Chapters 4 & 7 for legislative and local opposition.
9. S.Willard, "Personal Reminiscences of Life in Illinois 1830 to 1850", Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1906, (Springfield Ill.: 1906), pp. 73-87.
10. A.Stone, "Extracts from the Memoir of Alvan.Stone", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 3, (1911), pp. 85-97.

11. Thomas.Ford, A History of Illinois (New York: Griggs & Co., 1854), p. 39.
12. Pease, 1918. J.B.Turner was closely associated with Illinois College and wrote an anti-Mormon work in 1842. See ch. 5.
13. Howard, 1972.
14. A.Archbold, A Book for the Married and Single (Ohio: Practical Preacher, 1850), p. 45.
15. Letter of John.Nevius to Aron.V.Nevius, May 2 1841, Abner.S. Goddard Papers.
16. J.M.Peck, The Travellers' Directory for Illinois (New York: 1839).
17. The Presbyterian Church divided after 1836 - Peck's figures are for the year 1836.
18. Letter to the author from Msgr. George.A.Carton (Diocesan Chancery Peoria, Ill.) September 26 1977.
19. Alton Telegraph (& Democratic Review), June 1 1844. The Methodists did experience a slight dip in membership in Illinois across the years 1843-1845 which may reflect the ramifications of the controversy. Membership dropped from 37,342 (whites) in 1843, to 26,895 (whites) in 1845. See Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1839-1845 (New York: Mason & Lane).
20. W.P.Strickland ed., The Backwoods Preacher an Autobiography of Peter Cartwright (London: 1858).
21. Peck makes no mention of Millerism and I can find no significant mention of it at state level in primary or secondary sources. Such mentions as do occur usually refer to the Eastern states.
22. Alton Telegraph, March 9 1844.
23. R.E.Riegel, Young America 1830-1840 (Norman: Univ. Oklahoma Press, 1949).

24. Sangamo Journal, March 14 1844.
25. See Warsaw Signal, May 19 1841; Letter of C.M.Goddard to L.C. Fruit, May 25 1846, Abner.S.Goddard Papers. B.F.Morris in a Letter of August 21 1841 in the American Home Missionary Society Collection, spoke of "foulmouthed atheism and naked infidelity" in the vicinity of Warsaw, but this may have been a partial justification of why his mission had not been as successful as it might have been.
26. Riegel, 1949.
27. Pease, 1918.
28. Howard, 1972.
29. Shaw, 1883.
30. R.P.McCormick, The Second American Party System (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1966).
31. Pease, 1918, p. 236.
32. R.O.Davis, "Partisanship in Jacksonian State Politics: Party Divisions in the Illinois Legislature, 1834-1841", in R.P.Swierenga ed., Quantification in American History (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 149-162.
33. C.M.Thompson, "Elections and Election Machinery in Illinois 1818-1848", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 7, (1915a), pp. 379-388; T.C.Pease, Illinois Election Returns 1818-1848 (Springfield Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923).
34. Pease, 1923.
35. D.Grimsted, "Rioting in its Jacksonian Setting", American History Review, 77, (1972), pp. 361-397.

36. W.H.Brown, "Early History of Illinois", in Early Illinois (Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1881), p. 98.
37. F.Gerhard, Illinois as it is (Chicago: Keen & Lee, 1857).
38. Alton Telegraph, March 5 1847.
39. See ch. 7; E.Bonney, The Banditti of the Prairies or the Murderer's Doom (Philadelphia: T.B.Peterson & Brothers, 1855).
40. C.McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party: A Study of Political Anti-Masonry in the United States, 1827-1840", Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1902, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), pp. 365-574.
41. J.P.Senning, "The Know-Nothing Movement in Illinois", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 7, (1914), pp. 7-26.
42. Alton Telegraph, December 1845, January & February 1846.
43. Howard, 1972, p. 190.
44. Howard, 1972.
45. Howard, 1972, p. 204.
46. C.M.Thompson, "The Illinois Whigs Before 1846", Univ. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 4, (1915 b), pp. 9-165, p. 93.
47. Letter of Stephen.Eames to Mrs.R.E.Boyd, August 23 1840, Historical Survey Library, Univ. Illinois.
48. Letter of John.Birket to Mr.C.Birket, December 25 1841, Birket Letters. John Birket belonged to the Protestant Episcopal Church.
49. The 1840 census data for Hancock County as given in Thomas.Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: Chas.C.Chapman & Co., 1880), p. 469, reveal that 1,791 were engaged in

agriculture out of a total of 5,735 white males, which is 34.88%. In the non-Mormon source list of anti-Mormon occupations the proportion listed as farmers is 48.27%. The Mormon source is not directly comparable as it lists those living outside the county. Comparisons become less meaningful when one realises that Gregg noted there were 15 engaged in "commerce" and 380 in "manufacture and trades", while only 34 in "learned professions and engineers". A large proportion of the population is unaccounted for. The small number of anti-Mormons tends to distort percentage comparisons.

50. J.M.Sharpe, Journal, Yale.
51. Letter of B.F.Morris to M.Badger, May 28 1839, American Home Missionary Society Collection.
52. R.C.Aleshire, "Warsaw and Fort Edwards on the Mississippi", Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Library for the year 1930, pp. 200-209; N.Bateman et.al., Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Hancock County (Chicago: Munsell Pub.Co., 1921), vol. 2.
53. The economic position of Nauvoo is considered in detail in subsequent chapters. It is sufficient to note here that an article in the Mormon paper Times and Seasons, February 15 1841, offered the opinion that Nauvoo, being at the head rather than the foot of the rapids, was not so advantageous for trade as Warsaw or Keokuk. The article was otherwise favourable to Nauvoo.
54. Grimsted, 1972.
55. A.J.Yates, Frustration and Conflict (London: Methuen, 1962).
56. Yates, 1962.
57. Simpson & Yinger, 1953, p. 60.
58. H.M.Blalock. Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1967).

59. Reported in Simpson & Yinger, 1953.
60. L.Berkowitz & J.A.Green, "The Stimulus Qualities of the Scapegoat", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 64, (1962), pp. 293-301. For a consideration of possible prior dislike of the Mormons, see ch. 2.
61. This may be due to the fact that scapegoating replaced the well-earned reputation theory of prejudice which asserted that minorities were the epitome of the epithets they called forth. See B.Zawadzki, "Limitations of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, (1948), pp. 127-141.

Chapter 2: The Welcome

The discussion of the deficiencies within the scapegoat theory of prejudice in Chapter 1 highlighted the need to look at the interaction between the parties to a potential conflict prior to the arousal of hostility. The initial attitudes of the parties to each other will obviously affect the degree of stimulation necessary to provoke hostility. It is the task of this chapter to examine what the initial stance of each party, Mormon and Gentile (non-Mormon) was. Neither party came to the situation entirely ignorant of the other, devoid of prejudices and expectations. The nature of the knowledge each had of the other and their mutual expectations determined the foundation of the relationship between Mormon and Gentile in Illinois.

Prior Interaction

The Mormon Church had been in existence some nine years when the Saints entered Illinois, and had already aroused antipathy elsewhere. This raises the question of whether Illinois Gentiles were already prejudiced against the Mormons prior to their entry into Illinois in 1838-39 because of the existence of negative stereotypes elsewhere. What could the people of Illinois have known about the Mormons? What interaction between Mormon and Illinois Gentile had already occurred which could have influenced opinion one way or the other?

Illinois had its first direct experience of the Mormon Church through missionaries who ventured West. Illinois was penetrated only gradually by the Mormons, the main thrust of missionary endeavour being eastward to New York, rather than to the West or South.¹ This emphasis was not to change until the mid eighteen-forties. There were two small Mormon congregations by 1831, however, and three by 1832.² Penetration of Illinois from Missouri, in evidence in 1833, ceased in 1834 because of the turmoil caused by the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri. Efforts were seemingly resumed in 1835; in which year a conference was held in Clinton County at which G.M.Hinkle received the credit for the baptism of one hundred and thirteen converts since his arrival in the state.³ Activity in the mission field was again seriously disrupted by events in Missouri in the mid thirties, coming to a virtual standstill in 1836. The following year saw signs of revival: a resident of Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois, requested that Mormon Elders be sent to preach in his neighbourhood.⁴ John.D.Lee, later a famous Mormon leader involved in the "Mountain Meadows Massacre" in Utah, was converted about this time after inviting a Mormon preacher to speak at his home in Galena, Illinois.

There was some opposition to Mormon preaching even in these early days. One Elder named Carter was dragged before a court by a gang of about twenty men, but was later released.⁵ Opposition from clergy was the natural result of religious competition. Most Mormon converts were made at the expense of the major denominations, particularly the Methodists and Baptists. The Campbellites also

suffered losses to the Mormons, but mainly in Ohio.⁶ One young Baptist missionary, Alvan.Stone, greeted Mormon missionaries and their converts with derision rather than hostility. Writing from Rushville, Schuyler County, Illinois, in 1832 he reported that

The Mormonites are making progress in this state, and numbers of deluded fanatics are joining them, and preparing to set off for their New Jerusalem, which they say lies in Jackson county, Missouri. They preached in the neighborhood where I have been teaching, and a number were favorably disposed to their doctrine. After they were gone, a certain individual, a Methodist exhorter, followed a number of miles, in order to join their sect in full by being baptized by them. He rode with such speed as to soon tire his horse, when he dismounted and ran on foot. He at last overtook them, was baptized and ordained a Mormonite preacher. On his return, he attempted to perform a miracle, by walking on the water of Silver creek, which was then very high. He arrived safe at the other shore. His ability to swim, however, not his faith, saved him. He became violently deranged; and on reaching home, commenced destroying his property. An elegant fancy clock was first demolished and committed to the flames. French bedsteads, tables, trunks, chairs, &c. followed in succession. And strange as it may appear, his wife, instead of attempting to hinder him, seemed actuated by the same spirit and joined in the work of destruction by burning a large stock of clothing, the fruits of her industry for years, and broke her tea sets and other ware. The neighbors arrived just as he commenced knocking off the roof and weather boarding of his house. He has been confined most of the time since. His language is dreadfully profane. His conduct and that of his wife blasted the hopes of Mormonism in this region for a season.⁷

Not all were so amused by the presumed effects of Mormon conversion. Part of the available stock of knowledge was a legacy of anti-Mormon literature published in the East. One of the most notorious works was that published by E.D.Howe in 1834. Howe's work became a virtual blueprint for later anti-Mormon works, attacking the credibility of the Mormon faith and the integrity of the Smith family. A veritable folklore developed concerning the supposed fraudulent origins of the Book of Mormon. The most popular theory was that Sidney.Rigdon, in collaboration with Joseph.Smith, vamped a romance concerning the

first settlers of America written by one Solomon Spaulding, deceased. Rigdon was said to have gained possession of the Spaulding manuscript while working for a printer who was hoping to publish the work.⁸ Another common theme in such anti-Mormon literature was that Joseph. Smith had spent his early manhood as an indolent wastrel, looking through a peep-stone to locate buried treasure for those credulous enough to invest in his services, and such tales became part of the anti-Mormon legend which persisted throughout the Illinois period. The Warsaw Signal, for example, in its August 4 1841 issue, suggested that Joseph. Smith should call a newly obtained site for Mormon settlement "Money-Diggersville".

Prominent members of sects in competition with Mormonism joined the lists: Alexander. Campbell and J. Himes of the Campbellite movement jointly producing a work entitled "Mormon Delusions and Monstrosities", for example. Early travel tales also jibed at the Mormons in passing. Nancy. Towle visited Kirtland, Ohio, and concluded that Mormonism "was one of the most deep-concerted-plots of Hell, to deceive the hearts of the simple; that had ever come within the limits of my acquaintance."⁹

To such works must be added the bad publicity given Mormonism by those who had left the Church. Significant for the Illinois period was the work of John. Corrill who published his account of Mormonism in 1839, an advertisement for which appeared in the Quincy Whig of November 23 1839. These works often had a reverberative effect, spawning "secondary" anti-Mormon literature. As Bancroft noted¹⁰, Kidder who produced an anti-Mormon work in 1842 took both Howe and Corrill as his principal texts. Certainly, there was no

shortage of information from which to cast the Mormons in an unfavourable light should the people of Illinois have wished to do so.

The Mormon Experience in Missouri

The Mormons had come to Illinois because they and their Missouri neighbours were unable to live in peace together. The Mormon experience in Missouri affected the image which the sect presented of itself to the Gentile world in Illinois. It also shaped the Mormon expectations of that world. The Missourians' own account of events potentially provided yet another source of information for the people of Illinois which would show the new immigrants in an unfavourable light. The nature of the Mormon experience in Missouri is, therefore, directly pertinent to the initial stance of the parties.

Shortly after Joseph Smith organised the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints on April 6 1830 at the house of Peter Whitmer Sen., in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, he removed to Kirtland, Ohio. The move was probably precipitated by the conversion of Sidney Rigdon who had converted his Campbellite congregation in Menton, near Kirtland, to Mormonism, thereby providing a ready made nucleus for the new Mormon Church. While Joseph's presence at Kirtland made it the centre of the Mormon Church, Independence, Jackson County, Missouri had been declared "Zion" in a revelation of July 1831. A branch of the Saints from Colesville, New York, which had failed to fully uphold the doctrine of consecration and stewardship, had been directed to settle Kaw township just west of

Independence, by a previous revelation of June 1831. Independence, or Zion, was dedicated to the gathering of the Saints of these latter days - here the Temple of God was to be built, here the prophecies of Isaiah were to be fulfilled in these Last Days, here was to be the Mormon civitas Dei.

In 1833, however, Zion came under Gentile attack:

...the alleged licentious character and fraudulent practices of the 'saints', added to some real or fancied offences in regard to the then existing slavery question, caused an excited state of feeling among the Missouri people against them. They were accused of stealing cattle and other property, of being connected with counterfeiting gangs, and of nearly all the various offences in the criminal catalogue.¹¹

Aroused by Mormon claims as to the future extent and supremacy of Zion, the fury of the Missourians was ignited by an article in the Mormon paper the Evening and Morning Star entitled "Free People of Color". This article was interpreted as an invitation from the Church to negroes and other persons of colour who were "free" to come to Missouri and join the Church. Slaveholding Missourians saw this as potentially subversive and likely to breed discontent among their own slaves.¹² The Mormons, mostly Yankees, were themselves a threat to the slaveholders at the polls as their local strength was sufficient to command election to local offices.¹³ The press of the Evening and Morning Star was destroyed on July 20 1833, and two Mormon Elders, Edward Partridge and Charles Allen, were tarred and feathered by mobsters.

The upshot was that the Mormons in Jackson County agreed to leave by April 1834. The General Authorities of the Church at Kirtland, however, interdicted this agreement. Some Saints did leave, however, attempting to settle in VanBuren (later Cass) County, but the citizens

drew up an agreement to drive them out. Representation was made to Governor Dunklin of Missouri by the Mormons on September 28 1833 in the form of a petition detailing their sufferings at the hands of the mob. He replied that they should seek redress in the courts. The Saints took legal advice and determined to remain in Jackson County.

Mobbing recommenced in October with an attack on a branch of the Church west of the Big Blue, followed in November by an attack on Independence itself. The Saints fled into Clay County to escape the continued assaults of the mob. Some tried to settle in Lafayette County but were speedily expelled. There were some judicial attempts to quell mob activity. Colonel Pitcher, who had "driven" the Mormons from their homes, was held for court martial, for example. But such efforts were not effective. The Governor finally advised the Saints to form their men into a militia and apply for public arms. He maintained that he could not send a force to protect them, although he was prepared to escort them back to their homes with a force which was ostensibly protecting prosecution witnesses attending the circuit court proceedings instituted against the mob. On entering Independence, however, the escort was disbanded leaving the Mormons "high and dry". All hopes of court proceedings against the mob were consequently abandoned.

Independence was still Zion, however, and was not easily given up. Revelations "from God" to Joseph Smith of October 12 1833 and December 16 1833 spoke of the expected redemption of Zion. A further revelation

of February 24 1834 declared "Behold, I say unto you, the redemption of Zion must needs come by power"¹⁴: the Saints must organise to redeem Zion by force. There followed an abortive attempt to march upon Independence by a group of Mormons under Joseph Smith known as Zion's Camp. A resident of Clay County, Missouri, writing on June 27 1834 recorded the following impressions of the expedition:

Their profet being then with a part of his church in the north west (sic) of Ohio, after learning the disaster which had befel his people, put forth a revelation stating that god would restore them again on the land of Zion, and forthwith set about gethering the young men of his church, to the number of 500, all well armed with guns, swords, pistols & knives, and took up his line of march for this country with a view to assist his people in the holy crusade.

He arrived here a few days since, and is incamp't within a mile of this place with his army. The citizens of Jackson hearing of his movement imbodied themselves for the conflict. Some of the neighboring counties became excited in behalf of Jackson and most of their citizens rushed to the tented field to take part in the conflict. In the mean time commissioners were appointed by the beligerent Powers to negotiate if possible, peace. Their negotiations are still going. How it may terminate time will develope. The Ministers on the part of Jackson insist on the relinquishment of the Mormons territory in said government by paying value therefor. The Ministers on the part of the Mormons state as a sine que non they can never surrender their lands, as god directed them there and there allowed to build up his holy temple for the gathering of the scattered tribes of Izerald. Thus matters stand. My impressions are we shall have more smoke than fire.¹⁵

Internal dissension, the disinclination of Dunklin to give active support, and cholera led to the break-up of the "camp", probably in disarray, which returned to Kirtland. Although the failure of the "camp" was at first believed to be the consequence of transgression, the members subsequently attained special status within the Church at Kirtland. The Saints offered to buy out those citizens of Jackson County who did not wish to live with them, but

it was the Saints who eventually sold their holdings. Joseph. Smith noted in his journal history under date of April 11 1839, that Brother Rogers returned from Jackson County reporting that he had sold all the lands in that county.

While the Saints, exiled from Zion, were received into Clay County, the inhabitants saw their sojourn among them as temporary and became alarmed when land purchases and an influx of more Mormons seemed to indicate permanent settlement. On June 29 1836, the committee appointed by a public meeting of the citizens of Liberty reported their forebodings. The Mormons had become "objects of the deepest detestation" to some of the citizens because of their Eastern manners, their non-slaveholding ways and their constant communication with the Indian tribes on the frontier.¹⁶ The Mormons publically defended themselves against these accusations, yet nevertheless agreed to move peaceably out of the county. They moved into the northern part of Ray County, Missouri. Governor Dunklin again proved less than helpful when they sought redress: he demurred to intervene in the face of popular sentiment, declaring the vox populi the vox Dei. By December 1836 a sufficient number of Saints had gathered in this area to enable them to form a new county which was given the name Caldwell.

In Caldwell troubles were to begin anew but not before Kirtland fell as the organisational centre of the Church. The prophet Joseph. Smith had resided in Kirtland since his arrival in February 1831, making occasional visits to Missouri. By the mid thirties the Church

had become heavily in debt. The building of the Kirtland Temple, dedicated March 27 1836, and legal attempts to regain property in Jackson County, had left the Church financially embarrassed. Gentile opposition, of a milder sort than experienced in Missouri, had been aroused by the pauper status of many Mormons. In the Spring of 1835, for example, some Mormons were warned to leave town in order to prevent their applying for financial assistance. ¹⁷

The speculative spirit which had infected the business life of America in the thirties also affected the Church. A bank was launched at Kirtland in the winter of 1836-37 under the misleading title "Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company", an appellation necessitated by the refusal of the State authorities to grant the Mormons a charter for the bank. Almost as soon as it opened the bank encountered difficulties. By May other banks were refusing to take its notes; by July Joseph. Smith had severed his connection with the bank; and by November it had closed its doors becoming yet another victim of the financial crash of 1837. Many legal suits were filed as a result of the crash. Joseph. Smith and Sidney. Rigdon were each fined \$1,000 for acting as bank officers without proper licences. ¹⁸

Smith's own position was aggravated by growing dissention within the Church at Kirtland. Opposition was voiced by such core members of the Church as P.P. Pratt and Oliver. Cowdery. So serious was the rebellion that Smith, upon returning from a visit to Missouri in December 1837, found that there had been a plot to depose him and install David. Whitmer in his place. Harassed both within and without

the Church, Smith left Kirtland in January 1838 making his way to Far West, Caldwell County, to which place nearly all loyal Kirtland Saints followed him, leaving only a disgruntled remnant at the former centre of the Church.

Meanwhile the community at Far West had grown beyond the county boundaries, making settlements in Daviess (Davis) and Carroll Counties, Missouri, in 1837 and 1838 respectively. As early as July 1837 public notice was served on the Saints that they should leave Daviess County by August.¹⁹ This proved to be an empty threat. No overt hostility was apparent until election day, August 6 1838, when the Gentiles of Daviess attempted to prevent the Mormons casting their votes. They feared that Mormon unity would lead to the election of pro-Mormon candidates. Sidney Rigdon had somewhat aggravated the situation by a provocative oration on July 4 1838, in which he threatened a war of extermination against any mobs which should again rise to plague the Saints.

Trouble also occurred in Carroll County in the vicinity of the Mormon settlement at DeWitt. The grievances of the citizens were aired at a public meeting in Carrollton on July 30 1838. The meeting adjourned pending the outcome of a request made to the Mormons that they should leave. A Mormon refusal led the citizens to resolve to ask for the aid of adjoining counties to remove "Mormons, abolitionists, and other disorderly persons" beyond the county limits. The citizens maintained that the Mormons had undertaken to confine their settlements to Caldwell and had broken this pledge.²⁰ On

September 12 1838, the Gentiles advised the Mormons of DeWitt to leave within ten days. The Mormons asked for state assistance, but no help came. Fighting broke out on October 4. The citizens then offered to buy the Mormons out, but they refused. A second appeal to the Governor from the Mormons provoked the reply "fight it out". Under threat of Gentile force the Mormons evacuated DeWitt on October 11 1838.²¹

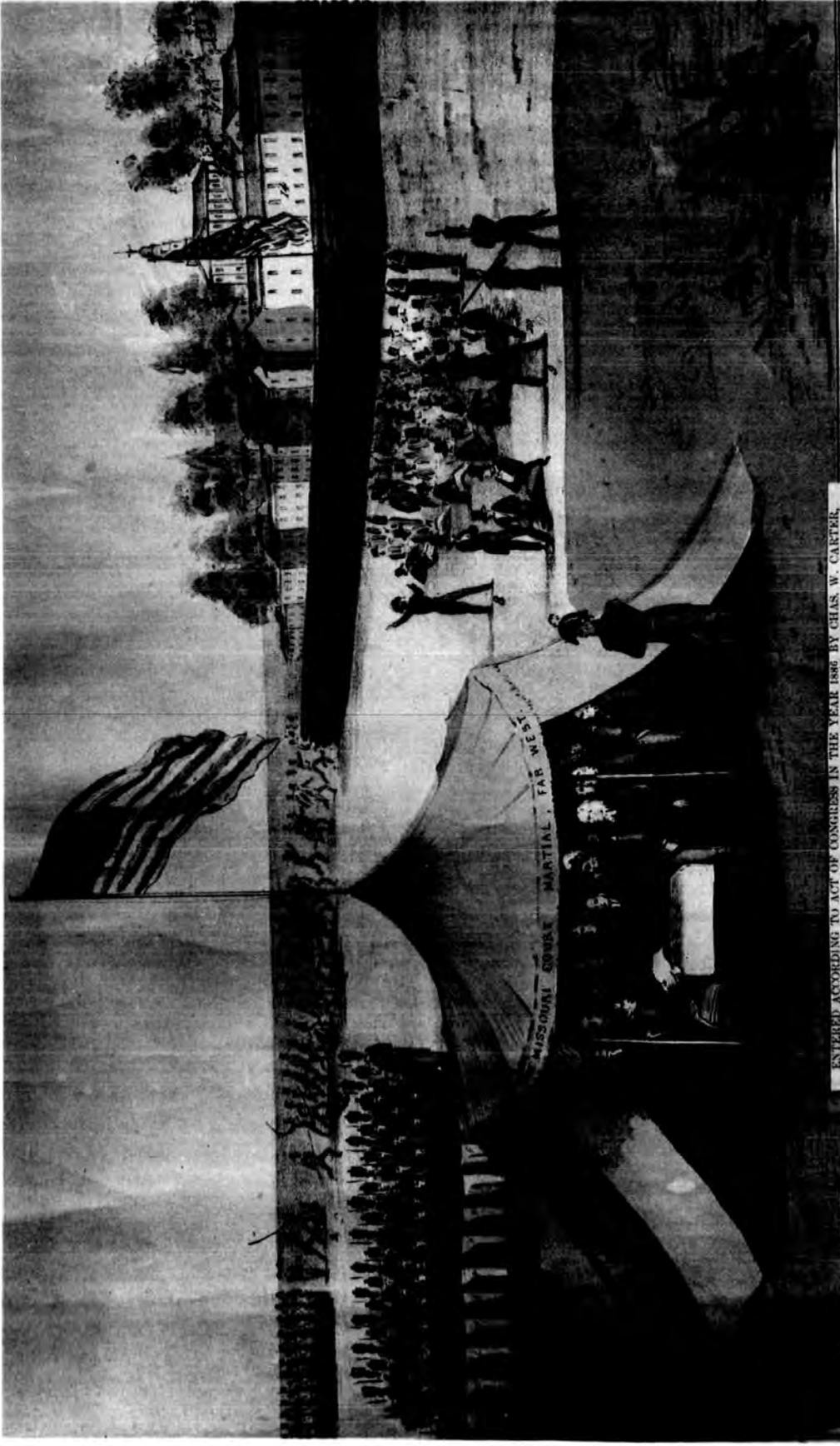
The troops which had skirmished with the Mormons at DeWitt were also active in aiding their neighbours in Daviess County. Here they threatened the Mormon town of Diahman (Adam-ondhi-Ahman), but were forced to disband by the intervention of the state militia under Doniphan. The towns of Millport and Gallatin in Daviess were then set ablaze. The mob blamed the Mormons and recruited additional support to the anti-Mormon cause on this pretext. Doniphan, unable to trust the loyalty of his own men if ordered to defend the Mormons, commanded George Hinkle to raise a force at Far West. Mormons in outlying settlements converged on Far West for protection.

During the night of October 24 1838, Captain Bogart, mobster and member of the state militia, captured three Mormons. Hinkle's force was ordered out to make a rescue attempt. The result was a mêlée at Crooked River. Reports were made to Governor Boggs of Missouri to the effect that the Mormons were in open rebellion against the state and were about to advance on Richmond and reduce it to ashes. The Governor then issued what has gone down in Mormon annals as the "Exterminating Order", in which he directed his forces under General

Clark to either exterminate the Mormons or drive them from the state.

Towards the end of October part of the militia fell upon the small Mormon settlement at Haun's Mill perpetrating acts of senseless barbarity which have become legendary in Mormon history. According to Mormon accounts, all of those who could not flee the scene were shot or hacked to death, including children. At the same time, General Lucas with a body of the state militia arrived at Far West. Colonel Hinkle effected a compromise which entailed the surrender of the Mormon leaders to Lucas. A court martial held on November 1 1838 condemned the prisoners to be shot. General Doniphan who was delegated to carry out the executions refused, believing such acts would be cold-blooded murders. The matter was dropped and Generals Lucas and Clark vied for superintendence of the Mormon prisoners.

Eventually it was decided that the court martial was not entirely valid and that a civil hearing should be arranged. On November 12 1838 the prisoners were brought before Judge King, who sat as a committing magistrate. An early manuscript recording the bulk of the evidence given at the hearing reveals that few defence witnesses were called.²² The Mormons maintain that this was due to the intimidation of their witnesses. Much of the evidence for the prosecution concerned the activities of the so-called Danites. A Mormon called Avar, who gave evidence for the prosecution, was said to have been the leader of this group which existed, it was alleged, originally to deal with dissenters but whose activities became broadened to include building up the Kingdom of God by physical force.



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THE EXTERMINATION OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI IN THE FALL OF 1838.

by the Cruel Orders of Governor-J.W. Boags.

1. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 2. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 3. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 4. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 5. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 6. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 7. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 8. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 9. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning! 10. The Mormons shall be shot in your morning!

11. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 12. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 13. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 14. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 15. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

16. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 17. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 18. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 19. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 20. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

21. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 22. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 23. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 24. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 25. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

26. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 27. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 28. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 29. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 30. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

31. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 32. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 33. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 34. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 35. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

36. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 37. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 38. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 39. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock! 40. Genl. Taylor, General on you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at 11 o'clock!

The Mormons were also accused of numerous acts of theft. As a result of the hearing Joseph. Smith and others were committed to Liberty jail in Clay County, while another group of prisoners, which included P.P. Pratt, were held at Richmond.

General Clark arrived at Far West on November 4 and harangued the remaining Mormons with the terms with which they had to comply to avoid further bloodshed. These included signing over their property to defray the expenses of the "war" and their speedy removal from the state. Some Mormons at Diahman were arrested and brought before the "mobber" Adam. Black. All were acquitted after a three-day hearing. In accordance with Clark's terms, the Saints moved out of Missouri in the early months of 1839, under the leadership of Brigham. Young.

At the March session of the District Court of Daviess County, a true bill was found against Joseph. Smith and his fellow prisoners on charges of murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft and stealing. The prisoners were able to obtain a change of venue to Boone County and escaped en route, perhaps with the connivance of the authorities to whom they had become an embarrassment.²³ Joseph. Smith finally arrived in Quincy, Illinois in April. Elder Pratt and the other prisoners at Richmond escaped somewhat later, fleeing to Illinois in July 1839.

Many of the prominent leaders of the Church thus entered Illinois with the dubious legal status of fugitives from justice. This was to haunt Joseph. Smith throughout his five-year stay in Illinois.

The Missouri Events in the Quincy Press

The verdict of Missouri upon the Mormons was, therefore, that they were clannish, sinister, thieving, arrogant and imperialistic. A clear negative stereotype of the Saints had been formed by Missourians and was potentially available to the people of Illinois through the accounts of the Missouri events in the Illinois press.

The Mormons were cast as the aggressors in the accounts given in Missouri papers, and it was these accounts which were reproduced in the Quincy press. Commenting on an article in the Western Star published at Liberty, reporting Mormon resistance to arrest warrants, the Quincy Whig of September 8 1838, expressed the hope that the Mormons would see the evil consequences of their opposition to the laws, and peaceably allow them to take their course. The fight at the August election in Gallatin was reproduced from the Western Star in the Whig's September 29 issue, taking due note of the provocativeness of Rigdon's July fourth oration and the fear of the citizens of Daviess that continued concentration of Mormon settlement would lead to Mormon rule of the Gentile population. The battle with Bogart and the rumours of a Mormon attack upon Richmond were also faithfully reproduced in the pages of the Whig. The Quincy Argus believed that the reports coming out of Missouri were conflicting.²⁴

Castigation of the Mormons was somewhat tempered by sympathy for their dire condition as they left Missouri. The Whig reproduced an article from the Missouri Republican, itself taken from the St. Louis Evening Gazette, which expressed concern for the Mormons

because of their poverty and uncertain future. The whole question of which side was to blame - the Mormons or the Missourians - very soon became a party political issue. The Quincy Argus, a Democrat paper, attempted to absolve the Locofoco²⁵ administration in Missouri by dubbing Governor Boggs a Whig. This the Quincy Whig stalwartly rejected, rebounding the blame onto the Locofocos. The Whig, however, clearly uncomfortable in the argument, left the question to be answered more authoritatively by those nearer the scene, but not before impugning the integrity of the Argus' sympathy for the plight of the Mormons.

Expectations: The Mormons as Assets

Despite the Missouri press reports available in Illinois, the stigma for the Missouri troubles came to rest upon the state of Missouri, not the Mormons. As Linn pointed out,

...the voice of the Press from the Mississippi to the Atlantic was, without a discovered exception, on the side of the refugees.²⁶

Public opinion was clearly against Missouri, so much so that Adolphus Allen canvassed Governor Boggs for information regarding the troubles with a view to writing a book to exonerate the people of Missouri from the "foul slanders...incessantly heaped upon them".²⁷ Over and above a genuine altruistic response to the plight of the Mormons, one can detect clear self-interested motives for the welcome which they received and for the necessary rejection of the negative image projected by Missouri.

One reason for the stigmatisation of Missouri was the political capital which could be made out of events both at state and party level. At the state level, Missouri was held in low esteem as a

slaveholding state. Gayler has suggested that there might have been especially tense relations between Quincy and Missouri due to the involvement of Quincy citizens in an "underground railroad" aiding slaves to escape to freedom.²⁸ Illinois could project an image of herself as the epitome of tolerant benevolence, welcoming the persecuted from this evil state. The Quincy Whig was also able to score a party political victory at the same time:

Illinois, at present, appears to be an asylum for this oppressed people, as they are coming in from all quarters. For several days they have been crossing at this place, bringing with them the wreck of what they could save from their ruthless oppressors. They appear, so far as we have seen, to be a mild, inoffensive people, who could not have given a cause for the persecution they have met with; and the whole proceedings towards this people, by the authorities of Missouri, must stand as a lasting stigma to the state - and we further hope, from the specimen they have received, of the liberality and justice of locofocoism, when carried out, as it has been by the dominant party in Missouri - that they have come amongst us, with more enlightened opinions, in regard to those levelling and destroying doctrines, so characteristic in Missouri...²⁹

The partisan quarrel quickly extended from the question of whether Locofoco Missouri was at fault to whether the Democrats were going overboard in their welcome of the Saints in order to gain their votes. The Whig made just such an accusation against the Locofocos when the Democratic Association of Quincy attempted to meet "secretly" to organise relief for the Mormons. The Whig advised the Saints to treat such overtures, from whichever party they might come, as an intrusion upon their political rights. Satires on such Democratic ploys followed in subsequent issues of the Whig.³⁰ Rigdon made a public announcement concerning the meeting with the result that members of the public other than Democrats attended. The citizens raised a sum of \$48.25 and set on foot plans to collect clothing and provisions to relieve Mormon poverty. The meeting declared the

actions of Missouri a violation of "sacred rights of conscience": the Governor, they alleged, had brought lasting shame upon his state by persecuting the Mormon people.³¹

The early partisan squabbles are usually explained in terms of the strategic position held by the Mormons as a third force at the polls. The two political parties were evenly matched in the support they could each muster and it has been argued that an influx of new voters would have held the balance of power between the parties.³² But the potential political power of the Mormons as they entered Illinois may have been over-emphasised with hindsight. The extent of their precise influence is highly problematic.

It is, for example, difficult to say whether the parties envisaged that the Mormons would cast their votes as a unit. Certainly the religious status of the Mormons was seen as dominant even prior to their settling as a group in Commerce (later Nauvoo), Hancock County. They were approached as a distinct group. This does not, however, exclude the simple explanation that each party was hoping to pick up as many votes as possible rather than acting on the assumption that it could gain the entire Mormon vote. The vigorous efforts of the Democrats may have been motivated by a desire to clear their party of any possible stigma arising from the Missouri troubles. The objective power of the Mormons when they entered Illinois was not just a question of numerical strength. The norm of voting as a unit was the consequential factor. Even so, the strategic power of the Mormons may have been over-estimated.

A glance at the election figures for Illinois on the eve of the Mormon period reveals that in Congressional and Gubernatorial elections the two parties were evenly matched: a voting strength of about two hundred could be decisive. As the influx of Mormons numbered around eight thousand³³ they would clearly be influential in such elections. Election figures also show that Adams County, in which Quincy was situated, was predominantly Democrat, while Hancock County was Whig. While these two counties remained in the same electoral district and while thus politically polarised, the Mormon vote would be crucial if cast as a unit. Significantly, however, if hostility was manifested in both counties early on in the Mormon period, such hostility could not be explained solely in terms of political "sour grapes". Whichever way the Mormons voted they would make an enemy of the loser; but it is equally true that they would gain the victor as an ally. Political cleavage of this type can, therefore, potentially be productive of coalition formation. To decide the elections the Mormons would have to be effective at the level of the congressional district or at the level of the state.

Their numerical strength at county level in state wide elections was not sufficient to sway the election even when the difference between the parties was as little as two per cent.³⁴ Hancock county was not significantly more populous than other counties in its congressional district, either before or after Mormon entry.³⁵ What was in evidence during the Mormon period, was a tendency towards greater polarisation of the vote in Hancock County, while the tendency in other counties in the same congressional district was to a more even split between the parties.³⁶ It remained true,

however, that a display of solidarity against the party for which the Mormons were voting by other counties in the district would have more than compensated both for the numerical strength of the Mormons and their voting en bloc. The Mormons could only have been arbiters in an election when the state or congressional districts were extremely finely divided as to party preference, as in the Congressional elections of 1838, and when the Mormons voted as a unit.

The Mormons would have been more effective in elections for the Illinois General Assembly. In these elections for Senators and Representatives the county was a more decisive voting unit. A large bloc vote could make the partisan voting of peripheral voters totally superfluous. Hancock was to lose its previous Whig identity when the Mormons voted Democrat after 1842. Nevertheless, the Mormons could not, by virtue of their influence upon county polls, either in Adams or Hancock, flood the General Assembly with their own candidates. They could return at most four representatives, if decisive in two counties, and two senators, out of a General Assembly of forty-one senators and one hundred and twenty one representatives. (1842-1846 apportionment). The balance of power within the Assembly was firmly held by the Democrats who were in a decisive majority in both chambers.³⁷ This does not, however, preclude a general political sycophancy operating in the Assembly which might have given the Mormons slightly more influence than their direct polling power would indicate.

Elective County Offices would more assuredly have been within Mormon reach, within a short time of settlement. It was at this level

that Mormon/non-Mormon rivalry would be more likely to become acute. The total number of votes needed to secure a county office was relatively small. For example, the total number of votes cast for Treasurer in 1839 was 904; in 1843, 2736: for Sheriff the number of votes totalled 1050 in 1838; 1718 in 1840 and 2402 in 1842.³⁸ (For fuller details of election returns at all levels, see Appendix: 2).

The Mormon population per se would have been considered an asset by the people of Illinois as each state in the West was in competition for settlers who would make improvements to its agricultural land. Immigrants who made improvements increased the value of peripheral land making this, in turn, attractive to further waves of settlers. Existing land-holders could look forward to increased profits from land sales. It was common in the Prairie states for speculators to hold vast tracts of land in the hope of just such future profits. The "Military Tract" of Illinois in which Hancock County was situated had largely fallen into the hands of speculators. Originally the land had been given to soldiers of the War of 1812 as bounties. Those not wishing to settle in Illinois had sold out to speculators. Speculators often defaulted on the taxes due on the lands they held, and so the lands were sold under tax titles. In the intervening confusion, 'squatters' might also settle such lands. The net result was an immense confusion of different titles to the same land: patent titles, tax titles and squatters rights fought it out. The confusion led to lack of security and held up the settlement of the Military Tract. The prospect of a large body of people willing to accept less than good titles was, therefore, extremely providential for speculators with substantial holdings in the tract. It was

from farmers and speculators that Smith bought land for the settlement of the Saints, around Commerce (Nauvoo) and in Lee County, Iowa. One such speculator, Isaac Galland, courted the Elders in Quincy prior to Joseph's arrival, and later even joined the Church.

Tenancy was the major form of land-holding produced as a result of speculation.³⁹ The tenants would probably have technical ownership of the land but be in debt to speculators or loan sharks who had provided the necessary funds to allow them to take up pre-emption rights on their holdings at the public land sales.

The Mormons arriving destitute, initially with no lands of their own and in need of work, provided a potential pool of wage labourers; a great boon to farmers with large acreages. On their arrival the Saints gave assurances that they did not intend to lower the price of labour ^{so as} to forestall jealous opposition.⁴⁰ The Mormon women were useful for domestic work, although the "taking in" of Mormons was perceived as bestowing charity by at least one woman of Quincy:

They the Mormons were in such a distressing condition when they arrived that the good people of the town took pity on them and gave them temporary relief. My mother gave one old woman a home. She was expected to assist a little in light house work and sewing for her board. She had a nephew who often came to see her, and to report the activities of the other refugees.⁴¹

This "au pair" role assumed by many Mormons was common among other immigrant groups in Quincy, notably the Germans who settled there.

The financial difficulties of the state also made the Mormons attractive as potential tax-payers. As land and property holders in prospect they would contribute to the upkeep of the state and help liquidate its massive debt.

Mormon Orientation

In order to fully understand both the conjunctions and disjunctions of interests between host and settler, it is necessary to consider how the Mormons saw themselves in the light of their experience in Missouri. Whether their outlook and practices had changed and how they wished to present themselves to their new hosts.

One of the first major decisions facing the Church was whether to settle in a group or disperse throughout the area. General Clark in his harangue to the Saints at Far West, Missouri, had cautioned them to scatter abroad and never again organise themselves with bishops and presidents. Mormon Elders, newly arrived in Quincy, in the absence of Smith who was still in prison, decided at a meeting held during February 1839, not to settle as a unit, turning down a recent offer of a sizeable tract of land. At this meeting President William Marks voiced the opinion that past experience of constantly being driven from place to place should be taken as some indication that they were unwise to regather. Other brethren were more favourably disposed to settling the land.⁴² Gentry states that Joseph Smith advised against an immediate gathering of the Saints in January 1839.⁴³ Yet by March 1839 Smith was making oblique suggestions that the brethren gather anywhere between Kirtland and Far West.⁴⁴ Brigham Young in March 1839, however, counselled the Saints to at least band together in companies or in such groups as would facilitate Church Branch organisation.⁴⁵ By April, with Joseph Smith in Quincy, the Church in council advised that as many brethren as were able should move to Commerce as soon as possible. Smith had succumbed to the offers of

speculators such as Galland and Hotchkiss. The Hotchkiss purchase was not to accrue interest for the first five years. For Smith buying large tracts of land "on time" may have appeared the only expedient means to settle some ten thousand⁴⁶ destitute followers, even though such purchases made tremendous financial demands on the Church later.

These large land purchases were not made with a view to establishing a communitarian system of land-holding such as one saw in Missouri and Kirtland. The United Order (also called the Order of Enoch, or the Law of Consecration and Stewardship) had been announced by Revelation in February 1831.⁴⁷ The Law embodied the principle that the earth belonged to the Lord; the Saints held land and property only as stewards of God. It also encompassed a spirit of co-operation and mutual help in that the system it gave birth to enjoined the pooling of all property, which was then re-allocated by the Bishop of the Church according to the various needs of the Saints. During 1831-34 the system worked imperfectly encountering many stumbling blocks to its ideal expression. There was the legal problem of property rights, some Saints not being too happy with holding land without individual property rights. Some Saints also wanted some say in how property was re-allocated. Joseph Smith intervened in June 1833, offering the compromise of mutual agreement between Bishop and Saint as to the details of allocation. After the expulsion from Jackson County, the Kirtland and Missouri United Orders were separated, partly for "transgression", partly due to the Saints being geographically dispersed. A further Revelation of June 22 1834 suspended the operations of the Order by deferring the application of the "law of Zion" until Zion should be redeemed.

An "inferior" form of the system was introduced in Far West in 1838 whereby one's surplus and a tenth of one's increase were given up to the Church. There were attempts to form Agricultural Companies in August 1838, but such plans were overtaken by the troubles at Far West of that year.⁴⁸

The system was not revived in Illinois. Joseph Smith in a letter to the Church from Liberty jail, in March 1839, warned the Saints against

organisation of large bodies upon common stock principles, in property, or of large companies of firms, until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner, as it opens such a dreadful field for the avaricious, the indolent, and the corrupt hearted to prey upon the innocent and virtuous, and honest.⁴⁹

Smith was prepared to take upon himself the responsibility for not keeping the Law of Consecration, believing that the system if put into operation would be self-defeating.⁵⁰ The principle of tithing was adopted in 1841 as an alternative means of collecting surplus for the general benefit of the Church.

There were to be no provocative communitarian experiments in Illinois. Not until 1873 did Brigham Young attempt to set the "Order" in motion again, in Utah. Indeed the consecration of land to the Church would have been anomalous: Joseph Smith as a result of his land purchases was in the position of seller wishing to dispose of lands already held by the Church. The main channel for the transfer of land was that of Saints in the East deeding their land to the speculators from whom the Church had purchased land in exchange for land lots in Nauvoo.

Leaving Missouri for Illinois entailed leaving "Zion". The notion of Zion as a fixed geographical locality was somewhat diluted by the constant moves of the Mormons, but not unequivocally. While the redemption of Zion qua Independence, Missouri, was delayed due to the failure of Zion's Camp in 1834, the goal of redemption was not given up. In April 1836 a committee was set up to raise money to redeem Zion by purchase. Even as late as the Illinois period the idea of re-taking lands in Missouri was not entirely extinct.⁵¹ It is conceivable that at the outset some Saints viewed Illinois as just a temporary refuge until Zion could be reclaimed. It is unclear whether Far West ever attained the status of Zion. The History of the Church does designate it as such, but this could be due to later editing. That it was to have a Temple is no indication of such status, for Kirtland had a Temple but was clearly only a stake of Zion. Nauvoo was not declared a stake of Zion and a place of gathering until October 1839; this not by Revelation but upon the unanimous agreement of Conference upon the suggestion of Joseph Smith.⁵² The status of stake was not inviolable. Ramus stake, for example, was abandoned as a stake and reorganised as a branch.⁵³ Nauvoo was referred to as a stake "planted to be a corner-stone of Zion", advancing in status as the gathering gained momentum.

Zion was thus becoming conceptualised as that place where the Kingdom of God was to be built up; geography was now less important and more contingent. All eyes were not on Nauvoo in the first few years of Mormon occupation. Kirtland remained a place of gathering for those Eastern Saints who did not wish to move farther West. The flexibility of the "Zion" concept was enhanced by the notion of the

"city of Zion". One such city was founded some fifteen miles north of Far West. The city was seen as a place of gathering and refuge from pre-millennial havoc. Instances of such cities appear to be rare.⁵⁴ Details of the Far West arrangement do not give enough information to link such satellite cities definitely with the "plat of the city of Zion". The latter was an ideal settlement pattern worked out by Joseph Smith in the early eighteen-thirties. Originally intended to reverberate from Zion until its replications filled the whole earth,⁵⁵ it became limited in its application to major areas of settlement such as Kirtland and Nauvoo, and somewhat modified in form.⁵⁶

While the multi-dimensional physical aspects of Zion gave way to a more flexible conceptual view, the notion of Zion as a material kingdom was not significantly weakened. The hearing before Judge King in Richmond, Missouri made much of the Mormon belief in the prophecy of Daniel concerning the setting up of a Kingdom which would break all other kingdoms in pieces. The Mormon Church was interpreted as just such a rampaging kingdom. While Joseph Smith's account of the hearing, in his History of the Church, suggests that this was too extreme an interpretation, the material status of the Kingdom is not denied. In his epistle to the Church from Liberty jail Smith envisaged the extension of the physical kingdom in preparation for the "terrible storms that are now gathering in the heavens."⁵⁷ Revelations and important teachings as laid down in Doctrine and Covenants for the period March 1838 - March 1839 (sections 113-123) reveal no important changes in this concept.

The missionary zeal and organisation of the Church were not seriously impaired by the Missouri experience. By May 1839 Conference was sanctioning a mission of the Twelve to Europe, preparations for which occupied several successive months. The Seventies, those quorums of the Church responsible for missionary work, were sufficiently organised to make coherent reports of their proceedings. One of the few organisational problems which faced the Church as a result of the Missouri troubles was that many who had turned apostate still held "recommends" from the Church which would allow them to pass as bona fide Elders. An epistle of the Twelve of July 1839 suggested that all who had not received recommends since the Missouri difficulties should obtain new ones from the Church authorities if they were to be accounted wise stewards. The same epistle rejoiced that the missionary fervour of the Saints had not been blunted by persecution in Missouri. The financial crisis of the Church crystallised its organisational sensibilities. A great deal of organisational energy was expended in commissioning agents to collect money to pay debts which were already pressing. The sense of wrong felt by the Mormons concerning their experience in Missouri led to the harnessing of organisational power to seek redress. Reports and testimonials concerning the wrongs suffered were collected with great thoroughness.

This sense of wrong - the belief that they had been persecuted for their religious beliefs - was the major element in the self-conscious presentation of the Mormon "self" to the people of Illinois. As Gregg caustically remarked:

Their stereotyped cry of "persecution for opinion's sake", invented years before by their sagacious leaders, and ever

since their best paying capital, was generally believed by the Illinois people;...⁵⁸

At the meeting of the Democratic Association of Quincy in February 1839, the Saints were requested to give information concerning their situation. The statement made by the Saints spoke of "repeated persecutions", of the Governor's "Exterminating Order", and asked the people of Quincy to give them the opportunity to raise themselves above the ruinous effects of persecution, despotism and tyranny. The Quincy Whig published a series of articles, which began on May 18 1839, which considered the Mormon experience in Missouri from the Mormon point of view. The articles contained considerable hyperbolic rhetoric and symbolism. The Missourians were characterised in one article as worshippers of Bacchus behaving akin to the horse sacrificers of the Scythians. The third article in the series stressed the common theme that the Mormons were patriots expelled from a state in this supposed land of liberty and free government. The Mormons believed that they had been cheated of their constitutional rights. Rights which entitled them to settle where they wished and freely exercise their religion.⁵⁹

It was partly upon the basis of this denial of rights that the Mormons petitioned Congress and the President of the United States. The Whig of November 16 1839 gave Lyman.Wight's petition to the President concerning the persecution he fled from in Missouri. In his petition, Wight portrayed the Mormons as the innocent victims of Missouri savagery:

Fifteen thousand men were called for by this Governor Boggs, with special orders to exterminate about eight hundred men with

their wives and children, or drive them from the state: from this order they took the liberty of shooting down horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and knocking out the brains of men, women and children; thus mingling their blood with that of the beasts of the field...it was not considered (even by Gov. Boggs himself) a crime to plunder and steal from the people called Mormons, and when they would no longer suffer their houses to be either thrown down or burnt over their heads, he Boggs, issued his exterminating order.⁶⁰

Despite their intense feelings of injustice, the Mormons were careful to avoid arousing partisan feeling by blaming one particular party in Missouri for the "persecution". The Mormon leaders quickly wrote to the Whig in May 1839 to correct the impression left by Lyman.Wight who had pointed the finger at the Locofoco party in Missouri. The leaders expressed the view that all parties were active in the proceedings of the mob. This non-partisan stance was further reinforced in April 1840 when Joseph.Smith declared at the General Conference of the Church that he did not wish to influence the Saints politically; they were to use their franchise as their best knowledge dictated.⁶¹

Political neutrality was accompanied by explicit avowal of moral rectitude. As an adjunct of their portrayal of innocence with respect to the Missouri troubles, the Mormons took care to pre-empt possible criticism of Mormon behaviour by disassociating the Church from any bad conduct observed in apostates. The Church also organised the collection of all libellous reports published against it: whether this was in preparation for replies is not stated.⁶² Joseph.Smith in his epistle from Liberty jail quite firmly stated that the Church would not be intimidated into tolerating iniquity for fear of adverse publicity from apostates.

The Mormons publicised their persecutions, their poverty and most of all their right to redress from the State of Missouri. The people of Illinois believing the cry were perfectly prepared to support such claims. The citizens of Quincy, for example, signed a testimonial for John.P.Greene prior to his embarking on a fund-raising expedition to the East to help alleviate Mormon distress.⁶³ The Illinois delegation to Congress helped Joseph.Smith obtain a hearing for a Memorial seeking redress, while he was in Washington in late 1839. The Governor of Iowa was also willing to help the Saints in this regard, writing letters of introduction for Sidney. Rigdon to President Martin.VanBuren and the Governor of Ohio, so that Rigdon could pursue his quest for an investigation into the events in Missouri.

Such sympathy and aid from the people of Illinois - their willingness to work with the Mormons to obtain "justice" - set the tone of Mormon-Gentile interaction as one of co-operation. For the people of Illinois it was co-operation which carried no necessary endorsement of the Mormon faith. The Whig, for example, felt able to publish an article expounding the Spaulding theory of the spurious origin of the Book of Mormon, and a later rejoinder by Rigdon. The debate was deliberately foreshortened, revealing perhaps a desire to avoid alienating the Mormon vote from the Whig party, but also a lack of interest in questions of religious veracity.⁶⁴

Summary and Conclusion

While the Mormons were not unknown in Illinois they were extremely thin on the ground when the Missouri Saints literally invaded Quincy

as a Church corporate in the winter of 1838-39. The people of Illinois recognized that there might be certain advantages in the settlement of these people and, accepting that they were the innocent victims of persecution, welcomed them into the state, rejecting the castigation of existing anti-Mormon literature and the odium heaped upon the Church by Missouri. The stance of the parties - of host and immigrant - was thus, at the outset, one of co-operation for mutual benefit. The potential precariousness of this relationship lay in the possibility of disappointment of mutual expectations. For the people of Illinois particularly, there was the possibility of disappointment of expectations of pecuniary gain and political benefit. For the Mormons there was the possibility of disenchantment with the warmth of the Illinois welcome and disappointment of their hopes for effective aid in securing redress from Missouri.

Mutual benefit was to give way to mutual antagonism and cries of mutual exploitation. The fall from grace of the Mormon Church in the eyes of the people of Illinois was to begin with the erosion of their image of persecuted innocence. This image was to be dismantled through a complex learning process which led to a heightening of suspicion. Illinois had heard of the Mormons as religious "fanatics", had seen their poverty and their sufferings at the hands of Missouri; she was now to experience them as fellow citizens.

Notes for Chapter 2

1. S.G.Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada 1830-1860", Ph.D. thesis University of California, 1951.
2. C.E.Buckingham, "Mormonism in Illinois", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 32, (1939), pp. 173-192.
3. Buckingham, (1939).
4. Ellsworth, 1951.
5. Buckingham, (1939).
6. M.Parkin, "Conflict at Kirtland", Printed and distributed to Institutes of Religion, August 1967, by the Dept. of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion, Provo, Utah.
7. A.Stone, "Extracts from the Memoir of Alvan.Stone", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 3, (1911), pp. 85-97, pp.92-3.
8. The Mormon Church rejects this theory on the grounds that Spaulding's work, the "Manuscript Found", is not similar enough to the Book of Mormon to uphold the charge of plagiarism.
9. N.Towle, Vicissitudes Illustrated in the Experience of Nancy. Towle in Europe and America (Portsmouth: Caldwell, 1833), p. 154.
10. H.H.Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: History Company, 1890).
11. P.Tucker, Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism (New York: D.Appleton & Co., 1867), pp. 160-161.

12. The "Free People of Color" article was, from the Mormon point of view, actually a warning to coloured members of the Church about the strict laws the state of Missouri had regarding the possible settlement of coloured persons. See Joseph.Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970/'76), vol. 1, pp. 377-378.
13. F.M.Brodie, No Man Knows My History (New York: A.A.Knopf, 2nd ed., 1971); J.H.Beadle, Life in Utah; or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870); E.D.Howe, Mormonism Unveiled (Painesville, Ohio: the author, 1834).
14. Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973 ed.), Section 103, verse 15.
15. W.D.Hoyt, Jr. ed., "A Clay Countian's Letters of 1834", Missouri Historical Review, 45, (1951). pp. 349-353, pp. 352-53.
16. The Red Indians had a special destiny in Mormon eschatology. They represented the descendants of the Lamanite people who, according to the Book of Mormon, inhabited the American continent from the sixth century B.C. onwards. Their dark skin was a curse consequent upon their transgressions against their brethren, particularly the Nephites (Nephi and Laman were brothers). See Book of Mormon, Alma, ch.3, v.6. Later, those Lamanites who were converted and joined the Nephites had the curse removed and their skins became white "like unto the Nephites". See Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi, ch.2, vv. 12-15 and 2 Nephi, ch.30, v.6. This cursing of the Lamanites would appear to be separate from the curse of the descendants of Cain who came to be identified as the Negro people. The scriptural sources for the curse of the negro are primarily the Book of Moses contained in the compilation Pearl of Great Price; the Lost Book of Genesis; and the Book of Abraham also in the Pearl of Great Price: rather than the Book of Mormon,

the source of information concerning the curse of the Lamanites. There is, however, a reference in the Book of Mormon to black skin as a curse upon those who rebelled against Nephi - see 2 Nephi, ch.5, v.21. This curse is not specifically directed at the Lamanites. The Lamanites, being of Jewish descent, according to Mormon belief, are said to be the remnants of the House of Joseph, who are to be gathered with all Israel prior to the millennium - see History of the Church, vol.2, pp. 357-362. Missions to the Indians qua Lamanites were therefore important to the fulfilment of prophecy concerning the gathering. Missourians interpreted such missionary endeavours as attempts to enter into a subversive coalition with the Indians against the Gentiles.

17. M.H.Parkin, 1967.
18. A.B.Prusha, "A History of Kirtland, Ohio", M.A.thesis Kent State University, 1971.
19. L.H.Gentry, "A History of the Latter-Day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839", Ph.D. thesis Brigham Young University, 1965, p.216.
20. Missouri Republican, August 18 1838.
21. Gentry, 1965; S.H.Whiteman, "Mormon Troubles in Carroll County", Missouri Historical Review, 7, (1914), pp. 221-222.
22. Manuscript containing the testimony of the witnesses for the State and the Defense during the "trial" arising out of the "Mormon War" in Missouri (Oct.-Nov. 1838), Missouri Historical Society.
23. Gentry, 1965; B.H.Roberts, The Missouri Persecutions (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965 a. ed.).
24. There are only two extant newspapers for Quincy for this period; the Whig and the Argus. (The exception to this is the Old Statesman, a Harrison campaign paper running from July 4

to November 1840. Only a single issue of this is listed as extant by W.Gregory, American Newspapers 1821-1936 (New York: H.W.Wilson Co., 1937). It is unfortunate that few copies of the Argus remain. This is consistent with the general dearth of Democratic Party papers for this part of Illinois for this period. Fortunately the Whig presses printed articles from the Democratic presses verbatim, so one is not left completely at the mercy of Whig prejudices.

25. "Locofoco" was a term commonly used to designate the Democratic party. It was used by the Whigs in a derogatory way to imply senseless radicalism. Similarly the slang term for Whig, was "Coon".
26. W.A.Linn, The Story of the Mormons (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 228.
27. Letter of Adolphus.Allen to Lilburn.Boggs, August 12 1840.
28. G.Gayler, "A Social, Economic, and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois 1839-1846: A Re-evaluation", Ph.D. thesis Indiana University, 1955.
29. Quincy Whig, February 23 1839.
30. See Quincy Whig, March 2, March 16, and July 13, 1839.
31. Quincy Whig, March 16 1839.
32. R.W.Mac, "Mormonism in Illinois", American Whig Review, March, April, June, December, (1852); J.Reynolds, My Own Times, Chicago Historical Society, (1879); Ellsworth, 1951.
33. A conservative estimate. Gentry, 1965, quotes P.P.Pratt's figure of between eight to ten thousand. Roberts, (1965a), puts the figure between twelve and fifteen thousand. About twenty per cent of this number would be eligible to vote after six months residence in the state. Precise information

- concerning both the population of Nauvoo and the voting habits of the Mormons is lacking. Illinois State Archives do not hold separate census figures for Nauvoo and election figures, such as are available, are not broken down beyond the level of the county.
34. In the 1840 Presidential election, for example, the difference between the two parties at state level was 2%. The total vote from Hancock County made up only 2.1% (approx.) of the state vote. The Mormons voted for Harrison (Whig) in this election (see Brodie, 1971). Harrison gained 68% of the Hancock County vote. The Mormon vote, therefore, was not decisive in the state, which went Democratic. Similarly in the 1842 election for Governor, the difference between the parties was 9%, while the vote of the whole of Hancock County made up only 2-3% of the vote of the state. See T.C.Pease, Illinois Election Returns (Springfield Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923).
 35. For Congressional Representatives, the voting population of Hancock County was 1087 in 1838; 1725 in 1841; and 2822 in 1843. Compare Adams County: 2086 in 1838; 3092 in 1841 (Adams was not in the same voting district after 1843), and also Jo Daviess County which had 1210 voters in 1838; 1147 in 1841; and 2461 in 1843. See Pease (1923).
 36. For Representatives in Congress, for example, the split between the two parties in Hancock was: 1838, 58%-42%; 1841, 70%-30%; 1843, 74%-26%; 1844, 76%-24%. Compare Henry County: 1838, 78%-22%; 1841, 57%-32%; 1843, 47%-50% (2% for Liberty Party); 1844, 49%-43% (8% for Liberty Party). See Pease (1923).
 37. See C.M.Thompson, "The Illinois Whigs Before 1846", University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 4, (1915b), pp. 9-165 for a breakdown of party allegiances of members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

38. T.Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: C.Chapman & Co., 1880).
39. P.W.Gates, "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States", Journal of Economic History, 1 , (1941), pp. 60-82.
40. T.B.H.Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints (New York: D.Appleton & Co., 1873 ed.).
41. Mrs.P.Selby, "Recollections of a Little Girl in the 'Forties' With Apologies for a Somewhat Lengthy Sequel", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 16, (1923-24), pp. 157-183, p. 168.
42. History of the Church, vol.3, pp. 260-261.
43. Gentry, 1965.
44. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 301.
45. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 283.
46. Estimates vary - see note 33.
47. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 42.
48. L.J.Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: the Law of Consecration and Stewardship", Western Humanities Review, 7, (1953), pp. 341-369; L.J.Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Harvard University Press, 1958); H.Gardner, "Communism Among the Mormons", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 37, (1922), pp. 134-174; T.F.O'Dea, The Mormons (University of Chicago Press, 1957).
49. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 301.
50. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 93.

51. John.D.Lee, a Mormon, noted in his account of Mormonism that in 1840 the brethren formed into military companies and drilled regularly in preparation for the time when they would reclaim Missouri. See J.D.Lee, Mormonism Unveiled (St.Louis: D.M.Vandawalker & Co., 1877).
52. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 12.
53. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 468.
54. For the "City of Zion" near Far West see History of the Church, vol.3, p. 67.
55. History of the Church, vol.1, p. 358.
56. Arrington, (1958).
57. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 298.
58. T.Gregg, The Prophet of Palmyra (New York: John.B.Alden, 1890), p. 150.
59. Quincy Whig, June 8 1839.
60. Quincy Whig, November 16 1839.
61. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 109.
62. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 345.
63. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 348.
64. Quincy Whig, May 18, June 8, June 29 1839.

Chapter 3: Disenchantment 1840-1841

During the period 1840-1841, the people of Illinois became aware that their Mormon neighbours were neither innocent nor harmless. Here one finds the roots of what in 1842-1844 blossomed into a moral and political struggle to control Mormon behaviour. The Gentiles perceived that the Mormons were not going to become committed citizens of Illinois, that their identity qua Mormons was paramount. The settlement of the Mormons in one area and their inclusiveness fostered this attitude. It was the perception of the non-integration of the Mormons by the host community in the social and economic spheres which led to a sense of rejection and loss. Rejection of the host community's way of life, and loss of potential economic benefit due to the containment of wealth within the Church. The host community retaliated by stigmatising the Mormons, defining their behaviour as deviant. This to some extent reciprocated the perceived Mormon rejection. Co-existence on the basis of avoidance was, however, precluded by Mormon involvement in community politics. This presented a threat to the Gentiles, namely that the Mormons would "take-over" and they would be engulfed. This threat was perceived to become more severe as the Mormons attempted to gain local power bases. The self-government of Mormon Nauvoo, made possible by the granting of the Nauvoo City Charter,¹ effectively removed the city from normal community controls. The Gentiles were thus faced with the problem of controlling the threat posed by the Mormons - the need to break down Mormon self-determination and self-assertion. The relative success of the Mormons in

obtaining political allies and constructing their own society in Nauvoo made such a task difficult. The Mormons, from the Gentile point of view, were attempting to make their own social rules.

The non-integration and political assertion of the Mormons could both be legitimated in religious terms. Both responses hinged on the interpretation of the nature of the Kingdom of God. For the Mormons, the Kingdom of God was to be a literal kingdom prepared by man yet in accordance with the designs of God.² The Kingdom was eventually to roll forth to fill the whole earth. The Saints were to receive the earth as an inheritance, having suffered in the hope of a better resurrection. Proof that the Kingdom was being made manifest was to be found in the Saints' possession of the oracles of God, for therein lay the substance of the Kingdom.³ The Kingdom was thus both actual and eschatological. The precise earthly form of government which was to inaugurate the reign of Christ had yet to be developed.⁴ In early Illinois, the emphasis on Kingdom-building was still synonymous with the gathering of the Saints to Zion, the City which was to be caught up into heaven in the Last Days, made new and set down again upon earth.⁵

The gathering was essentially a separatist movement, symbolically giving expression to the elitist status of the Mormons as God's elect moving out of spiritual Babylon to veritable Zion. It was to be a place more godly than the world which was shortly to experience the pouring out of God's wrath, a utopian refuge where

the Saints could grow in spiritual perfection.⁶ Intercourse with the world was necessary for recruitment, in order to extend Zion, but not to share its culture which had to be shunned bearing as it did in all its chaos the imprint of the Fall.

The logic of the rolling forth of the Kingdom - the demonstration of its efficacy - was the accretion of power in the "this worldly" sense. A material Kingdom necessitated political expression. Moreover, if the Saints were not to be ruled by and influenced by the world, they must rule themselves. As God's elect it was better for the world that it come under their influence. More pragmatic, however, may be the explanation that Joseph Smith deliberately sought to use the power of his people to make his position in Illinois secure after his experiences in Missouri.⁷ The influence of the religious legitimation on the rank and file Mormons should not be dismissed, for it gave coherence to Mormon doctrine and practice.

The initial stance of co-operation between Mormon and Gentile changed as each party "unlearned" its original expectations. It is with the constituents of this learning process that this Chapter is concerned. The Gentiles were able to perceive the Mormons as "other" through their own face-to-face interaction with them as workers, missionaries, or lodgers, and through definitions of them as deviant purveyed by the popular press and the clergy of other denominations. The kinds of behaviour selected as indicative of deviance and danger illustrate the three-cornered Gentile response of rejection, loss and threat. Those who led the vilification⁸

campaign were able to show that the Mormons were a problem for the whole community by demonstrating that there was a wide range of conflict of interests between Mormon and Gentile. Over and above the issues presented or created, an important aspect of the learning process was the argumentative devices employed. The rhetorical content of the arguments in particular helped create a mood of suspicion and distrust.

Selected Behaviour

(1) Non-integration: Rejection and Loss

From the Gentile point of view, it was the Mormons who created the ingroup/outgroup distinction between them. For the Gentiles, the barriers to "normal" interaction were erected by the Mormons. One such barrier was the ubiquitous religiosity of the Mormons. When Mormon and Gentile met the subject of religion would dominate the conversation. Correspondence from believers would constantly exhort the recipient to convert. Consequently, Mormons were seen as "fanatics", preoccupied with their own beliefs. The embarrassment and discomfort this aroused led some Gentiles to shun Mormon society. Eudocia Baldwin Marsh, for example, recalled that her mother dismissed a Mormon worker from her employ because he became "more gloomy and fanatical than ever" after making a public defence of his religion.⁹ Mormon religious sobriety, conveying as it did an implicit religious and moral superiority, was resisted by the Gentiles who castigated it as feigned, pretentious and absurd. The Warsaw Signal newspaper was particularly concerned to ensure that Gentiles did not take Mormonism seriously as a religion. It

had but one objection to the anti-Mormon lecturer Harris and that was that he dignified Mormonism too much by gravely arguing its absurdity.¹⁰ Many did not take Mormonism seriously, agreeing with the Signal that it was just too absurd for serious concern. One female writer from La Harpe, for example, informed her family in July 1841 that she had visited Nauvoo but that "time or room would fail [her] to speak of all their absurdities."¹¹

The puritan image publicly projected by the Mormons was being "seen through", their behaviour was now viewed as hypocritical. A city ordinance against liquor was passed in February 1841 in Nauvoo. The Warsaw Signal of July 14 1841 commented that although the Mormons might appear temperate because liquor was not for sale in their city, they had only to cross the river to Montrose to obtain it; Joseph Smith, it maintained, had had three sprees in the previous ten months. Hypocritical too, for the Gentiles, was the public stance of toleration adopted by the Mormons in their city ordinance of March 1841 concerning religious liberty. The Warsaw Signal paraded the hostile reaction of Mormons to the anti-Mormon lecturer, Harris, as evidence of their unqualified hypocrisy.¹² Mormon behaviour in Illinois was interpreted by the Signal as confirmatory of the accusations made against the Saints in Ohio and Missouri. Reporting the grievances of Messrs. Kilbourn of Montrose, Iowa, who had been robbed, the Signal asserted:

It only goes to confirm the statements which have been made, regarding these worthies, in Missouri and in Kirtland...They talk about intolerance ! While the scoundrels associate themselves together to deprive an orderly citizen of his home and possessions, merely because he will not bow to the nod of an infamous imposture.¹³

By 1841 the citizens of Illinois were in receipt of new information concerning the Mormon past. In February of that year official details of the trial of Smith and others in Missouri in 1838 were made public. The Warsaw Signal began publishing these details in its June 16 1841 issue. While Eudocia Marsh denied that the change in attitude towards the Mormons was due to the availability of this information, it would seem that it was not without influence, providing a vicarious ally for vilifiers like the Warsaw Signal. Marsh believed that the change of heart was a direct consequence of observations of Mormon behaviour in Illinois.¹⁴

The sense of rejection felt by the Gentiles is clearly observed in their resentment of Mormon clannishness and its implications. The Signal pointed to its more serious implications in its November 24 1841 issue where it reported that, at the trial of some Mormons for stealing a cow, the law was defeated because "Mormons swore to order" in mutual protection. An ordinance of the city of November 1841 introduced restrictions on vagrants and the prohibition of indecent language and behaviour, which could have been interpreted as an attempt to impose Mormon morality upon Gentiles in Nauvoo.¹⁵ Evidence of clannishness was also believed to have been found in the "slavish" obedience of Mormons to Joseph Smith. The Signal tried to impress upon its readers that Smith was the Mormons' law; their God.¹⁶ As a writer for the Alexandria Gazette expressed it:

trained to sacrifice their individuality; to utter one cry; and to think and act in crowds; with minds that seem to have been struck from the sphere of reason...¹⁷

Such absolute loyalty to a religious sect qua social community was interpreted as a bar to integration, on the basis of equality, in a community made up of individualistic pioneers.

Clannishness had a direct effect on Gentile lives through the economic non-integration of the Mormons. The Mormons set themselves the task of building up Nauvoo, not the surrounding area. The Church tithing system had the effect of keeping nearly all the surplus wealth of the Saints within the Church. Elders were sent on tithing missions to the East to collect accumulated funds. Tithings could amount to as much as one thousand dollars in one week.¹⁸ The General Authorities of the Church, as the ruling body, therefore, had a pool of capital with which to engage on building projects such as the Nauvoo Mansion, the Nauvoo House and more significantly the Temple, which some believed may have aroused the civic jealousies of Warsaw and Carthage.

Nauvoo grew quickly: by May 1840, about three hundred dwellings had been erected.¹⁹ Those who had hoped to be able to sell land at a profit due to the general improvement of the area, found that they could only sell to additional Mormon emigrants, and this not necessarily directly. Joseph Smith as head of the Church had accumulated land ex officio. This the faithful were encouraged to buy. Smith may have had some difficulty disposing of the land, for in October 1840 the Presidency found it necessary to defend its large purchases, while at the same time appealing for funds to offset debts. In January 1841 the Presidency appealed to the richer Saints abroad to gather at Nauvoo, invoking the tenet that there was no other way to be saved.²⁰ The issue was joined more forcibly in May 1841 when all stakes other than those in Hancock and Lee Counties were discontinued. Smith admitted in a letter to H.R. Hotchkiss of August 25 1841, with

whom he had land contracts, that he had encouraged immigration into that part of Nauvoo purchased from Hotchkiss, despite the fact that it was an unhealthy area.²¹ The financial commitments of the Church, therefore, led to an emphasis on gathering which might not have been so pronounced otherwise. It resulted in Nauvoo experiencing unnatural growth as a city, the population fast exceeding the economic viability of the location.

While Nauvoo was able to support small craft and home enterprises, it was unable to develop large-scale manufactures as some had hoped and claimed it would. The Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, incorporated by the State Legislature in early 1841, as a joint-stock enterprise to raise funds to develop enterprises in these two areas, did not prosper. The level of production of goods in Nauvoo and the ability to sell in outside markets are extremely difficult to determine. Clarissa Emely Gear Hobbs mentioned, in her autobiography, that Joseph Smith and others came to Galena, North West Illinois, to try to sell goods. The ostensible lack of goods produced in Nauvoo was later a topic of ridicule in the Signal.²² That Mormons may not have sold to outside markets to any significant extent, does not imply that they necessarily bought from Gentiles. Tithings were often paid in produce and Nauvoo may have approached a subsistence economy with respect to foodstuffs.

To be self-sufficient was the Mormon ideal. By late 1841 there were calls for wealthy Saints to set up steam mills to lessen the dependence of the Saints on outsiders. This was coupled with restrictions on the sale of non-Nauvoo produced goods in the city.

Hawkers and peddlars, for example, had to obtain licenses to sell non-Nauvoo produced goods except food.²³ From the Mormon point of view, Gentiles often exploited their dependence. On December 13 1841, for example:

Isaac Decker, presiding Elder at Warsaw, stated to the Presidency of Nauvoo, that Mr. Witter had raised one dollar per barrel on flour, and sold the sweepings of his mill to the Saints at \$2.25 per hundred...that the citizens had raised their rent, &c.;...²⁴

Tyler noted that the Gentile William Smith did a thriving trade selling the Mormons farm equipment and provisions.²⁵ Such clear examples of Gentile advantage are, however, rare.

Gathering the Saints may have helped solve the Church problem of disposing of land but it created the problem of unemployment for individual Saints. Not all of the gathered Saints could be absorbed by agriculture, particularly the English Saints many of whom came from a manufacturing background.²⁶ Many of the unemployed were occupied by the Church's building program, notably the construction of the Temple. The only prosperous trade was the building trade which was kept busy by the constant tide of immigrants. Indeed, it was this tide of immigrants which buoyed up the Nauvoo economy.

For the Gentiles this situation was a peculiarly unenviable one. The Mormons now seemed precisely the kind of immigrants that they did not want. Further, as the Signal of December 29 1841 pointed out, the Mormon presence prevented the settlement of the "right" kind of people:

...every capitalist objects to invest his funds here, least he may be compelled to abandon all by the absorbing influence of Mormonism.

In this rather limited sense, the Gentiles can be said to have perceived the Mormons as a status threat: a threat to their image of what a developed Hancock County could and should be.

Yet the community was by no means undivided on the question of the desirability of Mormon settlement. The proposed settlement of the Mormons at Warren, near Warsaw, saw Gentiles aligned both for and against. Vested interests still led some Gentiles to promote Mormon expansion. Calvin.A.Warren, Mark.Aldrich and Daniel.S.Witter, for example, were involved in negotiations with Joseph.Smith to settle Warren. It would appear that Smith made more than one attempt to settle the area. His failure was not unconnected with the opposition of Gentiles like Sharp of the Signal.²⁷ Whether Sharp had vested interests in land elsewhere is impossible to determine due to the dearth of biographical information available about his business interests.

Warsaw and Carthage may have felt threatened by the rapid growth of Nauvoo's population, fearing that the County Seat might be removed to the Mormon city. If the Carthaginians did experience this fear, it did not become a well-aired public debate. A prophecy of Joseph.Smith's of December 1841, however, could clearly have been interpreted as showing signs of a desire to "take-over" Warsaw:

Thursday evening at the office, while conversing with Calvin.A.Warren, Esq., about the proceedings at Warsaw, I prophesied in the name of the Lord, that the first thing toward building up Warsaw was to break it down, to break down them that are there, that it never would be built up till it was broken down, and after that keep them entirely in the dark concerning our movements; and it is best to let Sharp publish what he pleases and go to the devil, and the more lies he prints

the sooner he will get through; not buy him out or hinder him; and after they have been in the dark long enough, let a certain set of men go there who will do as I tell them, a certain kind of men, some of those capitalists from the Eastern States, say from Pennsylvania; wise men who will take the lead of business, and go ahead of those that are there before they know what we are about, and the place will prosper, and not till then.²⁸

Other areas may have been envious of the flood of immigrants to Nauvoo, depriving their settlements of new blood. John Birket, an English emigrant to Tazewell County, Illinois, wrote of how much more honourable it would be if English people would come to Tazewell and build manufacturing establishments rather than going to aid Joseph Smith build his Temple.²⁹

R.W. McKinney, Esq., a resident of the area in the vicinity of Nauvoo since 1837, summarised the main changes which occurred in feelings towards the Mormons:

Two years had not elapsed since the first fugitives arrived at Nauvoo before the Mormons out-numbered the old settlers. The latter began to think they had enough for the present. None of the promised advantages had accrued from the settlement of the Mormons among them. They had created but little trade or commerce, had made no improvement of the rapids, had established no manufactories, erected no school-houses, organised no institutions for instruction, and made no provision for the support of the poor.³⁰ They were pressed into Joe's service and employed upon the erection of a temple of an order of architecture such as the world had never seen. They now assumed a haughty bearing and arrogant speech towards their old friends and protectors, and the latter were constantly sneered at as blind and erring Gentiles, whose steps were tending downward to the deepest pit of hell. The Saints were to possess the earth and the Gentiles be crushed beneath their footsteps. This doctrine had a fearful effect upon the common Mormon; he looked upon the old settler much as the followers of Moses and Joshua looked upon the Canaanites. If the earth was to be delivered to the Saints with the fulness thereof, why not take possession at once, or so much of it as to supply present wants? The old settlers began to feel that the inflated declarations of the Prophet meant something more than idle gasconade. Their cattle, which had been pastured safely on the broad prairies, now failed to come up; their poultry took wings and flew away to some undiscovered country, never to

return, and their barns and granaries were depleted with unheard of rapidity. If one visited Nauvoo in search of estrays, if by accident he peeped into the shambles or slaughter-pens of the Saints, he was rudely rebuffed as a disturber of the peace of Zion. He was fortunate if he escaped arrest, and did not often escape annoyance. The Mormons prided themselves on their genius in devising modes of annoyance by which a suspicious stranger could be driven away without resort to violence; the Prophet had systemized annoyance and reduced it to a science. He had organized clubs of loafers and boys into what he called "whittling deacons".³¹

It must be remembered, however, that not all Gentiles found their Mormon neighbours unbearable, especially during this early period. Stephen Eames of Walnut Grove, Knox County, Illinois, where there was a settlement of Mormons, described them as generally good neighbours.³²

(2) Assertion: The Mormons as Threat

While Mormon separatism, or non-integration, was perceived to have negative consequences for the community, their incursions into that community were interpreted as threats to its well-being. As McKinney's comments demonstrate, the Gentiles believed the Mormons to be thieves; they felt that their property was no longer safe. As a clearly demonstrable negative behaviour, theft was a good topic for malignment and was much used by the Signal and others. While ridiculing Smith for dishonestly forgetting to pay his subscription to the paper in June 1841, the Signal moved on to more serious criticism concerning the losses of the Kilbourns. In the same issue, October 6 1841, were included details of a trial of a Mormon Elder for horse stealing and a list of robberies which had occurred since the Mormons had arrived. The Signal put forward

the interpretation that Joseph. Smith acquiesced in theft, going so far as to suggest that stealing was the mainstay of the Church:

Deprive its "Prophets, "Seers" and "Revelators" of the means of robbing and cheating their fellow citizens, and Mormonism, with all its attendant fooleries and deformities, will soon be among "the things that were".³³

The Signal was also prepared to dredge up the past alleged frauds of the Church, notably the circulation of worthless notes by the Kirtland Bank and its subsequent crash. This civil "fraud" was juxtaposed with accusations of religious deception thereby generalising the alleged trait of dishonesty.

The major incident which fully publicised the suspicion that the Mormons were thieves was the "Tully Affair". Four Mormons were kidnapped by a group from Tully, Missouri, who alleged that the Mormons had been caught with stolen property. The Mormons were whipped or beaten before being released. The Quincy Whig viewed the incident as outrageous and made light of the claims of the citizens of Tully.³⁴ This was consistent with the previous defence of the Mormons against hostile allegations. Adolphus. Allen, a Missourian, was of a different opinion:

During the summer there has been a sum(?) of thefts committed on the citizens of Tully Mo, some of the goods were taken to Nauvoo, where the "Holy Prophet, in presence of our citizens in Tully) Justified those plunderers in their nefarious proceeding; and that they would continue it till they had recompensed themselves for their Missouri difficulties to the amount of \$3,000,000.³⁵

The aftermath was perhaps more serious for Joseph. Smith personally, for while the Governor of Illinois, Governor Carlin, dispatched an agent to demand the citizens of Tully responsible for the affray,

envoys from Governor Boggs reciprocated by demanding Smith and Rigdon as fugitives from justice. The Whig was furious at this counter-move, perhaps with clear political intent, the Mormons still voting Whig at this time. It accused the Locofoco Governors of Missouri and Illinois of scheming together to sacrifice the "citizens of this state" to a "Missouri mob".³⁶ Joseph. Smith, Rigdon and others were demanded but were able to evade the arresting sheriff.

The Mormons made attempts to defend themselves - to restore their image as law-abiding citizens. In November 1841 they sought to put their own house in order by cutting off from the Church those members in Ramus who were suspected of stealing. Both Hyrum. Smith and Joseph. Smith denounced theft.³⁷ The Twelve Apostles added their condemnation of the nefarious practice and expressed the intention to set up a police force to protect the Saints from the depredations of the thieves and robbers who plied the Mississippi. The Mormon hierarchy may have been presented with the problem of acute ingroup/outgroup distinctions which had grown up between Saint and Gentile as a result of the Mormon experience in Missouri. Some Saints may have believed that it was not sinful to steal from hostile Gentiles. Bennett found that Hutterite children engaged in petty theft because they believed that anyone outside their own colony was fair game.³⁸ This form of criminal activity may, therefore, be a more general unintended consequence of the exclusivity of some sectarian groups.

An important cue for opposition to the Mormons was the religious activity of the sect. This was a drama more often rehearsed outside

the pages of the newspapers. The extent of Mormon proselytizing in the Hancock County area is difficult to estimate. Much local preaching was performed en route to more distant missions in other states, the main evangelical emphasis still being on the East and England. The local area was not totally neglected, however. Joel.H.Johnson reported in the March 1840 issue of the Times and Seasons that he had established a branch of the Church around Crooked Creek in the vicinity of Carthage. In the Times and Seasons also, Joseph.Wood told of his work in Brown County, Illinois. In May 1840 a branch of the Church was established at Burlington, Iowa. William.Smith was directed through a Revelation of Joseph.Smith to go and proclaim the gospel to the inhabitants of Warsaw, Carthage, Burlington and Madison.³⁹ In October 1841, Hiram.Clark was set apart to go further afield into the Counties of Pike, Brown and Adams. John.D.Lee noted that he often preached in central Illinois himself.⁴⁰

How successful such local preaching was in terms of bringing new members into the Church is open to question as the sources themselves are divided. Reports in Times and Seasons give the impression that the Church was steadily expanding through the systematic creation of small branches. B.F.Morris of the American Home Missionary Society, however, doubted the efficacy of Mormon recruiting drives:

We are surrounded by the delusion of Mormonism, hundreds of whom have been driven from Missouri, to this region. But few if any of the citizens or people, believe, or countenance, this wild (?) fanaticism of religious feeling.⁴¹

In a subsequent letter of August 21 1841 Morris mentioned that Mormon recruits were chiefly from New York and England. Other

ministers were less sanguine as to the remoteness of Mormon success, some having to win back converts from their own congregations. Kane described opposition to Mormon missionary activity in Sangamon County about the turn of the decade. The Mormons had been having some success in Sangamon, preaching in a Church made available to all denominations. "Taking advantage of the general prejudice against this novel and ill-favored cult...", the Church officers made moves to close the Church to Mormon Elders.⁴²

The Mormons were perceived to offer a special challenge to the existing Churches - to go beyond the bounds of "normal" religious competition. This may not necessarily have been the result of a conscious strategy of aggressive evangelism on the part of the Saints. In July 1839, for example, Joseph Smith had warned the Elders:

...according to previous counsel, not to go on to another's ground without invitation, to interfere with another's privilege, for your mission is to the world, and not to the churches.⁴³

To what extent this advice was followed is difficult to say.

Certainly, confronting another denomination on its own doorstep was not unheard of: Peter Cartwright, the famous Methodist preacher, took on the Shakers and the Baptists on their own territory.⁴⁴

Certainly not all Elders followed all Smith's instructions to the letter. Lee, for example, had to escape the wrath of a Tennessee husband because he had baptised his wife, despite an instruction of Smith, given in September 1835, that Elders should not baptise wives without their husband's consent.⁴⁵

Opposition from relatives to the conversion of members of their

families was evident both in America and England.⁴⁶ Some, however, chose to ignore converts from their ranks, as was the case with Bishop Partridge; or just look on in mute surprise that their own flesh and blood should become heir to such delusion.⁴⁷

The Mormons maintained that only they possessed the means to true Salvation.⁴⁸ It was to the Saints that God had restored the keys and principles of the Kingdom, of Priesthood and Salvation, lost through error and apostasy on the part of the post-Apostolic Church. To the Saints had been given the Book of Mormon - precious additional scripture to the Bible - unique to them and a challenge to the scriptural basis of other denominations. From such an exclusive and elitist position the Mormons were able to freely renounce all other religions.⁴⁹ The Saints withheld fellowship from "sectarian" Churches and complained of their lack of charity in joining the bandwagon of anti-Mormon persecution. One Elder, Oliver Walker, was warned to defend himself at "trial" by the Church of Latter-Day Saints because, among other misdemeanours, he had asserted that "sectarians" could obtain Salvation by pursuing their own creeds.⁵⁰ Yet at the same time, Nauvoo was declared open to all denominations, and the Mormon principle of Universalism held out the hope that even "sectarians" could be saved, except those who committed the unpardonable sin of renouncing the word of God after receiving it, and/or shedding innocent blood.⁵¹

The scriptural and elitist challenges of the Mormons were freely accepted by other denominations. Battle commenced. Mormon beliefs were analysed and criticised unsparingly. A particular

object of ridicule was the materialistic dogma of the Church - the belief in the eternal duration of matter and the associated material view of God as a Being with both body and parts.⁵² Clerics also attempted to refute the Mormon claim that the Saints were in receipt of the Apostolic Gifts of healing and speaking in tongues, and the supposition that the Mormon Prophet received Divine Revelations. Tracts, anti-Mormon lectures and the pulpit were the major vehicles for opposition. Polygamy,⁵³ while an issue in Missouri and Kirtland calling forth denials that it was a valid doctrine of the Church in August 1835 and again in May 1838,⁵⁴ was not yet a prominent issue in Illinois. Roberts dates the introduction of Celestial Marriage, which could lead to either symbolic or actual plurality of wives, at the Spring and Summer of 1841.⁵⁵ The other major doctrinal innovation of this period, and one given more publicity than polygamy in anti-Mormon diatribes, was that of Baptism for the Dead. This enabled a person who had died prior to the rise of Mormonism to be baptised by proxy and thereby attain salvation. Relatives of Mormon converts became aware of this doctrine through requests for genealogical information. To one such parent the doctrine seemed reminiscent of Catholicism insofar as it also relieved the dead from purgatory.⁵⁶

It is possible that the Mormons may have appeared a greater evangelical threat to existing denominations than other sects because of their missionary organisation. A large proportion of male Mormons were Elders of the Church and could be called to go on missions which were virtually self-supporting. Most other denominations were hard pressed financially to support

their own ministers in the missionary field, especially after the panic of 1837.⁵⁷ In this sense the Mormons may have been perceived as unfair competition in the religious market-place.

If it was debatable whether the Mormons placed themselves beyond the pale of fair competition in the religious field, there was less doubt in the minds of some of their neighbours that they transgressed the norms of fair play in politics. Political opposition, of a minor sort, was in evidence quite early. In Bloomington, for example, Mormons who supported the Whigs in the 1840 campaign and who wished to make stump speeches there, were prohibited from doing so and were forced to leave town.⁵⁸ The Gentiles became angry and fearful observers of the growing power and influence of the Church in politics. Particularly annoying was the sycophancy of politicians of both parties which served to give the Mormons more power than their numbers warranted.

Shortly after the Mormons settled in Illinois they applied to the State Legislature for a city charter. This was drawn up under the guiding hand of John.C.Bennett who had joined the Church in 1840 having previously corresponded with Joseph.Smith and offered his services for the general benefit of the Church. Bennett became the city's first mayor when Municipal elections were held in February 1841 for the first time. The city charter incorporated the city, facilitated municipal government in Nauvoo, gave the City Council the power to pass ordinances for the efficient running of the city (section 11), gave the mayor power to issue

process in connection with the execution of ordinances, and enabled the Municipal Court to grant "writs of Habeas Corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council" (section 17). It also provided for the mustering of a "body of independent Military men to be called the Nauvoo Legion..." (section 25), and the organisation of a University (section 24). (See Appendix: 3 for the charter in full). The charter sailed through the Legislature: introduced into the Senate by Mr. Little, it passed to the House of Representatives where it was read only by its title. Lincoln voted for the charter despite the scratching of his name from the list of Presidential Electors by the Mormons in favour of the Democrat Ralston.⁵⁹ The charter was to become a symbol of Mormon civil and judicial independence - the basis of political anti-Mormonism.

The trading of votes for favours was a potent source of grave irritation. Reynolds interpreted Bennett's actions in connection with the charter as essentially trading Mormon votes to assure its passage.⁶⁰ The practice was admitted by John.D.Lee, who rewarded Justice Wells with Mormon votes for aiding him in his escape from the wrathful Tennessee husband. Joseph.Smith in his famous declaration of December 1841, in favour of the Democratic candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, spoke of going "for our friends, our tried friends."⁶¹ Prominent among those "friends" was Stephen.A.Douglas. It was Douglas who had secured the appointment of John.C.Bennett to the office of Master in Chancery for the County of Hancock, much to the displeasure of the Alton Telegraph:

Heretofore, appointments of this kind have been conferred where they legitimately belong - upon some one of the legal professions; but the Judge is for reversing the ordinary course of things. "Straws show which way the wind blows".⁶²

It was also Douglas who heard the case against Joseph. Smith when he was arrested on June 5 1841 on a writ arising out of the Missouri troubles. Douglas passed judgement that the writ, having once been returned to the Executive, was dead. At this hearing Joseph. Smith was defended by such eminent politicians as Sidney. Little of the Senate and James. H. Ralston.⁶³ This arrest aroused the nervousness of the Mormons: Joseph. Smith noted in his journal history that a core group of Mormons, on hearing of the arrest, set out with the intention of rescuing him, should that have become necessary. Smith also noted that his defence counsel were threatened with the loss of the Gentile vote in Warren County, where the trial was held, should they proceed with his case.⁶⁴ The Alton Telegraph reported that it was rumoured that Douglas had "engineered" the arrest to prove that he was not a Mormon and to make sure of the Mormon vote through a timely rescue.⁶⁵ Such was the casuistry of arguments levelled against suspected sycophants.

Governor Carlin was also a target for such accusations. The Quincy Whig, coming out of its shell of neutrality, derisively noted that the Governor was not in fact a Mormon despite rumours to the contrary:

The most of our western exchanges give credit to the idle tale that Gov. Carlin has joined the Mormons. This is not the fact. The Governor is still a sinner.⁶⁶

The Warsaw Signal, reacting to news that Carlin was to attend a display of the Nauvoo Legion, issued a warning to those who would

fawn upon the Prophet or permit friends to do so in order to obtain the political support of the Mormons, that they would be proscribed by the independent citizens of Hancock and adjoining counties.⁶⁷

The Gentiles were also aware of the unqualified success which the Mormons often had in obtaining the nomination of candidates whom they preferred. The Signal of June 9 1841, for example, bewailed the fact that Mormon delegates were able to successfully threaten the Whigs and ensure the nomination of their candidate for Lee County, Iowa. Gentiles were also aware that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was approximating what they called a "political Church", anathema to those who believed that the separation of Church and Politics was guaranteed by the National Constitution. As the Signal put it:

We do not believe in persecution for opinion's sake. But whenever they, as a people, step beyond the proper sphere of a religious denomination, and become a political body, as many of our citizens are beginning to apprehend will be the case, then this press stands pledged to take a stand against them.⁶⁸

Such comments may have been prompted by the candidacy of a Mormon in the School and County Commissioner elections.

Mormon involvement in Masonry has also been interpreted as an attempt by the Saints to insulate themselves by gaining a foothold in influential local organisations.⁶⁹ A dispensation was granted for a Mormon Lodge in October 1841, although no "regular" activity took place until the following year. At the first congregated meeting of the Nauvoo Lodge, held on December 29 1841, John.C.Bennett was elected Lodge Secretary. Hogan sees a political motive behind

the granting of the dispensation, the then Grand Master being an ambitious aspirant for a seat in the Illinois Legislature, and therefore eager to gain Mormon support at the polls.⁷⁰

The Gentiles also perceived that they were, potentially, threatened by the growing military power of the Mormons as represented by the Nauvoo Legion. Gardner has pointed out that the Legion was unusual in assuming many of the powers it did: for example, its assumption of executive and legislative powers, its powers of courtmartial, and its being at the disposal of the mayor to enforce city ordinances.⁷¹ The many sources of Mormon power were beginning to reinforce one another. John.C.Bennett had held the post of Quarter Master General of Illinois and had, therefore, been in a position to supply state arms to the Legion.⁷² The Legion drilled and paraded, as if to flaunt Mormon prowess, Joseph. Smith self-confidently at its head. As the Signal asked of the

Times and Seasons:

Did Joe Smith state at a parade of the Legion, or part of it, at Nauvoo, a few weeks since, that some persons complained because he was a military officer - but that he cared not, for he was General and second in command to the Governor; and those who did not like it might go to h___ ! ?⁷³

The Signal was able to give wider meaning to this "aggrandisement" by labelling it "treason to the Government". This was the interpretation the paper gave to a visit by Smith to Iowa. Smith attended in a quasi-military capacity which the Signal dubbed an attempt to order the citizens of Iowa as a military officer.

The "take-over" rumours may have been fairly widespread. John.Nevius,



for example, in a letter written from Bluff, Illinois, to a correspondent in Pennsylvania, in May 1841, reproduced the imagery and mood conveyed in the Signal without ever having consciously met a member of the Mormon Church:

...they believe Mormanism to be Gods last dispensation to man and therefore the(y) must and will take the world. And if they cannot do it by preaching they will by the force of arms they therefore incorporate militerry tacticks with their religeon it is said that they train every saturday and are very well deciplined there are some of them passing round the country preaching and it is said the(y) take the liberty to tell the people that they now come with they Bible in their hands but ere long they will come ~~else~~ with a sword also by their side, there is number emigrating from Europe. it is said they are pursuing the same course that led to their former difficulties in Mo...⁷⁴

Such transmission of the negative images associated with a particular group vicariously increases the range of the applicability of the stereotype, removing it from the locality in which it was produced through direct interaction. Fears concerning the power and intrigue of the Church were enhanced by the secrecy surrounding Nauvoo, itself a by-product of Mormon non-integration. Secrecy fostered the growth of rumour which, in turn, made the Gentiles more wary of straying into Nauvoo. Such secrecy had not become acute at this time. Nauvoo was more of an intriguing curiosity to those "pleasure parties" which gawped in anticipated titillating indignation at Mormon life in Nauvoo, as they idled away a pleasant afternoon.⁷⁵

Mechanics of Malignment

In the course of learning that the Mormons were "other", undesirable and a threat to their self-interests, the people of Illinois evolved a set of criteria by which they could define

Mormonism, both doctrinally and socially, as an unacceptable religion. Such criteria implicitly lay behind the stigmatising epithets. Once established such criteria would intervene in any subsequent interaction. Mormon behaviour, therefore, had only to be consistent for continued stigmatisation. The negative response of the Gentiles could escalate on the basis of new information about the same kinds of behaviour without that behaviour becoming more deviant. Cohen recognised this self-amplification of the societal response in his study of the reaction of the media to the mods and rockers phenomenon in English sea-side resorts.⁷⁶ It is not always the case, as some assert,⁷⁷ that an increase in information in a tightknit community will lead to greater tolerance of deviant behaviour. Or that face-to-face interaction yields information which is likely to be productive of tolerance rather than of hostility. The Mormons were "isolated" from the Gentile community on their own terms in certain spheres of social activity, while their assertiveness in other areas facilitated direct interaction which enhanced conflict. Thus both isolation and assertiveness were productive of conflict, and, indeed, the combination of the two in this case compounded ill feeling.

The most prominent characteristics of the Mormons and their belief system selected for negative evaluation were: that Mormonism was not true, its followers were fanatical in their allegiance, that as a Church Mormonism was elitist and separatist, that its leaders were mercenary, its followers dishonest if not criminal, its missionaries religious "poachers", its orientation political and its organisation autocratic. If one were to turn these criticisms

on their heads, then it would follow that acceptable religion would, in theory, have to be: egalitarian and integrative, aesthetic, virtuous, without worldly wealth, reserved in its proselytising, apolitical and be so organised so as not to restrict the liberty of the individual. The supposed infringement of such criteria is often the basis for defining religious groups as deviant. Similar criteria were used in the "Moral Crusade" against the Church of Scientology of California in the nineteen-sixties. Yet few religious denominations would escape censure if such criteria were applied across the board. Underlying these criteria is perhaps a more fundamental objection to the all-embracing nature of some religious sects - to the dominance of religious identity as "the" identity of an individual to the exclusion of secular social identity. This essentially challenges the status of the social realm for it competes with it for the attention and conformity of the convert.

The values implicit in the criteria of evaluation suggest that the major controversies were not wholly moral ones, in the sense that they were concerned with "decency".⁷⁸ The separatism of the Church and its autocratic structure were seen as contrary to such values as individualism, equal opportunity and the separation of Church and State. Similar values were invoked against the Catholic Church in America.⁷⁹ Such values were only implicit in the arguments, however, and it would perhaps be to over-interpret and distort the early anti-Mormon movement to see it in terms of values alone. The movement did not necessarily seek to reinforce these implicit values for the public - conformity was not the goal. The prime concern of the early anti-Mormons was to convince the public that

such values had been infringed to the detriment of their self-interests. The anti-Mormon movement was, therefore, not a pure morality crusade, particularly in its early phase, before sexual mores had significantly entered the debate. Calls for action were made on the basis of protecting economic, political and social self-interests, rather than in defence of morality. The political cause was "real" rather than expressive. Value references were to become more significant when the struggle was taken out of the local area.

The battle at this point was, therefore, one between opposing systems of "right conduct". The Gentile community presented its own puritan image of what should be taken as the model of right behaviour, to combat the Mormon presentation of a threatening normative system. In many ways, however, Gentiles were unable to articulate their precise objections to Mormon behaviour in terms of infringements of specific rules. The presentation of a Gentile puritan image was thus by no means uniform or universally invoked. It was used sporadically, to give additional weight to arguments which underlined the Mormon threat to Gentile material interests. The anti-Mormon "crusade" was, therefore, very different from the Temperance Crusade studied by Gusfield.⁸⁰ According to Gusfield, the Temperance Crusaders saw Temperance as a symbol of a nexus of norms and values which underwrote their social status, a status which they were fighting hard to preserve in the wake of the social and cultural changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The symbolism of the anti-Mormon "crusade", however, lay in the rhetoric of its vilification, not in its platform, which

was consonant with the perceived threat and the source of that threat. The Mormons threatened the Gentiles directly, they were not a symbol of a more inclusive threat to values or status attendant upon the unilateral acceptance of a certain system of values. It is arguable whether the anti-Mormon agitation was geared to elicit conformity from the Mormons, and/or re-assimilate them within the community. The sense of urgency stimulated by the political threat would seem to have led to the bypassing of this conformist aspect of the agitation in order to deal more directly with the problem of stemming the tide of Mormon power. Re-conversion and the prevention of conversion, however, would have been an aim of clerical "crusaders". It is important to realise that many who opposed the Mormons did so for quite distinct reasons: economic, political, religious, etc. There was no uniformity in the defence presented by the Gentiles. Baptist and sinner, landowner and mechanic stood together precariously united by anti-Mormon sentiment, not necessarily by common status or values. The very heterogeneity of the movement may have been an organisational weakness. The rhetoric of the agitation attempted to build up a sense of "we-ness" by using the term "old citizens" to designate those opposed to the Mormons, in order to imply that they had a prior right to determine matters in Hancock County. The term was used with more emotion than accuracy, and did not imply long residence in the county, nor did it imply allegiance to a specific life-style attendant upon an identifiable common social status.⁸¹

The Warsaw Signal was the major crusading organ against the Mormons. The bias of the paper was obvious and self-confessed, as was the political bias of each of the party presses. The Signal

assigned to itself the role of public watchdog. It assumed that it reflected public opinion, making statements which it believed were in the public interest. The probable influence of the Signal on its readership, as of any press, is difficult to judge. The local press in Illinois was an important source of news and entertaining reading matter. In their columns the papers carried both national and international news, being far less parochial than twentieth century local presses. The Signal was the only non-Mormon press in Hancock County during the period it was in print. Joseph Smith subscribed to it for a while, but it did not attract sufficient financial support to survive beyond October 1842, and this after a "vacation" of two months in May and June of that year. Many newspapers which could not attract government printing contracts and were, therefore, dependent upon subscribers and advertisers found it difficult to survive.⁸² The opinions of a paper's readership were, to some extent, represented in their letters. It is, however, impossible to determine the level of bias which operated in the Editor's selection of letters for publication. The "Thomas Sharp and Allied Anti-Mormon Papers" contain letters to the Signal's editor, some of which were not printed, but no pattern of selection can be deduced. The obvious crusading role assumed by the Signal took it beyond merely echoing its public. It presumed to present what it thought was good for the Gentile community, rather than presupposing the agreement of its readers with the sentiments it expressed. In this sense it defined what the important issues were and the terms in which they should be discussed. Sharp may have found his self-designated "guardian" role status-enhancing, since it offered a new career, after being forced to abandon the practice of law due to a

"dullness of hearing".⁸³

The Signal may have been taken as indicative of dominant opinion in the county. Modern studies of press influence, however, warn against an overemphasis of the credibility and persuasiveness of mass communications such as newspapers.⁸⁴ The public may be aware of bias in the press and "tone down" any extreme images or hostile negative stereotypes presented.⁸⁵ The secrecy element in Mormonism may have led to a greater public dependence, real or perceived, on press information as opposed to knowledge gained through face-to-face interaction. Conversely, the influence of the Signal may have been weakened by Mormon propaganda, which may have swayed those not already prejudiced against the Saints.

Mormon counter-propaganda, in its attempt to maintain the innocent image, denotes resistance to the deviant image put forward by sections of Gentile opinion. While the Mormons expressed annoyance at the attribution of deviance, they in no sense accepted the label. Propulsion into a "deviant career" through labelling, as some studies suggest,⁸⁶ is thus not applicable here. The Mormons had already entered what might be termed a "deviant subculture" by settling in Nauvoo. They willingly closed the avenues to Gentile normality, at the same time rejecting Gentile notions that such actions were misguided and wrong. For them, "otherness" was a virtue. That the religious convert does not perceive his conversion as "wrong" reduces the parallelism between the stigmatisation of sect members and, say, drug users. The latter usually enter upon their deviance with an awareness that their actions are "wrong". Mormon non-acceptance of the

deviant image may have contributed to the amplification of the hostile response of the Signal by prompting the Editor to look for ever more damning and cogent evidence of deviance.

With regard to who influences who in the interaction between press and public, therefore, one can only agree with Lohisse,⁸⁷ that the audience creates the product but the product also creates the audience. A certain level of anti-Mormonism must have been acceptable to the Signal's audience, yet the Signal was undeniably innovative in the process of stigmatising the Mormons. In the stigmatising process, certain argumentative techniques were employed, consciously or unconsciously, by the Signal which are common to other vilifying crusaders.

In order to simplify the vilification process and to attract sympathy for and indignation on behalf of the bulk of Mormon converts, the Signal selected Joseph Smith to fill the role of arch villain, while his followers were cast as helpless "dupes". It was Smith who was personally castigated as arrogant, autocratic, a drunkard, swindler and politically ambitious; while his "dupes", particularly the English emigrants, were seen as intelligent and potentially industrious citizens if only they would abjure their religious infatuation.⁸⁸ The Signal also used the disappointment of some English emigrants on their arrival at Nauvoo as "inside", "unimpeachable" evidence that things were not as they should be in the "holy city".⁸⁹ While it is often the case that stereotypes are formed by picking out the behaviour of certain random individuals and treating it as typical, in the Mormon case all eyes were on

Smith as the pinnacle of an autocratic pyramid. Certain symbols were frequently used to extend the "pictures" in the heads of readers beyond the prima facie meaning of the information given. A common symbol was that of Mahomet, to whom Smith was compared in order to imply foreignness, autocracy and ruthless political ambition.

While one finds expressions of surprise that people could fall for the "vilest imposter" and his "delusions", there was not the accusation of "brainwashing" converts which one finds in critiques of modern sects. Ridicule of Smith's doctrines and of those who sympathised with them was used to isolate him from possible religious or political support. Commenting on the announcement that the baptismal font was to be supported by gold oxen, the Signal asked, "Would not a certain hornless, long-eared animal have been a more fitting emblem?".⁹⁰ Ridicule of doctrine was accompanied by challenges to Smith that he should produce evidence of authenticity. He was, for example, called upon to submit the writings from which he translated the Book of Abraham to an expert for verification. The Signal also used ridicule to debunk the persecuted innocence image of the Mormons:

...it is said that Mr. Browning's eloquence, in describing the persecutions of the Mormons at the trial of Joe Smith, at Monmouth, last week, drew tears from the eyes of Judge Douglass.

Quere - were there any onions about !⁹¹

Such comments were carefully balanced with more serious accusations in order to avoid the possible response of dismissal of the trivial.

The seriousness of the situation was sometimes deliberately

"constructed" through exaggerated reporting, artificially escalating the situation by producing a climate of alarm.

The November 24 1841 issue of the Signal, for example, contained the following:

MORMON EXCITEMENT

We understand that on Saturday last, the citizens living in the bottom, immediately below this place, met together, and formally gave notice to the several Mormon families residing in the neighborhood, to leave in a certain number of days, under penalty of being removed vi et armis, in the case of refusal. The reason assigned by the citizens, for this proceeding, is that the extent of the depredations upon their property, recently committed, evidently by these people, is insupportable; they have, therefore, no alternative left, but to remove themselves, or else to remove the depredators.

The paper called on the citizens to do nothing rash in the light of such "excitement", but to allow fair play. A postscript clarified that what had actually happened was that a group of Mormons, without families, came to the bottom to trap and chop wood. Livestock disappeared from the area and the farmers asked the Mormons to leave, without threats, which they agreed to do. The Signal was quick to report anything which would enhance the deviant image of Smith, without hesitating to await the full facts of the case. In its December 29 1841 issue, it noted that Smith had refused to pay his taxes. This was later "explained" in the issue of January 26 1842, when it appeared that Smith had refused to pay taxes on a portion of land which had been wrongly assessed.

Selective perception also operated to ensure that all Mormon behaviour could be used as evidence of deviance. When the Mormons attacked the Editor of the Signal in Times and Seasons on the grounds that he was base for attacking the Mormons after they had offered him hospitality, Sharp responded that such hospitality was

tantamount to bribery.⁹² Similarly, any denials of guilt by the Mormons were transformed into affirmations. The Times and Seasons had printed an article accusing the Signal of falsehood in its report of Smith's visit to Montrose, Iowa, as a military occasion, and denied that the visit had any such overtones. The Signal offered the rejoinder:

The article and its author are too contemptible for serious notice; nevertheless, the mere fact of the Mormons having denied this one charge alone, is equivalent to a plea of guilty, on the many others which we have from time to time made against them.⁹³

The denials by Joseph and Hyrum Smith that they taught theft only evoked counter-comments such as "they take so much from their followers that they must either steal or starve".⁹⁴ The Signal also anticipated Mormon deviance, encouraging "self-fulfilling prophecy" interpretations should any actual misdemeanours occur. For example, upon receiving news of the proposed Mormon settlement near Warsaw, the Signal announced:

We intend to mark the day of the first arrival as one important era in the history of our town, and the night on which the first porker disappears as another.⁹⁵

Having set the image through constant repetition, the Signal exhorted its readers to action, castigating Gentile apathy and forecasting gloomy consequences should the present trends not be reversed. The main device through which it did this was the rhetorical question:

We wish to see whether Hancock county has the spirit to resist the religious and military despotism which is attempted to be fastened upon her. We wish to know whether Joe Smith is to be the dispenser of honour and office among us, as he is among his deluded followers.⁹⁶

The foreboding lesson to be drawn from Smith's proclamation that

all stakes of Zion except Hancock and Lee Counties were to be discontinued was clearly spelt out:

...what may - nay what WILL become of your dearest rights and most valued privileges, when that ascendancy is gained which the following proclamation is intended to effect...⁹⁷

Conclusion

The innocent, bedraggled, persecuted Mormons had become, by the end of 1841, dangerous fanatics about to engulf the Gentile community in Hancock and beyond, in the eyes of their Gentile neighbours. The Gentiles were becoming aware that the cohesive structure of the Mormon Church gave it a social and economic power which the Gentiles had not foreseen. They were also becoming aware that the Mormons were willing to use the political structure for their own ends. The Gentiles felt that they had been "jilted" of their expectations. The Mormons, for their part, had been disappointed in their hopes for unalloyed asylum in Illinois. Both Mormon and Gentile had become suspicious of each other, security was lost as hopes of co-operation foundered. Both parties were disenchanted, each with the other. Each accretion of Mormon power, each stigmatising Gentile epithet escalated the growing hostility. It seems clear that when a sect reaches out for social power qua sect as opposed to qua individual members of that sect, conflict is likely to result. Those in the original community feel they are "outside" victims of a conspiracy to wrench their rights from them. While action to counter the "conspiracy" was mainly political, the numerous areas in which Mormon power expressed itself should not be under-estimated. Politics was the most easily identifiable area of potential control. Standard social structures existed in

and through which a political battle could be fought. Informal control through face-to-face interaction was not capable of the same degree of visible concerted effort, mobilisation of additional and extra-communal support, or measurable success.

It may be the case that this pattern of loss, rejection and threat, which arises out of the non-integration of a group coupled with political assertiveness, may be applicable to certain immigrant enclaves in other communities - particularly to those immigrant sub-communities encouraged to settle in the expectation that they would form a resource of cheap labour. Irish Catholic labourers in America may form one such parallel with the Mormon case. They were identifiable as "separate" in terms of their religion and ethnicity and expressed their distinct identity collectively at the ballot box. In seeking to understand the arousal of hostility and prejudice against such groups the dialectic of mutual rejection should be stressed, as in the analysis above. Such an emphasis renders unnecessary and irrelevant the all too frequent tendency in some analyses to cast the minority group as innocent under-dog and the "vilifiers" as irrational villains.

Notes for Chapter 3

1. See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of the controversial powers of this charter. Appendix: 3 gives the charter in full.
2. J.Taylor, The Government of God (Liverpool: 1852).
3. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 257.
4. This was the Council of Fifty which was formed in 1844.
5. P.P.Pratt, A Voice of Warning and Instruction to all People (Manchester: 1841 ed.).
6. Not all Mormons in Hancock County and beyond made permanent settlements in Nauvoo. Other Mormon settlements included La Harpe, Plymouth, Macedonia, Green Plains and Montebello. The extent to which these settlements were exclusively Mormon is difficult to estimate. One resident of La Harpe wrote in July 1841, that more than half the town had joined the Mormons. Most Church members residing outside Nauvoo lived on farms in villages, the concentration of Mormons not exceeding a few hundred. Incomplete membership figures for each Church Branch make it difficult to determine precisely where non-Nauvoo Mormons lived and worked. (Letter to the author from D.M.Mayfield, Historical Dept., Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, June 10, 1977).
7. Brodie, 1971.
8. Klapp differentiates vilification from scapegoating on the grounds that blame, in vilification, may be accurately placed. See O.E.Klapp, "Notes Toward the Study of Vilification as a Social Process", Pacific Sociological Review, 2, (1959),

pp. 71-76. See Chapter 1 for the ideological problem which scapegoating presents for the assignment of blame.

9. D.L.Wilson & R.O.Davis eds., "Eudocia.Baldwin.Marsh - Mormons in Hancock County: A Reminiscence", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 31-65.
10. Warsaw Signal, July 14 1841.
11. A.F.Tyler, "A New England Family on the Illinois Frontier", Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the year 1942, (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1944), pp. 72-92, p. 79.
12. Warsaw Signal, September 22 1841.
13. Warsaw Signal, October 6 1841.
14. Wilson & Davis, (1971).
15. For the ordinance see History of the Church, vol.4, p.447.
16. Warsaw Signal, June 9 1841.
17. Quoted by the Quincy Whig, October 17 1840.
18. R.B.Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).
19. W.V.Pooley, "The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850", Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Number 220, (1908).
20. History of the Church, vol.4, pp. 267-273.
21. History of the Church, vol.4, pp. 406-407.
22. Warsaw Signal, February 19 1845.

23. Times and Seasons, December 15 1841.
24. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 471.
25. Tyler, 1944.
26. The relative prosperity of Nauvoo has been variously interpreted. Pooley (1908), for example, sees Nauvoo as relatively prosperous, and advancing in wealth as immigration increased. This is counter to the interpretation of Flanders, 1965 who sees the per capita wealth of the city falling with the influx of poor immigrants. Bishop George Miller noted in his correspondence that converts were generally of the poorer sort, the rich not responding to Smith's call. There were notable exceptions to this, however, such as Edward Hunter Sen., who invested \$4,500 in town lots and farming land. See History of the Church, vol.4, p. 416.
27. See Warsaw Signal, July 14, August 4, December 29 1841.
28. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 487.
29. Letter of John Birket to Charles Birket, December 25 1841.
30. While undoubtedly the view of the typical anti-Mormon, some of these points are arguable. Mormon collectivism did allow for the support of the poor from a community farm. With regard to education, the Nauvoo charter did provide for the establishment of a University. While no campus was built, some classes were held. One can trace references to schools in Nauvoo, the most notable is the Journal of Howard Egan, Yale University Collection. Egan taught the children of Smith and Young.
31. J.H. Beadle, Life in Utah: or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870), pp. 74-75. McKinney was referring to the "Whistling and

Whittling" brigade, a band of youths who followed persons considered undesirable around the city whittling wood with large knives in close proximity to the disliked person, until that person left town. Eudocia Marsh spoke of a gentleman who received this treatment when he attempted to obtain payment for goods supplied to the Mormons. A modern Mormon History Course for Elders (HC 69 - 5 -3 E1) acknowledges the existence of such a brigade about 1845. The context of Marsh's comment, however, places its existence somewhat earlier.

32. Letter of Stephen Eames to Mrs. Rhoda E. Boyd, August 23 1840.
33. Warsaw Signal, October 27 1841.
34. Quincy Whig, July 18, July 25 1840.
35. Letter of Adolphus Allen to Lilburn Boggs, August 12 1840.
36. Quincy Whig, September 12 1840.
37. History of the Church, vol.4, pp. 460-462.
38. J.W. Bennett, Hutterian Brethren (California: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967).
39. History of the Church, vol.4, pp. 281-282.
40. J.D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled (St. Louis: D.M. Vandawalker & Co., 1877).
41. Letter B.F. Morris to Milton Badger, May 28 1839, American Home Missionary Society Collection.
42. C.P. Kane, "The Christian Church of Springfield, Illinois", Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1907, (1908), pp. 298-314, p. 304.

43. History of the Church, vol.3, p. 396.
44. W.P.Strickland ed., The Backwoods Preacher an Autobiography of Peter.Cartwright (London: 1858).
45. History of the Church, vol.2, p. 263.
46. See P.P.Pratt, A Reply to Mr.Thomas.Taylor's "Complete Failure", & C., and Mr.Richard.Livesey's "Mormonism Exposed" (Manchester: 1840b), where Pratt answers the charge that Mormonism split up families, in the English context.
47. Letter of Edward.Partridge to "Sister Emily", October 12 1837; Letter of S & S.Goddard to A.S. & C.M.Goddard, December 1839, Abner.S.Goddard Papers.
48. J.Jaques, Exclusive Salvation (Liverpool: n.d.).
49. P.P.Pratt (?), Plain Facts, Showing the Falsehood and Folly of the Rev.C.S.Bush, Being a reply to his tract against the Latter-Day Saints (Manchester: n.d. but probably 1840, i.e. Pratt 1840c).
50. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 220.
51. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 273; Doctrine and Covenants, Section 76.
52. See for example, P.P.Pratt, The Millennium and Other Poems to which is annexed a Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter (New York: 1840a).
53. Debates concerning the first introduction of polygamy and the exact number of Joseph.Smith's wives are endless. Roberts 1965b traces the origins of polygamy as far back as 1831. Others date the doctrine to 1843, the time of the "revelations" concerning marriage. ^(p.114) The Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints maintains that Smith did not originate

the doctrine and was never a polygamist himself. The Reorganised Church believes that polygamy was introduced in 1852, when Young first publicly declared it an official doctrine of the Church. For two opposing views see Brodie 1971, and L.J.Lea, Joseph.Smith Was Not a Polygamist (Reorganised Church L.D.S., n.d.).

54. See History of the Church, vol.2, p. 247; vol.3, p. 28.
55. Roberts, 1965b.
56. Letter of S & S.Goddard to A.S. & C.M.Goddard, January 25 1842, Abner.S.Goddard Papers.
57. See American Home Missionary Society Collection; Strickland, 1858.
58. Mrs.E.P.Kelly, "Northern Illinois in the Great Whig Convention of 1840", Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1914, (1915), pp. 137-149.
59. Times and Seasons, January 1 1841.
60. J.Reynolds, My Own Times (Chicago Historical Society, 1879).
61. Times and Seasons, January 1, 1842.
62. Quoted in the Warsaw Signal, June 2 1841.
63. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 367.
64. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 365; p. 367.
65. Quoted in the Warsaw Signal, July 14 1841.
66. Quincy Whig, June 26 1841.
67. Warsaw Signal, July 7 1841. There is no obvious motive in the Signal's opposition. Its editor, Tom.Sharp, vacillated

in his political inclinations. In his June 16 1841 issue he averred that the paper represented those of both parties, not shackled by self interest, who dare to stand up to a political and military Church. The Quincy Whig of July 31 1841 noted that the Signal had "now" assumed a neutral political position, having begun as a Whig press. Yet Sharp was credited with being a Democrat in the 1847 elections (see Appendix:2).

68. Warsaw Signal, May 19 1841.
69. K.W.Godfrey, "Joseph.Smith and the Masons", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 79-90.
70. M.B.Hogan, The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge (Publisher unknown), probably 1974.
71. H.Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845 - A Unique Military Organisation", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1961), pp. 181-197.
72. The termination of Bennett's tenure in this office is noted in the Signal, June 9 1841. It is debatable whether Bennett did in fact use his position to supply the Legion with more arms than it was entitled to. Circumstantial evidence was enough for some anti-Mormons, however.
73. Warsaw Signal, July 7 1841.
74. Letter of John.Nevius to Aron.V.Nevius, May 2 1841, Abner. S.Goddard Papers.
75. Such apparent contradiction must stand, for it was undoubtedly true that one man's curiosity was another's dread.
76. S.Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics (Paladin, 1973).

77. L.Wilkins, "Information and the Definition of Deviance", in S.Cohen & J.Young eds., The Manufacture of News. Deviance Social Problems and the Mass Media (Constable, 1973).
78. Compare L.A.Zürcher.Jr. & R.G.Kirkpatrick, Citizens for Decency: Antipornography Crusades as Status Defense (Univ. Texas Press, 1976).
79. D.B.Davis, "Some Themes of Countersubversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature", in D.B.Davis ed., The Fear of Conspiracy (Cornell Paperbacks, 1972), pp. 9-22.
80. J.R.Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade (Univ. Illinois Press, 1963).
81. See Appendix: 1 for occupations of anti-Mormons, and, in some cases, indications of length of residence in the county.
82. See F.W.Scott, Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois 1814-1879 (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1910).
83. T.Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: Chas.C.Chapman & Co., 1880), p. 748.
84. R.Klein, "The Powers of the Press", Political Quarterly, 44, (1973), pp. 33-46.
85. Cohen, 1973; P.Meyer, "Elitism and Newspaper Believability", Journalism Quarterly, 50, (1973), pp. 31-36.
86. See for example: R.J.Antonio, "On Ignoring the Subtle Dimensions of Labelling: the case of Mental Disorder", Kansas Journal of Sociology, 11, (1975), pp. 3-13; H.S.Becker, Outsiders (Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); E.M.Schur, Labelling Deviant Behaviour (Harper & Row, 1971).
87. J.Lohisse, Anonymous Communication (George.Allen & Unwin, 1973).

88. Warsaw Signal, December 15 1841.
89. For the disappointment of one English emigrant to Nauvoo see J.Greenlagh, Narrative of James.Greenlagh (Liverpool: R.Scragg, July 1842).
90. Warsaw Signal, July 21 1841.
91. Warsaw Signal, June 16 1841.
92. Warsaw Signal, June 9 1841.
93. Warsaw Signal, October 13 1841.
94. Warsaw Signal, December 15 1841.
95. Warsaw Signal, August 4 1841.
96. Warsaw Signal, June 16 1841.
97. Warsaw Signal, June 9 1841.

Chapter 4: The Struggle for Control 1842-1843

The Warsaw Signal had stated its case, its clarion call for action had been heard by Gentile and Mormon alike. The task of the anti-Mormons was to capitalise upon the vilification campaign which had identified the threats posed by the Mormons. In Smelser's terms, the anti-Mormons needed to mobilise upon the basis of the generalised belief that Mormons were a serious community problem. The Mormon reaction to anti-Mormon attempts to mobilise, with a view to controlling their behaviour, was to significantly alter the course of the conflict. It was not beyond the bounds of credible speculation that the Mormons could have capitulated. The Oliver.Olney Papers, for example, spoke of proposals afloat in Nauvoo that the Saints should leave. Introversionist withdrawal as a form of retreat is a common strategy of communitarian sects; the Shakers, for example, adopted this strategy.¹ Alternatively, the Mormons could have conformed in the sense of becoming politically quiescent and socially assimilative. They could have abandoned antagonising doctrines as they were to abandon polygamy in 1890, and the bar on negroes entering the Priesthood in 1978. The situation was, therefore, not a deterministic one. That the conflict grew progressively severe was a contingent possibility, not an inevitable consequence of the situation at the end of 1841. That the Mormons did not "give in" lent to the period 1842-1843 an aura of contest, a struggle for the means to control the activities of outsiders. As both parties strove to protect their

interests they perceived more clearly that those interests were becoming mutually incompatible; victory for one party came to be seen as inevitable defeat for the other. As long as neither side capitulated, the pursuit of self-interests exacerbated the conflict.

Each side turned to the facilities available in the institutional and social context for pursuing their perceived interests. Each party hoped to achieve some measure of support from "Government". The latter, however, was also cast in the role of arbiter or conflict manager and its personnel often had their own vested interests in the possible outcome of the contest. Opinions were also affected by the continuing "Moral Crusade", which in this period brought apostates to the fore as a discrete opposition group. Apostates were also influential in more pragmatic areas of opposition, such as precipitating, in part, the Missouri arrests. Many areas of social life were used as arenas for the contest; the political, judicial, economic, moral, and the sphere of voluntary association. In many instances the issues in these spheres affected each other, leading to a complex configuration of events overall. It would, therefore, be highly distortive to elevate any one particular sphere of action as primary, in a causative sense: monocausal explanations of this conflict are considered to be out of place.

As this phase of the conflict is very much an active phase, it demands attention to "what happened", to how as well as why, to social process as well as social causes. Smelser pinpoints the problem when he states:

By themselves values and norms do not determine the form of organisation of human action. They supply certain general ends

and general rules; they do not specify, however, who will be the agents in the pursuit of valued ends, how the actions of these agents will be structured into concrete roles and organisations, and how they will be rewarded for responsible participation in these roles and organisations.²

Smelser, however, in the body of his analysis does not significantly address himself to the problem of the processes which constitute "mobilisation of motivation into organised action", perhaps because this could only be done for a specific case. In his analysis of the norm oriented movement, which is the most analogous to the anti-Mormon movement of any of his types and categories, he leaves one with the impression that the movement is self-encapsulated - a discrete entity - which emerged "whole" out of "mobilisation". He concerns himself more with the progress of movements than their inception. It is the concern of this Chapter to look at the faltering steps taken by the anti-Mormons in their efforts to mobilise a popular movement: to look at how resistance was organised within the existing institutional structure ^{and} to try to relate the nature of that institutional structure to the weaknesses of the movement.

Two contentions may be put forward as descriptive of the relationship between the nature of the struggle for control and the escalation of the conflict:

- 1) The failure of the anti-Mormons to develop a coherent, unified, organisationally viable opposition, led, in part, to their ineffectiveness. This ineffectiveness, in turn, led to the escalation of the conflict because the parties perceived that they had progressively exhausted the non-violent means of pursuing that conflict.

2) That the ineffectiveness of anti-Mormon use of certain institutional and organisational vehicles of control, in part, sprang from the structural constraints built into their use. That is, issues and actions were rendered somewhat effete by being "processed" through available institutional or organisational forms. In many cases anti-Mormon action was hamstrung by the strategic use of Mormon political and judicial power.

The main areas in which institutional control was attempted were: a) political representation; b) repeal of the Nauvoo charter; and c) attempts to extradite Joseph. Smith to face charges in Missouri. The Mormons also faced active opposition from within the Masonic fraternity, and some mild economic sanctions from Gentiles, during this period. These additional attempts to control Mormon power will be briefly considered at the end of the Chapter.

a) Political Representation

It was in June 1841 that the anti-Mormons decided to hold a County Convention to try to tackle the Mormon problem by using the organisational form of a political party. A preliminary meeting was held at the beginning of June, condemning political and military Mormonism and pledging support to candidates who would oppose it. A further meeting of June 19 selected delegates for the anti-Mormon convention to be held at Carthage at the end of the month, with a view to selecting candidates to stand for School and County Commissioners. Richard. Wilton and Robert. Miller were put forward and their candidature advertised in the Signal. Both

were elected but with only small majorities. The anti-Mormons faced competition from pro-Mormon candidates only with regard to the post of County Commissioner, in the person of John.T.Barnett. Both School Commissioner candidates were anti-Mormons.³ Anti-Mormon political opposition remained a local phenomenon, the Signal made specific note that the Mormon/anti-Mormon distinction was not relevant at the level of Congressional elections.

No further organised political activity took place until April 1842, when the anti-Mormon Committee appointed at the previous year's convention announced the desirability of placing candidates in the field at the next election who would represent "The People". The public were requested either to send delegates or to assemble en masse at the Court House in Carthage. The Mormons responded to this, through the pages of the Nauvoo Wasp, with a denial that such action was necessary, for they had never urged a candidate upon the people of Hancock merely because he was of their own religion.

Despite early anti-Mormon political plans, the Signal of July 9 maintained that the anti-Mormons were only prompted to action by the nomination of a full electoral ticket by the Mormons, which included Sidney.Rigdon and J.C.Bennett. Thirty delegates from Warsaw attended the ensuing convention which was described by Mormon-sympathiser John.Harper, in the Wasp, as poorly attended and distinctly unrepresentative of Hancock citizenry.⁴ The anti-Mormon ticket which emerged contained no anti-Mormon candidates for Governor or Lieutenant Governor. There were nominations for

Senator (Wm.H.Roosevelt), Representatives (Wesley.Williams, Edson.Whitney), Sheriff (Stephen.H. Tyler), County Commissioner (John.Brent), School Commissioner (William.D.Abernethy), Coroner (Benjamin.Avise). This ticket was singularly unsuccessful.⁵ Yet those elected can not be identified as Mormons with such consistency as to enable one to conclude that this defeat for the anti-Mormon ticket necessarily meant wholesale victory for the Mormons, even though some anti-Mormons may have interpreted it as such. The Mormons did return William.Smith, brother of the Prophet, as a representative in the Legislature, to replace J.C.Bennett. John. T.Barnett was returned as County Commissioner. Wm.Backenstos, who was elected sheriff, while not definitely identifiable as a member of the Church was probably pro-Mormon.⁶ The Mormons had been projecting an image of passive political participation. They maintained that they did not wish to use their numerical strength to flood county offices with their own candidates. Orson.Pratt, for example, while nominated as a candidate for representative by two public meetings in Nauvoo, withdrew because many "old citizens" had announced themselves for the office and he believed the honour should be theirs.⁷

The Signal saw the election as abject defeat and called for the division of the county to exile the Saints from local electoral influence. A petition from the citizens of Hancock was presented to the House of Representatives on December 24 1842, requesting the General Assembly to make such a division.⁸ While a new county called Marquette was organised on paper it did not become a reality at this time.⁹ The alternative form of vicinal separation, namely removal of the Mormons, was suggested by the Quincy Whig

of September 24 1842. The paper advised Smith to settle his new Jerusalem in Oregon. The Signal, as early as August 1842, was hoping that the Mormons would offer sufficient resistance to the authorities to warrant driving them from the state.

The Signal came to a temporary halt in October 1842 and was replaced by the Warsaw Message. An avowedly Whig paper, the Message kept remarkably silent about anti-Mormonism, publishing a proclamation by Joseph Smith on stealing, for example, without any insinuation of Mormon participation or acquiescence. It also took a self-righteous stand in favour of citizens' rights when Smith was arrested in June 1843. All this was in the hope that the Whig party would be able to woo the Mormon vote.¹⁰ In August 1843, however, the Whigs lost the Congressional election in the sixth district. Gregg had by this time become sole editor of the Message, and its September 13 issue heralded the resurrection of political anti-Mormonism. The election had convinced locals that Mormon power was too effective:

The Mormons now have all the power, elect whom they please and have taken the entire government of the county into their own hands. This election, they got all but one or two petty offices. They are still increasing and will do so. They are insolent. Lawless - and wicked. They recently determined the election for Congressman by pretended revelations.¹¹

A "Great Meeting of Anti-Mormons !" was convened on September 7, ostensibly without respect to party.¹² Its emphasis was on condemnation of the Mormons rather than formulating purposive political strategy. Its goals were more diffuse than had been the case at similar gatherings in the past. For example, it directed personnel to arrange for the Governor of Missouri to make another requisition to arrest Joseph Smith, and engaged in



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such expressive activity as avowing an intention of resisting all further wrongs perpetrated by the Mormons. Such "intentions" had the effect of posing potential thresholds for direct action. By leaving the initiative with the Mormons to commit further "wrongs" it relieved itself of the burdensome necessity of formulating discrete strategies in the wake of recent political defeat.

The organisational apparatus generated by the meeting was a "keeping in touch" organisation rather than a political party or pressure group. It consisted of a central corresponding committee with two people from each precinct deputed to communicate with it. The central committee was to act as a general committee of supervision. Other meetings followed in the precincts. At Green Plains and St.Mary's meetings were held which echoed the sentiments of the "Great Meeting" at Carthage, and asked that the central committee be approached to draw up an address to Governor Ford setting out the wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of the Mormons. St.Mary's recommended to the central committee that lecturers be sent to different parts of the state to awaken the public mind to the evils and dangers of Mormonism.¹³ It is not certain whether such recommendations were ever acted upon.

More direct action was also being called for if George.Rockwell of Warsaw is to be believed. In a letter of August 3 1843, he wrote of meetings held the previous week in Adams and McDonough Counties:

...at which resolutions were passed prohibiting the settlement of any more Mormons in those counties, and notifying those already there to leave within a certain time.¹⁴

This may have been bravado, the logical extension of the expressive rhetoric which always ran ahead of action in the anti-Mormon campaign. More concrete evidence of an inclination towards direct action and an abandonment of institutional means, is found in examples of attempts to prevent elected officers taking up their duties. The Nauvoo Neighbour of August 16 and August 30 alluded to a "Carthaginian Mob" preventing candidates taking up office; while the Message of November 15 noted that trouble had been caused when attempts were made to eject G.W.Thatcher, the County Clerk, and implied that the Mormons had something to do with the affray.

As an organisation anti-Mormonism was weak. This was partly due to the gradual departure of aims from the specific goal of political representation. The organisational framework of anti-Mormonism was itself too weak to sustain the strategies it adopted. Its structure of public meetings and correspondence committees generated few roles for would-be active supporters to fill on a routine basis. There was an anti-Mormon hard core made up of men like Sharp, Williams, Abernethy, Bagby et.al., who constituted the potential leadership of the movement. The "movement", however, was only called into being at crisis points and prior to elections. No firm organisational foundation was laid for the stabilisation and consolidation of member commitment. Anti-Mormon fervour was not channelled through a cohesive party structure in the same way as one observes in certain radical political movements.¹⁵

The main reason why it was so difficult to form a viable anti-Mormon party qua political party was that it was difficult to

carve out a separate identity in full view of the Leviathan of existing party politics. Lacking a clear identity it had little success in attracting those who might have seen it as a possible party in opposition.¹⁶ Anti-Mormonism very early became associated with the Whig party. Successfully gaining state-wide recognition and powerful allies through this association it was unable to rise above it. Duncan, the Whig candidate for Governor in 1842, was conspicuously anti-Mormon. An entry in Smith's journal history for January 4 1842 stated:

Joseph Duncan, Candidate for Governor of Illinois, made an inflammatory speech against the saints at Edwardsville, a mass of falsehoods.¹⁷

The Whig Sangamo Journal interpreted the situation as one in which Whigs were valiantly fighting against a Mormon-Locofoco alliance epitomised in the Democratic Illinois State Register. The Register for its part dubbed the "Federal Whig conspiracy to obtain the Mormon votes", "unexampled villainy". When the anti-Mormons attempted to assert a non-partisan identity they were merely rebuffed with the charge of employing a "Whig ruse". The partisan political battle in the press was a slanderous affair, prominent political figures were accused of anything from acting like "a granny" to not paying women for doing their washing. The Nauvoo Wasp partook of much the same spirit in its tussle with the Signal. During political debates in the press, therefore, this intense partisan rivalry led to the verbal escalation of the conflict as each party either courted or condemned the Mormons to gain public support. Douglas, for example, according to the Quincy Whig, claimed to be a protector of the Mormons, guarding them from a mob which was arming to attack them. The Whig questioned the existence of any such mob.¹⁸ All issues concerning the Mormons

were couched in party terms: the charter became a Democratic measure, the Missouri arrests a Whig plot.

Mormon inconsistency as to "how to behave in politics" aggravated the partisan struggle. Neither party could be completely sure of continued Mormon support without "working" for it, a situation which invited sycophancy. In a letter of Stephen A. Douglas to William Smith in August 1842, for example, Douglas almost apologised for not appointing the candidate preferred by Joseph Smith for the office of Master in Chancery.¹⁹ The Mormons vacillated in their public attitudes to en bloc voting. The Nauvoo Neighbor of August 2 1843, for example, advocated unity at the polls:

We would suggest the necessity of unanimity, after weighing the matter over, and fixing on the man the best calculated to represent their interests in Congress, for it can answer no good purpose that half the citizens should disfranchise the other half, thus rendering Nauvoo powerless as far as politics are concerned.

Yet John Greenhow in the Neighbor of October 4 denied that Smith was despotic or wished to interfere in the politics of his followers. Joseph Smith, however, defended Mormon unity at the polls by stating that they were driven to it by persecution.²⁰

Yet in the same month he wrote to the Editor of the Wasp disclaiming any interest in politics and asking to be relieved of such weighty considerations in order to devote his time to the spiritual welfare of the Church. Such uncertainty and vacillation may have been due more to an inability to manipulate a difficult, but potentially rewarding situation, rather than conscious policy. To the non-Mormons, however, it was duplicity.

The chaotic results of the tangled partisan web reached a hiatus in the elections of 1843. That summer Smith had received the legal help of Cyrus Walker, the Whig politician, when the Prophet was arrested on charges arising out of the Missouri troubles. In gratitude Smith promised the Whig his vote. Hyrum Smith, however, a staunch Democrat, had a "testimony to the effect it would be better for the people to vote for Hoge."²¹ Hyrum Smith made this testimony public the day before the election. As a result, Mormons in Nauvoo, who had heard the testimony, voted for the Democrat Hoge, but Mormons in the fifth district voted for the Whig Browning who was standing against Stephen Douglas. Even the State Register was confused at such non-uniformity. The Whigs gained little from the debacle for only in the seventh district was a Whig returned to Congress. While the Message complained of a low Whig turn-out in Hancock County,²² the "blame" was laid upon the "political revelations" of the Mormon leaders and the supine obedience of their "dupes".

The Mormons were not particularly happy with the situation either, even though they seemed to be winning the political contest after a fashion. Aware of the sycophancy of politicians and the instability of such support, they attempted to escape the partisan struggle by transcending it. In November 1843 the question of who should be the next President was openly mooted in the Mormon press, although the suggestion that Smith should stand was left unexplicit. Smith had unsuccessfully canvassed some of the potential presidential candidates for pledges that they would aid the Saints in their suit for redress from Missouri. Of those

who replied, none would commit themselves to the Mormon cause. Smith's Presidential candidacy, announced in early 1844, if serious, may have been a huge gamble to attain sufficient power to completely secure him from the talons of Missouri. However strong Smith was in Illinois, his position was inherently precarious as long as he remained at the mercy of Missouri.²³

The Mormons were also attempting to gain fairly low key power bases within the county. In November 1842, for example, the Quincy Whig referred to attempts by Smith to gain control of the Nauvoo Post Office. The question of the suzerainty of the Post Office came up again in February 1843 when Rigdon took steps to prevent William.H.Rollison (Rollason), later a member of the mob which killed the Smiths, from becoming Post Master. The Mormons strenuously denied that they wished to reserve all offices generated by the social organisation of Nauvoo for Church members:

It is supposed by many abroad that all of our officers are Mormons - this, however, is not the case. A large number of the officers of the Nauvoo Legion; several members of the City Council both Aldermen and Councillors; and a large portion of the Regents of the University; are not members of any Church - many of them are old citizens who resided here long before we were driven from Missouri.²⁴

While some Gentiles may have gained civic office in Nauvoo, Times and Seasons perhaps over-stated the case here.²⁵ There may well have been competition for civic office, as with the Post Office, between Mormon and Gentile citizens of Nauvoo. There was also some internal dissatisfaction with civic elections. In February 1843, for example, B.L.Clapp accused Joseph and Hyrum. Smith of attempting to take away the rights of the citizens.²⁶

The contest for political power was thus played out at a

variety of "levels"; city, county, state and federal simultaneously. There was no logical or temporal progression from one level to another. "Escalation", in this case, can not, therefore, be characterised as the spreading of conflict "upwards" towards increasingly general spheres of political action. Many analytical problems arise in the attempt to describe the "additiveness" inherent in the generation and escalation of conflict. Smelser, for example, derived at least two logical hierarchies to constitute a framework for the interpretation of the generation of collective behaviour. He saw the goal or purpose of collective behaviour as the restructuring of some aspect of social action. He therefore divided social action into its components and viewed different types of collective behaviour as the outcomes of various strains operating on different components of action. Thus value-oriented movements would arise when strain occurred at the level of values. But such a movement would only occur if another hierarchy was ascended, namely the value-added sequence. This sequence or process consists of a number of stages; conduciveness, strain, generation of a generalised belief, precipitating factors, mobilisation, and response to the agents of social control. Each stage "adds" to the likelihood that collective behaviour will ensue.

Both of Smelser's logical hierarchies are deterministic, partly because they are over-formal. He likens the value-added process to a tree, the trunk of which can be considered analogous to "conduciveness" to collective behaviour. While he allows for the existence of "branches" his own analysis centres on the pure type rather than the contingencies of empirical situations. While it

is always arguable how far sociological models should go in accurately approximating empirical reality, it seems clear that Smelser has abandoned the "branches" to "hug the trunk". His hierarchy of components of action creates logical relations which then become reified. For example, strain at the level of values logically entails strain at the level of norms, which, empirically, is contingent. Value oriented movements emerge as the pinnacle of his analytical pyramid precisely because values are conceived as the most general components of social action. The general thus dominates the specific in an almost causative sense, and logical relations become more "real" than empirical relations due to the formality of the analysis. There is a clear implication that the general levels of conflict, or collective outburst, represent something "grander", and it is not far from this to the assumption that conflict at general societal levels is more severe or represents escalation.

In order to avoid falling into a similar logical or semantic trap, and in order to avoid an image of escalation as unilinear progression, escalation will be viewed as the movement towards violent strategies, rather than as a move from one social level to another. In this way escalation is characterised by the nature of the social action, not by formally deduced components of social action: the branches shade the trunk.

b) Repeal of the Nauvoo Charter

From the Gentile point of view the quintessence of Mormon power

lay in the charter of incorporation of the city of Nauvoo. A potential avenue for controlling Mormon power was thus use of the legislative process to obtain the repeal of the charter. Repeal had become an election issue by the summer of 1842. Duncan, the Whig candidate for Governor, had castigated the special privileges gained by the Mormons through their charter. He made specific reference to an ordinance which provided for the fining or imprisonment of anybody speaking ill of the Mormon religion.²⁷ The Alton Telegraph noted the public reaction to Duncan's allegations:

The disgraceful attempt to form, in a republican government, an established religion by legal enactment, created throughout the audience a great sensation, and opened their eyes to the rapid strides that were being made in their very midst towards an arbitrary and monarchical form of government.²⁸

The successful candidate for Governor, the Democrat Tom.Ford, had also stated that he was in favour of at least partial reform of the Mormon charter(s)²⁹ in his inaugural speech to the Legislature:

A great deal has been said about certain charters granted... The people of the state have become aroused on the subject, and anxiously desire that those charters should be modified so as to give the inhabitants of Nauvoo no greater priveleges than those enjoyed by others of our fellow citizens.³⁰

In coming to the Legislature the repeal issue entered an ongoing social institution with a particular political make-up and highly formal procedures. The repeal issue was thus debated in the light of certain prior political realities and constraints. In the background the drama of Joseph.Smith's arrest for his alleged part in the attempt to assassinate ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri was being played out. In the Legislature itself the principle of incorporation was a latent party issue. The Whigs generally favoured

incorporation as it aided businesses and cities to raise capital. The Democrats were generally suspicious of such expansionist measures.³¹ The General Assembly of 1842-1843, reflecting the general tendency within the state as a whole, was heavily Democratic. The Senate consisted of thirty-two Democrats and fourteen Whigs, while the House of Representatives was composed of eighty-four Democrats and thirty-seven Whigs.³² In terms of the structure of debate, the pro-repealers would have had to substantiate grounds for repeal using accepted political and legal criteria. Repeal would have had to be based on the intrinsic demerits of the charter if the charge of religious discrimination was to be avoided. The larger question of Mormon deviance would have had to be left behind, as the very structure of legislative debate would rule it out of court. Yet it was precisely this general mood of disapproval of Mormon behaviour which had called the repeal issue into being. As there were no petitions from the citizens of Hancock requesting the Legislature to repeal the charter, there was no formal basis on which to mount the discussion. As elected politicians, members of the Legislature were subject to dual pressures: the need to represent the wishes of their constituents, and the need to court the Mormon vote for the sake of party interests. At least one Senator, Mr. Waters, declared that he had been instructed by his constituents to go for repeal.³³ As potential conflict managers, therefore, legislators were already heavily weighed down by vested interests which themselves prescribed contradictory courses of action.

With such conflicting predispositions afloat, Mr. Davis of Bond introduced a resolution concerning the charter of the city of

Nauvoo, urging its repeal, onto the floor of the House of Representatives on December 9 1842. The debate which followed swung from talk of including the charters of other cities, to taking the state arms from the Mormons, to mention of the dire financial consequences for investors, to expression of the belief that the Mormons were being persecuted. Mr. Smith from Hancock, the Prophet's brother, made an impassioned speech in defence of the Saints, arguing that the city of Nauvoo had no greater rights than other cities. He also pointed out that Mormons were not such strange beasts as people believed - he did not have seven heads and ten horns. The Mormons, he went on, had not the slightest intention of attacking anybody, so why should the state arms be taken from them? The question of repeal was finally referred to the Committee on Corporations.³⁴

The Senate put up more resistance to referral of the question to the Judiciary Committee. Many senators were disinclined to consider any Mormon matters. Mr. Johnson, however, supported the repeal resolution with the alarmist cry that Smith had set the civil authorities at defiance and, if not checked, Illinois, like Missouri, might have to resort to force. On December 19 1842 the Committee on the Judiciary reported back to the Senate. The report was read and laid on the table. It noted that Nauvoo's charter was not exceptional, that "the public mind had been grossly abused by falsely colored and highly exaggerated representations of powers in the Nauvoo charter".³⁵ The committee stated that no source "entitled to their confidence" had been brought before them to attest that the Mormons had defied the laws. On the

question of the Mormons libelling the Governors of Missouri and Illinois in their newspapers, the committee could not "see any way to legislate upon a subject of this nature".³⁶ While thus disposing of institutionally irrelevant matters, the committee showed a distinct awareness of the problem of dealing with a religious group. Implicit in the report was a fear that the committee would be accused of religious intolerance and contravention of constitutional guarantees of freedom of religious expression:

The committee regret therefore the introduction of this preamble [Johnson's] and resolution into the halls of legislation, and more especially, as the Senator seems to single out this denomination of men, when the Constitution desires to shield all sects and classes, and declares "that all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the right of conscience, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any established modes of worship".³⁷

The committee resolved that all city charters required amendment in order to place them all on an equal footing.

The Mormon reaction to the debate was fully in tune with the committee's. For the Mormons, repeal was unconstitutional and a form of religious persecution. The Nauvoo Wasp posed the following rhetorical question in its December 24 1842 issue:

...would it be wise ? would it be politic ? would it be consonant with the feelings of enlightened republicans ? and more especially of the intelligent citizens of Illinois, to trample under foot this mantle of protection: this shield of defence; and sacrifice at the shrine of religious bigotry, party spirit, and idle rumor, a band of patriots, who have voluntarily proffered their services to their country at their countries call ?³⁸

The Wasp attempted to restore the image of the Mormons as assets. It reiterated the views put forward by William Smith, maintaining

that the Saints had raised the value of property tenfold for many miles around Nauvoo, that they had provided a market for Gentile goods, and that they had poured upwards of \$4,000 into the community coffers through payment of county and city taxes. The most that the Saints would concede was that the charter provisions concerning the Legion might differ "some little in form from some of the proceedings of other cities", but they were not unconstitutional.³⁹

Despite Mormon reassurances, the question of repeal came up again and again during the 1842-1843 session. On January 6 1843 Mr. Dougherty introduced a bill into the Senate to amend the charter to make provision for the administration of an oath to ensure that the laws of the state were kept. Dougherty also proposed that those sections of the charter referring to habeas corpus, extension of the city, and the incorporation of the Legion should be repealed. Ralston moved to suspend the rule and read the bill a second time by its title, but the motion was lost. On January 24 an amendment offered by Mr. Waters of the Senate, which effectively asked for the repeal of the Mormon charters, was laid on the table by a vote of twenty-two to thirteen until July 4.⁴⁰ During the debate the question of freedom of worship was again raised.

The House of Representatives also revived the issue. On January 10 Mr. Vinyard introduced a bill to repeal the Mormon charters which was ordered to a second reading. The debate which followed on January 12 rehearsed much the same issues as before: William Smith asserting that the Mormons were law abiding, while

Mr. Davis entered the lists with the conviction that the charters were dangerous and certain that he was uninfluenced by questions of religion.

The matter came up again in the Senate on February 13 when Mr. Crain reported back from the committee considering the repeal bill. The bill was again laid on the table. Surprisingly on February 27, when Mr. Davis from the Committee on the Judiciary reported back on the question of repeal, the bill passed its second reading by a vote of twenty-two to eleven.⁴¹ The main proposals for amending the charter were repeal of the section authorising the Legion, restriction of the city to its present limits, and re-delivery of the state arms. The latter amendment was laid on the table. Thompson states that the Senate vote found nineteen Democrats supporting the repeal issue, while three opposed, indicating that the Democrats were hostile to Mormon interests. On March 6, however, the Senate refused to advance the bill to a third reading.⁴² This sudden change is difficult to explain unless one assumes that it was due to a sudden fear of losing the Mormon vote for the Democratic party.

Such a consideration was of little consequence in the House of Representatives where repeal actually succeeded. On March 3 the bill to repeal was passed by fifty-eight ayes to thirty-three nays, despite an impassioned speech by Mr. Owen of Hancock in February. Mr. Owen took as his text equality of treatment for the Mormons, stressing the similarity in construction of the Nauvoo charter and other city charters. On the question of city land extension he maintained, correctly, that there was little difference between

the second section of the Nauvoo charter and the fourth section of the charter of the city of Quincy.⁴³ With regard to the Municipal Court and the highly topical subject of writs of habeas corpus he remarked:

As to sections seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen which authorizes the Municipal Court, I am not prepared to say a great deal about, but I am informed that the Chicago charter has similar provisions, but I have not been able to procure the law containing that charter...⁴⁴

In fact the city charter of Chicago granted more extensive powers to its Municipal Court than did the Nauvoo charter. In the Nauvoo charter provision was made for the Municipal Court to grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council. The Circuit Court was the court of appeal from the Municipal Court. Chicago, however, obtained a charter which gave its Municipal Court concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court in all matters civil and criminal (section 69).⁴⁵ With regard to the Legion, Owen cited the case of the Invincible Dragoons of the Second Division of Illinois Militia, maintaining that their powers were similar to those of the Legion. Perhaps hoping to shift the responsibility for Mormon separatism, he expressed the belief that the Gentiles preferred the Mormons to organize their militia separately. He warned the Democrats that to repeal the charter might drive two thousand votes into the arms of the Whigs next August. He added that to persecute the Mormons would only drive them closer together, placing more power in the hands of their leaders: leave them alone and they would divide their votes between the parties as any other people.

Owen's speech clearly aimed to deter repeal by underlining the

political consequences and the precedent that it would set for altering or repealing other city charters. He made his case perhaps too well, for many legislators merely resolved to amend other charters should they prove as "bad" as Nauvoo's.

The voting on repeal in the House shows no clear pattern from which one can deduce an explanation. Of the fifty-eight ayes, forty-four were Democrat, fourteen Whig; while eighteen Democrats and fifteen Whigs voted in the negative. The vote was, therefore, neither partisan with respect to the principle of incorporation, or with respect to voting in favour of Mormon interests to gain Mormon votes; nor was the voting governed by geographical disposition in the sense of voting in accordance with proximity to the Mormons. Thompson gives a breakdown of the voting of those legislators who had Mormon constituents:⁴⁶

	DEMOCRAT	WHIG
TOTAL	14	6
Favoured Revocation in whole or part	5	2
Opposed	4	2
Failed to vote	5	2

One can not conclude from the spread of votes for and against repeal that there was any clear tendency for those with Mormon constituents either to vote in the Mormon interest or to represent Gentile hostility by favouring repeal. The presence of abstainers may have been indicative of confusion or indecisiveness. The lack of consensus within both parties and both chambers of the Assembly, may have reflected a genuine inability to determine which issues could have been effectively acted upon. The Legislature could not decide whether the Mormons had too much power per se for it was not able to make any enactment which would have decreased the efficacy of the Mormon vote. All it could do within its institutional framework was to decide whether it had given the city of Nauvoo too much power in granting its charter. The effective issue thus became not one of Mormon power but the comparative power of chartered cities within Illinois. Most Legislators would have recognised the former and it was clearly this issue which the anti-Mormons wished to see dealt with; but the latter question was far more problematic. In order to maintain their status as representatives of the people many lamely rationalised non-repeal by defining the popular Gentile clamour as "unreal" or manufactured.

The failure to repeal the charter was somewhat of an anti-climax and there was little significant comment in the Gentile press. The Quincy Whig contented itself with calling the whole debate "persecution" and rejoicing that the Whigs had little to do with it.⁴⁷ Perhaps because the Whig press was playing down the Mormon question while emphasising the partisan struggle there was

little scope for comment, for neither party had shown a disposition to align with any uniformity on the issue. The addled debates gave little opportunity to pen strident editorials, while the "religious interest" content of papers was well catered for by the suicidal activities of Millerites preparing to meet the millennium. The Alton Telegraph was an exception within the Whig camp, maintaining a clear anti-Mormon stance. It predicted that the laudable attempt to repeal the charter would fail because Smith would make use of his "political capital". It contended that the Legislature, by failing to repeal, would legalise debauchery and crime: but, it believed, public indignation would soon overwhelm those who "truckled" to the Mormons.⁴⁸ The Legislature had acted equivocally and such a failure by the community's elite decision-makers may have left the anti-Mormons temporarily confused. It certainly diminished their hopes of gaining the ascendancy using available political institutions. The Whigs turned to courting the Mormons, with the exception of the Telegraph, hoping to use the Mormons if they could not subdue them.⁴⁹

The Mormon reaction to the repeal debate, as represented in their newspapers, was one of tired resignation. While they had technically "won" this aspect of the struggle, their inability to command the unswerving support of the Legislature made it clear that they were not absolutely secure. The debate itself, they felt, had injured Nauvoo economically. Investors, uncertain whether the charter of the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association would be repealed, had become reluctant to support the Association's projects.⁵⁰

c) The Missouri Arrests

The courts potentially offered a third institutional vehicle for controlling the activities of the Mormons. The requisitions from Missouri for the arrest of Joseph. Smith and others were a fortuitous means of doing battle with the hydra of Mormon power. The triangular contest which developed between the Missouri authorities, the Illinois authorities and the Mormons brought to the fore certain legal issues concerning the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo and kept alive the more general debate concerning Mormon criminality. As the initiative was "external", the anti-Mormons were hard pressed to find a point of ingress for activity which would further their own goals. At best they were able to form a weak, diffuse pressure group, encouraging the Illinois authorities to co-operate with Missouri.

On May 6 1842 ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri was shot in the head by an unknown assailant (or assailants). Suspicion fell upon Joseph. Smith whose hatred for Boggs, because of his role in the Missouri troubles, was well known. It was also commonly believed that Smith had prophesied that Boggs would die by violent means. Little was made of the event beyond plain reporting of the facts of the shooting until July when the Sangamo Journal began to publish small speculative pieces with such intriguing titles as "'Boggs'd' - a new word for assassination", adding that this new method might be applied to other enemies of the Mormons like Duncan.⁵¹ Through its pages the Journal allowed figures like the apostate Bennett to confirm rumours that Smith was a party to the crime, using such "facts" as testimony that he had offered

\$500 to anybody who would kill Boggs. It was also noted that O.P. Rockwell, upon whom suspicion had also fallen, was suddenly wealthy. The Mormons treated the rumours as an anti-Mormon humbug got up for political effect. However, in late July, the City Council petitioned Governor Carlin not to issue any writ which would lead to the extradition of Smith to Missouri; rather, if he had committed any crime, to let him be tried in Illinois. It seems clear that the Mormons were significantly more afraid of trial in Missouri than in Illinois, perhaps because they were hopeful that the power of Nauvoo would serve them as a fortress. With a view to consolidating that power a bill to regulate habeas corpus proceedings in the Municipal Court was put before the City Council on August 5, and referred to a select committee.

Joseph Smith was arrested on the following Monday upon a writ issued by Carlin upon a requisition of the Governor of Missouri, based on an affidavit of ex-Governor Boggs, which cited Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact and Rockwell as principal. Smith obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the Nauvoo Municipal Court but the arresting officers refused to comply with it. They left Nauvoo to seek the advice of Carlin, leaving Smith in the charge of the Marshal but without the original writ. Smith could therefore not be held. On the same day, the City Council passed an ordinance on habeas corpus procedure. This not only provided for the Municipal Court to examine the legality of any writ, and if found illegal to discharge the prisoner, but went considerably further by providing for the Court to hear the merits of the case in the event of the process being judged legal. It also gave the court power to quash any process believed to have been issued out of pique or religious

persecution.⁵²

The reaction of the Gentile press was swift and sure. The Signal interpreted the ordinance as yet another example of the "barefaced affrontery" with which the "brotherhood" at Nauvoo set the civil authorities at defiance. It stated that there could be no trial of the merits of a case except by the court of the state which issued the writ.⁵³ The Sangamo Journal advised that the militia should be called out if subsequent process was resisted.⁵⁴ Both the Sangamo Journal and the Quincy Whig placed partisan interpretations on the arrest attempt: the Whig considered that the Locofocos had used the Mormons and were now "paying them off", while the Journal believed that the Locofocos were embroiled in some conspiracy to protect the Prophet.

In the firm belief that he was the victim of religious persecution, Joseph Smith left Nauvoo and headed for Iowa to remain in seclusion. He was not without allies, however, as Judge Ralston had offered his assistance. Smith had also commanded Wilson Law to use the Legion to rescue him should any attempt be made to carry him to Missouri by force. Smith returned to Nauvoo on August 19 and attended a Special Conference of the Church on August 29 at which he recounted how he had outwitted the Missourians.⁵⁵ He evaded further arrest at the beginning of September literally by use of the proverbial back door.⁵⁶ By October there was a reward of \$200 on the heads of Smith and Rockwell.

Rumour was doing its work among Gentiles and Mormons alike. The Wasp of September 10, for example, found it necessary to refute

the tale that stores of ammunition were being accumulated in Nauvoo and that the Legion had been called out. James Arlington Bennett mentioned to Smith, in a letter of September 1, that he had seen a hoax order in the Herald for him to go post haste to Nauvoo to take command of the Legion. Smith himself became concerned about reports that the Missourians were about to join with the Illinois Militia, and he again left Nauvoo on October 7 "until there should be some change in the proceedings of my enemies".⁵⁷ Gentiles became confused as to Smith's precise whereabouts. The Whig of October 8, for example, reported that he was in custody in Carthage.

In late October Rigdon received the opinion of Justin Butterfield that the demand for Smith was illegal. Butterfield suggested that Smith obtain affidavits to the effect that he had not been in Missouri when the assault on Boggs took place. Governor Ford obtained the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who essentially agreed with Butterfield. Ford felt that he could not countermand the actions of his predecessor and so advised Smith to take the matter to court. This Smith did, his case coming before Judge Pope in Springfield, with Butterfield acting as his counsel. In court affidavits were made by such Democrats as S.A. Douglas, J.H. Ralston and J.B. Backenstos to the effect that Smith had been in Nauvoo on May 6 1842. Pope declared that Boggs' affidavit was insufficient to warrant holding Smith as a fugitive from justice because it failed to substantiate that a crime had been committed in Missouri. The requisition and the writ had elaborated on the affidavit, but such elaborations were not

supported by oath and could not therefore be used to deprive a citizen of his liberty; so Smith was given his discharge. He was less successful in obtaining the withdrawal of a writ issued upon the requisition of the Governor of Missouri by the Governor of Iowa, for the same offence. As late as May 1843 Smith was avoiding travel in Iowa.⁵⁸

The Gentile press generally acquiesced in the decision or did not comment, displaying a reticence symptomatic of this doldrum period of anti-Mormonism. The Quincy Whig was barely descriptive while the Sangamo Journal technically agreed with the decision but did not give up hope that a new writ would be more effective. Similarly, the Warsaw Message declined to comment on the likely guilt or innocence of Smith, venturing only so far as to say that the Gentile mind was already made up on that score. The implication was clear enough - Smith was guilty. As one cleric put it:

That he did bribe one of his minions to go to Missouri to kill Boggs no person in this region entertains a doubt.⁵⁹

One Carthaginian expressed what was perhaps a common Gentile view which was not reflected in the partisan press when he said:

...we can not bring him or any of his crew to justice for any of there iniquity without fighting unless there crime is against a mormon...⁶⁰

The Mormons declared a day of fasting to celebrate the release of their Prophet. The Wasp lauded Ford, Butterfield and Pope for maintaining inviolate the supremacy of the law. Victory, however, was not without its marginal costs. The rank and file of the Church needed substantial reassurance concerning this new tribulation which had come upon them only three years after their

expulsion from Missouri. Times and Seasons contained a number of articles which sought to legitimise perceived persecution. The Mormon press in attempting to "explain" the conduct of the Gentiles designated it "persecution", thereby dismissing the relevance of questions of guilt or innocence in any particular instance. The existence of persecution itself, however, seemed to demand a separate explanation. In the August 15 1842 issue of Times and Seasons one finds talk of the inevitability of persecution of those who lead godly lives. The theme in the September 1 issue was one of denial that God was angry with the Saints, rather He "chasteneth those whom he loves". This was reinforced by numerous examples of Old and New Testament Prophets who had suffered for their faith. Indeed, persecution became an essential credential of the true Prophet.⁶¹

The image of Mormon deviance as projected by the Gentile world was thus fended off by religious "other worldly" explanations of events. Causality was removed from the realm of Gentile definition to the realm of Mormon reality, which mediated between Gentile definition and Mormon perception.⁶² Given that information was not transmitted "raw" from Gentile to Mormon, it was unlikely that the Mormons would see themselves as deviant in the same terms as Gentiles. The apostate is perhaps more threatening to a sect than the non-member critic precisely because he has broken through the hermetic epistemological seal and is able to discredit the sect using its own symbols and criteria of "truth", enabling existing sect members to fully comprehend his critique.

While suffering the world's persecution was portrayed as

conforming to traditional Biblical patterns, this did not imply a passive response. Withdrawal from the persecuting world was not considered an appropriate response for the need to build the Kingdom of God persisted - a kingdom which must embrace the secular. Despite the crisis, Smith was still very much concerned with activities pertinent to ritual and Kingdom building. In September he paid considerable attention to giving instructions for the detailed recording of Baptisms for the Dead. Nor could persecution be interpreted as reviving the Mormons, as Whitworth suggests was the case with the Shakers.⁶³ The Mormon response to persecution was more a holding operation - an attempt to stem the tide of external and internal opposition⁶⁴ which might retard the progress of the Kingdom.

Consistent with their past assertiveness in the secular world, the Mormons contested Smith's arrest on the basis of his legal and constitutional rights. Smith, however, was no longer content to rely on legal argument alone. On June 10 1843 the Court Martial of the Nauvoo Legion resolved to build an arsenal in Nauvoo. The arrest of Smith that summer showed a distinct escalation towards an inclination on both sides to use physical force. Yet defensive isolationism and bald confrontation were both avoided because Smith adopted the strategy of gaining non-Mormon allies. He formed coalitions with the world in order to use it for his own purposes. He manipulated the partisan divisions between the Gentiles effectively preventing the formation of a united Gentile front against the Mormons. As one anti-Mormon put it:

...had it not been for their political influence in favor of locofocoism their leader, Joe Smith, would long before now have expiated his crimes on the gallows in Missouri...⁶⁵

On Thursday June 13 1843 Joseph. Smith left Nauvoo with his family to visit his wife's sister who lived near Dixon, Lee County, Illinois. On the sixteenth Judge Adams warned the Saints in Nauvoo that Ford was about to issue a writ for Smith's arrest upon a requisition of the Governor of Missouri. Clayton and Markham raced to warn the Prophet, riding two hundred and twenty-two miles in sixty-six hours. The warning came too late for Joseph.H.Reynolds, sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, and Harmon. T.Wilson of Carthage, arrested Smith at gun point after disguising themselves as Mormon Elders. The charge was treason against the State of Missouri. Smith arranged for a writ of habeas corpus to be obtained in his behalf. Markham obtained a writ against Reynolds and Wilson for threatening Smith's life. Smith's writ of habeas corpus was returnable before Judge Caton of the Ninth Judicial Circuit. After arranging for Cyrus.Walker to defend him in exchange for his vote, Smith and his company set out for Ottawa and Judge Caton. Smith was in the custody of Reynolds and Wilson, while Reynolds and Wilson were in the custody of the sheriff of Lee County. They proceeded as far as Pawpaw Grove to learn that Caton would be absent from Ottawa, and the party returned to Dixon.

In Nauvoo at this time, Hyrum.Smith was organising "relief" operations. About one hundred and seventy-five mounted men under Generals Law and Rich left Nauvoo on the twenty-fifth, while about seventy-five men went up the Illinois River towards Peoria under Captain Dan.Jones on the supposition that Smith might have been led captive up the river on a steam boat.

Due to Caton's absence a new writ of habeas corpus was obtained,

worded at Markham's request "Returnable before the nearest tribunal in the Fifth Judicial District authorised to hear and determine writs of habeas corpus".⁶⁶ The original intention was to go before Douglas at Quincy. Smith, fearing a kidnap attempt, instructed Law to meet him at Monmouth with a sufficient force of men to prevent his being carried into Missouri. On the twenty-eighth Reynolds suggested that they take the river route to Quincy, but Markham refused, insisting on the land route which would take them near Nauvoo. Reynolds and Wilson tried to press their claims at gun-point but they were outnumbered. On the twenty-ninth Smith was joined by Law with about sixty men. It was decided that Nauvoo was the nearest place at which the writ of habeas corpus could be returned. On the same day, indicative of the growing fear and suspicion in Nauvoo, the City Council passed an ordinance concerning strangers which authorised their being questioned and apprehended if abroad in the city after nine o'clock without good reason.

Smith arrived in Nauvoo on June 30, proclaimed and fêted by brass band and flower-bedecked horses. The Municipal Court came together immediately, but Reynolds refused to return the writ to it. Smith petitioned the Court for a further writ of habeas corpus. Reynolds refused to submit to the writ but submitted to the attachment and Smith was delivered into the hands of the Marshal of the city. Before the court proceeded, Smith gained an adjournment to speak to the people. He gave a speech which boasted of his physical strength, which volubly justified the powers of habeas corpus of the Municipal Court, and in which he vowed:

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 ! To bear it any longer would be a sin, and I will not bear it any longer. Shall we bear it any longer ? (One universal "No!" ran through all the vast assembly, like a loud peal of thunder.)⁶⁷

The Municipal Court met on July 1 to hear very lengthy testimony concerning the Missouri troubles from Hyrum.Smith, Parley.P.Pratt, Brigham.Young, George.W.Pitkin, Lyman.Wight and Sidney.Rigdon.⁶⁸

Smith was finally discharged "for want of substance in the warrant upon which he was arrested, as well as upon the merits of said case..." (emphasis added).⁶⁹

The Mormons were displeased with Ford for co-operating with Missouri. The release of Smith, they believed, had sustained their Municipal authority and preserved their rights. Reynolds and Wilson, however, challenged those rights asking Ford to call out the militia to re-take Smith. Smith sent the proceedings of the trial to Ford. He also dispatched Elders from Nauvoo to disabuse the public mind concerning the circumstances of his arrest. Ford had heard only rumours that the Mormons were in military array, so he sent Brayman to ascertain the state of play. He refused to call out the military, informing Governor Reynolds of Missouri of this in a letter of July 26. In a subsequent letter of August 14 he explained that he believed no officer bearing process had been resisted and that the laws of Illinois had been fully executed.⁷⁰ Officially the matter rested there as far as Illinois was concerned. In Missouri it was not dropped with such alacrity. J.Hall, for example, in a letter of July 23 1843, expressed his determination that Smith should be re-taken:

...if Illinois by her own authority, cannot capture the prophet

it will be but a small matter to raise volunteers enough here to raze the city of Nauvoo to the ground; if Illinois fails to deliver up Jo Smith, there will be something serious between the two states.⁷¹

The plausibility of a clash between Missouri and the Mormons was sufficient to provoke rumour. The State Register of September 22, for example, denied that there was any truth in the statement that twenty thousand Missourians were about to invade the state.

Within Illinois the Gentile press reported the arrest largely in partisan terms. Ford was accused by the Whigs of deliberately delaying a decision about calling out the militia in order to blackmail the Mormons into voting Democratic. The Democrats for their part produced "evidence" that the Whigs were in league with the apostate J.C.Bennett in securing Smith's arrest.⁷² The involvement of the Whig Cyrus.Walker was additional fuel for the Democrats.

Beyond the partisan squabble, however, one can detect a growing fear of the recklessness with which Smith wielded his power. The Quincy Whig of October 4 noted two examples of what it considered "outrageous" exercise of authority. The first case concerned Smith fining a lawyer who tried to ask Smith questions in the course of defending his client. The second case concerned a man called Bennett who was allegedly beaten by Smith with a cane for which offence Bennett endeavoured to serve a writ upon him only to be told that Smith had already been tried and acquitted before the Municipal Court.⁷³ With the revival of anti-Mormonism in the fall of 1843 came renewed accusations of Mormon horse stealing and land piracy. The Mormons themselves became worried about the

alleged activities of a secret band which considered it legitimate to steal from Gentiles.⁷⁴

It was only at this point, when the hope of Mormon support in elections had completely faded for the Whigs, that the Dixon arrest of 1843 came to be interpreted as an expression of the illegal Mormon use of charter powers. Gentile fears of Mormon illegality were substantially enhanced when the Nauvoo City Council issued an ordinance in December providing for the arrest of any person attempting to apprehend Smith on Missouri charges. The penalty was life imprisonment.⁷⁵ This prompted such an outcry that it was repealed about a month later. Mormon fears of Missouri had been reinforced by the kidnap of Daniel and Philander Avery in November. The two Mormons had been carried off to Missouri on charges of stealing. The Mormons believed that people within Illinois had lent their assistance. Smith began looking for allies outside Illinois, making appeals to such states as his native Vermont for aid against Missouri.

The tense resentment and exasperation of the Gentiles at their own helplessness was perhaps appropriately reflected by the satirical "Warsaw Legislature". Grover as Governor of this august body delivered his inaugural speech to its assembled members at its first session on November 17 1843. The citizens adopted the constitution of their "sister state" Illinois. Grover made clear allusion to Nauvoo when he referred to "the capital of His most Sublime Excellency, the President of the Nephites".⁷⁶ The analogy was not followed through to the extent of actually declaring

self-government. The Legislature became a debating society and did not form an integral part of the anti-Mormon struggle. Its debates were not relevant to that struggle, including such topics as the abolition of capital punishment.

The situation was thus one of mutual lack of control: the Gentiles could not control the Mormons, nor the Mormons the Missourians. The courts had failed to provide a satisfactory conclusion to the struggle for either side. Smith and Missouri were turning to the use of physical force as institutional means became uncertain.

The Mormons also faced opposition from within the Masonic fraternity and mild economic sanctions enforced by local Gentiles. While the Masonic fraternity was a much smaller stage on which to enact the Mormon-Gentile struggle, it was a potential vehicle for crystallizing local opposition within an existing voluntary association. Economic sanctions demonstrated Gentile determination to try any strategy which might prove effective in the light of institutional failure.

Masonic Opposition

Growing Mormon power, Mormon doctrinal developments and Mormonism as a dominant identity, caused consternation in the Masonic fraternity shortly after the Mormons began the "work". The Nauvoo Lodge had been officially installed on March 15-16 1842 by Grand Master Jonas, who at the same time accorded Joseph. Smith and Sidney Rigdon the ultimate honour of being made Masons

"at sight". Jonas instructed them concerning Lodge procedure: while not allowed to obligate more than three candidates at any given meeting, the Lodge could have a morning, afternoon and evening meeting six days a week.⁷⁷ The Mormons, however, had begun the "work" prior to official installation. While in Nauvoo Jonas had found that thirty-three Masons had already been designated as members and fifty-seven petitions for the various degrees had been received. This information was recorded in the Founding Minute Book which Hogan believes Jonas instructed the Nauvoo Masons to destroy, hoping thereby to foil opposition and criticism from other Lodges for having begun the work too soon. J.C. Bennett in his exposure of the Mormons in the Sangamo Journal of July 15 1842, maintained that successive record books had been sealed up and hidden, and that Smith and others had been initiated, passed and raised prior to installation. It is a curious twist on the integrity of Bennett that he was Secretary of the Nauvoo Lodge at the time.

Jonas had good reason to fear opposition from other Lodges. As early as May 1842 Bodley Lodge Number 1 (Quincy) had declined an invitation from Nauvoo Lodge to join in celebrating the anniversary of St. John. The Secretary of Bodley also stated that the:

...Lodge regrets that anything extraneous from pure Masonry, should be coupled with his communication, it have (sic) been throughout all ages the peculiar characteristic of Masonry, that she has sent forth her pure flame of living light, before the world, uncontaminated by political doings, and untinged by religious distinctions...⁷⁸

In July 1842 Bodley Lodge resolved to request the Grand Lodge to inquire into the manner in which officers were installed at Nauvoo

and by what authority the Grand Master had raised Smith and Rigdon through all three degrees of Masonry at one and the same time. There were also fears that the growing numbers entering Nauvoo Lodge would give it disproportionate influence within the Grand Lodge. Godfrey estimates that within the space of five months the Nauvoo Lodge initiated two hundred and fifty-six candidates and raised two hundred and forty-three more, six times the number from all other Lodges in the state combined.⁷⁹

There was also opposition from within the Mormon camp to the new Masonic trend. W.W.Phelps, a prominent Mormon, had edited an anti-Masonic newspaper in Canandaigua and served a term in prison for his earlier opposition to Masonry.⁸⁰ Ebenezer.Robinson was also unhappy about this new affinity with secret societies - institutions which were so roundly condemned in the Book of Mormon.⁸¹ Yet Masonry attracted many prominent Mormons. Charlotte.Haven, a Gentile living in Nauvoo, stated in a letter of May 2 1843 that most of the chief men were Masons.⁸² Similarly, Hansen has observed that many charter members of the Council of Fifty in 1844 belonged to the Nauvoo Lodge.⁸³

The representations of Bodley Lodge were heeded. In August the work of the Nauvoo Lodge was suspended pending a report by a Special Committee appointed to inspect the work and records. At the 1842 Grand Communication of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, a majority of the Committee on Returns and Work of Lodges favoured continued suspension and the appointment of a special committee of investigation. The report of the Committee of Investigation while stressing that the Mormon Lodge had struck at the vital

principles of the order in balloting for more than one applicant at a time,⁸⁴ did not suggest that the injunction be continued. Grand Master Helm therefore removed it.

Smith was not without competition within Nauvoo in the Masonic field. On hearing the news of Grand Master G.M.Nye's death, Smith made disparaging remarks referring to Nye as a "hypocritical Presbyterian" and alluded to "an opposition lodge on the hill, called Nye Lodge" which Nye had started.⁸⁵ Despite Grand Lodge criticism of past conduct, rivalry from within, and Smith's own arrest, the corner stone of a Masonic Temple was laid in June 1843 and the Temple dedicated in April 1844.

The question of a charter for the Mormon Lodge came up at the Grand Communication of 1843. Representatives from Warsaw Lodge U.D. and Hancock Lodge U.D. were present. A dispensation for the formation of a new Lodge at Carthage had also been granted since the last meeting. In his message Helm impressed upon the Communication that if a charter was granted to Nauvoo Lodge it should be divided into at least four distinct Lodges. During the Communication both Hancock and Warsaw Lodges were granted charters. The representatives of these Lodges, Lewis.Evans and A.J.Chittenden, were later participants in anti-Mormon activities.⁸⁶ Davis, Sharp and Williams, all three of whom were later indicted for the killing of the Smith brothers in 1844 became Masons in that year.⁸⁷ There would seem, therefore, to be some link between anti-Mormon personnel and Masonic membership. Many prominent anti-Mormons were Masons, including Mark.Aldrich, George.W.Thatcher, F.J.Bartlett and George. Rockwell.⁸⁸ Extensive identification of personnel is not possible

however, and so the connection must remain implicit. Even if the Masonic organisation of Hancock County was not used as a covert organisational form for anti-Mormonism, the opposition from non-Mormon Masons towards Mormon Masons would compound existing lines of cleavage.⁸⁹

The Communication expressed continued concern at the pushing of Nauvoo Lodge candidates through the second and third degrees of Masonry before they had become skilled in the first. The Official Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge indeed show that promotions were speedy. For example, Dimick.B.Huntington and W.D.Huntington were duly passed to the degree of F(ellow) C(raft) Mason on April 13 5842 having been initiated E(ntered) A(pprentice) Masons only two days previously.⁹⁰ The Lodge had also failed to present its records. The Committee on Returns and Work reported and recommended sanctions against all the Lodges connected with Mormonism; namely that the charter of Rising Sun Lodge be suspended and that the dispensations of Nauvoo, Helm, Keokuk and Nye Lodges be revoked and charters refused. A messenger was sent to Nauvoo to demand the dispensation thereby revoked but was met with contempt. The 1844 Communication after consideration of such behaviour declared all Mormon Lodges clandestine.⁹¹ The Mormon Lodges, however, ignored the revocation and continued the work. Hosea.Stout's diary mentioned meetings of the Lodge in Nauvoo as late as December 1845.⁹²

A significant point of contention not specifically alluded to in the official proceedings was the relationship between the Mormon ritual known as the "Endowment" and Masonic ritual. While

an Endowment had been talked of in the Kirtland days and the necessity of performing "anointings and washings" in the Temple had been stressed as early as January 1841,⁹³ it was not until May 1842 that Smith began to dispense "washings, anointings, endowments" to a select few in his private office, which was also the Lodge office. The ceremony accompanying the Endowment was seen by some as plagiarism of Masonic ritual. The Mormons account for the similarity by interpreting Mormon ritual as the restoration of "the" pure form of Temple ritual from which Masonic ritual is also descended.⁹⁴ Contemporary confusion as to which ritual was whose is clearly illustrated in the History written by the Mormon malcontent Oliver Olney, which noted that there was a Masonic organisation for women in Nauvoo. He spoke of a man coming from a distance to set up an "institution". This man, a Master Mason:

Said there was certain degrees For the fair sex of the land
They soon met in unison A lodge to form but changed the name
That they mite be distinguished From the Lodge of the men.⁹⁵

Both Bennett and Lewis spoke of an "Order Lodge", the ceremonial of which, stated Lewis, was equivalent to the second part of the Endowment.⁹⁶ To an outsider it might have easily appeared that the Mormons were making women Masons and corrupting Masonic ritual.

The indifference the Mormons showed to the revocation of their dispensation effectively brought the Mormon-Masonic struggle for control to a position of stalemate. While the defensive move of the Masons had successfully removed the Mormons from access to official Masonic vehicles of influence, it also removed them from control by Masons through the Masonic organisation.

Economic Sanctions

Specific economic sanctions against the Mormons by the anti-Mormons came late and were probably localised. At the anti-Mormon meeting at St. Mary's precinct, Hancock County, in late 1843 it was resolved:

That those of us who may have farms to rent, will not let them to Mormons, nor will we furnish them employment nor give them encouragement in any way to settle among us; and we earnestly⁹⁷ recommend to all good citizens to act on the same principles.

The spirit of this action was punitive rather than a positive attempt to control. There were earlier indications, however, that Gentiles were reluctant to further Mormon economic interests. The Nauvoo Neighbor of May 10 1843, for example, spoke of Gentile prejudice against use of the Mormon river boat the Maid of Iowa.⁹⁸ The Mormons retaliated by boycotting the Gentile traders concerned. The move towards economic separatism had two basic aims for the Mormons at this juncture: firstly retaliation, as in the case above; secondly, as a method of protecting the products of Nauvoo industries from competition. The Mormons were discouraged from purchasing "foreign" goods such as non-Nauvoo produced boots and shoes, in order to preserve their cash.⁹⁹ Mormons were also disinclined to hire certain Gentile services, particularly those of lawyers and doctors. Charlotte Haven described a speech made by Smith in which he characterised lawyers as "a pack of hounds and extortioners" directing his people to have little to do with them.¹⁰⁰ Yet to characterise the situation as one of wholesale separatism would be to over-state the case. Smith was not consistent in this regard, nor were his followers, possibly for the pragmatic reason that Nauvoo was dependent on Gentiles to supply certain goods.

In March 1844, for example, Joseph Smith decried the action of those merchants in Nauvoo who reportedly told the "country people" not to bring their produce into the city for sale.¹⁰¹ The unevenness of Mormon policy itself aggravated Mormon-Gentile relations leading to Gentile uncertainty and charges of Mormon duplicity.

Despite the rosy views of Nauvoo presented in the pages of the Wasp, there were indications that unemployment was persisting, that there was scarcely enough land under cultivation, and that commercial activity was not extensive. There were signs in the Nauvoo Neighbor of September 20 1843, for example, that there was a want of agricultural employment at the satellite Mormon settlement at Macedonia. Pressure may well have been put on wealthy Mormons to undertake developmental projects in Nauvoo, as seems to have been the case for the Law brothers who were encouraged to build mills.¹⁰² The steady economic development of Nauvoo was hindered by a sense of rivalry which arose between the "hill" and the "flat" sections of the city. Smith made a spirited attack upon the free-lance development of the "hill", particularly along Mulholland Street, as this was diverting energy and resources away from construction of the Nauvoo House on the "flat". Earlier in the same month of February 1843, Smith had been adamant that a proposed new market for Nauvoo should be located on the "flat":

...here has been the greatest suffering in this city. We have been the making of the upper part of the town. We have located the Temple on the hill, and they ought to be satisfied.¹⁰³

Rivalry between "hill" and "flat" spread to intra-city elections in March 1844.

Conscious pursuit of a protective economic policy by the Mormons

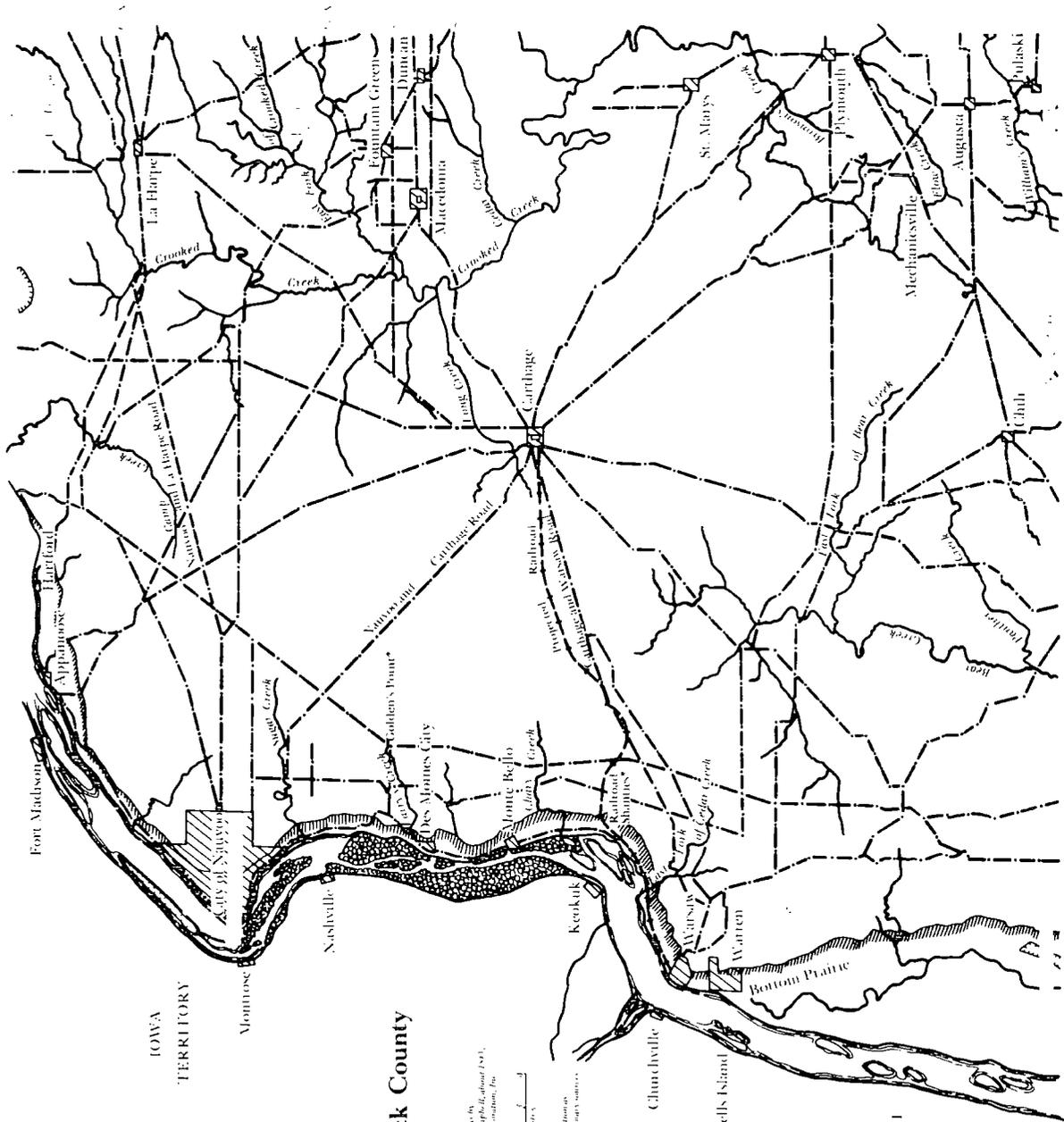
may have rendered Gentile sanctions abortive, although refusal of employment may have had some bite. What did noticeably harass Smith were brushes with the Gentile tax-man Walter Bagby, a prominent anti-Mormon. In March 1842 Smith paid taxes to Mr. Bagby for county and state purposes but refused to pay taxes assessed in the city and town of Commerce. Smith maintained that such demands were illegal, Commerce having been absorbed into Nauvoo. Willard Richards had occasion, in March 1843, to write to Bagby about alleged wrongful assessment of personal liability to property tax.¹⁰⁴ In August Smith and Bagby came to blows when Smith challenged Bagby concerning the transfer of one of his city lots under a tax title.¹⁰⁵ Bagby mentioned in a letter of November 26 1843 that Smith had preferred charges of malfeasance against him.¹⁰⁶ The Mormons interpreted such clashes as persecution, the Gentiles saw them as evidence of Mormon dishonesty.

Conclusion

The vilification campaign had posed numerous fronts on which the Mormons could be encountered to offset the threat they were perceived to have presented to the Gentile community. The common theme was the task of attempting to deflate Mormon power to the extent that the Gentiles once again felt incontrovertibly in control of the community. At the beginning of the Chapter two contentions were put forward. It is believed that these have been confirmed in the above analysis of the failure of the anti-Mormons to form a popular movement of opposition. Fragmentation of strategies, insufficient organisation and the constraints within the vehicles of control have been seen as the main reasons for this failure. The Mormon use of the strategic position of

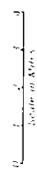
the Church, particularly the powers of the en bloc vote and the Municipal Court, has been documented. The anti-Mormons weighed down by the partisan struggle dealt a death blow to the possible success of the institutional phase of their movement by their vacillation in 1843. The Whigs turned to courting the Mormons and failed. Renewed opposition at the end of 1843 was that much more hostile because conciliation had brought no gains; the power of the Church had only been enhanced. The sense of being cheated by the Saints was intensified. Avenues for moving to positions of power seemed closed from the Gentile point of view, as institutional means to gain control were progressively exhausted. Coleman believes that such a situation is conducive to sporadic violence.¹⁰⁷ The anti-Mormons as yet, however, had made only very veiled threats of violence, leaving the situation contingent upon further Mormon "outrages". Nevertheless the threat, however contingent, had been made. The threshold for direct action had been loosely defined.

The Mormons had not emerged victorious either, even though they had fended off political opposition, repeal of the Nauvoo Charter and the extradition of their leader. They had been unsuccessful in obtaining widespread support for their charter, acceptance of their voting habits, or recognition of the powers of their Municipal Court. Their vacillation at the polls had cost them the whole-hearted support of the Democrats. Both parties came to doubt whether the Mormon vote was as valuable as each had once thought. The Mormons had, therefore, weakened the primary basis upon which they formed coalitions with the Gentile world. Potentially



**Map of Hancock County
Illinois**

From the Original Survey by
Wm. H. Hall, 1811, published by
Savage Reprint, Inc.



*Not an original location
but that its contemporary name is

IOWA
TERRITORY

MISSOURI

they were unifying the anti-Mormons by making less relevant the partisan struggle which had helped dig the grave of anti-Mormonism in this period. With the disillusionment of both political parties a new unified, politically heterogeneous, anti-Mormonism was at least feasible. This period also challenged the Mormons to marshal their defensive forces against another foe - the "enemy within".

Notes for Chapter 4

1. B.Wilson, Religious Sects (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1970), Chapter 7 provides examples of the introversionist response.
2. N.J.Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (Routledge, 1962), p. 27.
3. But only one of these candidates was advocated by the Signal.
4. Nauvoo Wasp, June 11 1842.
5. F.J.Bartlett was elected and was an anti-Mormon but was not on the ticket put forward by the Signal.
6. Wm.Backenstos was married to C.M.Wasson by Joseph.Smith in October 1843. Smith had relations called Wasson on his wife's side.
7. Nauvoo Wasp, July 23 1842.
8. This issue was debated in the pages of the Warsaw Message in early 1843.
9. C.M.Thompson, "The Illinois Whigs Before 1846", University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 4, (1915b), pp. 9-165.
10. T.Gregg, The Prophet of Palmyra (New York: John.B.Alden, 1890).
11. Letter of B.F.Morris to Milton.Badger, August 15 1843, American Home Missionary Society Collection.

12. It is difficult to determine precisely upon whose initiative this meeting was called. Many prominent anti-Mormons were in attendance - Sharp, Aldrich, Williams, Whitney, Abernethy et.al. This hard core used the Warsaw Message to advertise the convention.
13. Warsaw Message, September 13, September 27, November 1 1843.
14. Letter of George.Rockwell to T.H.Rockwell, August 3 1843.
15. See E.Hoffer, The True Believer (Harper & Row, 1951), for discussion of commitment and organisation.
16. As the Free Soil Party effectively became, for example, uniting many disparate political stances in the late 1840's.
17. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 490.
18. Quincy Whig, July 2 1842.
19. Letter of S.A.Douglas to William.Smith, August 27 1842.
20. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 232.
21. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 526.
22. Warsaw Message EXTRA, August 16 1843.
23. Smith's concern over the possible threat of Missouri mobs was very real. In December 1843 he petitioned Congress to grant Nauvoo Territorial status and the leave to use the Legion to protect Nauvoo from Missouri and mobs in general. Smith presented the Memorial as a constituent member of the Nauvoo City Council. As early as August 1842 Smith was talking of the expediency of sending all the Elders away from Nauvoo so that if a mob came they would find only women and children and be ashamed. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 138.

24. Times and Seasons, January 1 1842.
25. An examination of the 1841 Municipal election returns for the City Council reveals only one Gentile member, Daniel. H.Wells. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 287. Similarly, among the Regents of the University one finds only one Gentile, Daniel.H.Wells,(apart from Lenos.M.Knight about whom no other information is given in History of the Church.) History of the Church, vol.4, p. 293. In the elections the following February, Daniel.H.Wells was again Alderman; Sylvester.Emmons and Benjamin.Warrington were non-Mormon Councillors. History of the Church, vol.5, pp. 264-265.
26. History of the Church, vol.5, p.263.
27. It is not exactly clear which ordinance is referred to. It is probably that of March 1 1841 which provided penalties for disturbing religious meetings, although the ordinance does not specify that one denomination was more protected than another. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 306.
28. Quoted in Times and Seasons, June 1 1842.
29. Technically, there were three charters associated with the Mormons: the CITY charter, the charter incorporating the Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, and the charter incorporating the Nauvoo House Association. It was the CITY charter which was of central concern as this specified the most controversial powers. See Appendix: 3.
30. Sangamo Journal, December 15 1842.
31. R.O.Davis, "Partisanship in Jacksonian State Politics: Party Divisions in the Illinois Legislature, 1834-1841", in R.P.Swierenga ed., Quantification in American History (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 149-162.
32. Thompson, (1915b).

33. Sangamo Journal, February 2 1843.
34. Sangamo Journal, December 15 1842.
35. Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, December 19 1842, Senate, 13th Assem., p. 2.
36. Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate 1842, p. 3.
37. Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate 1842, p. 4.
38. Repeal was also likened to the Union taking away a State's right to govern. Such rhetoric was common in the Wasp which was far more abrasive than its successor the Neighbor.
39. Times and Seasons, June 1 1842.
40. Sangamo Journal, February 2 1843; Nauvoo Wasp, February 8 1843.
41. These division figures are from the State Register, March 3 1843. Thompson, (1915b), gives the division as twenty-three to eleven.
42. Thompson, (1915b); History of the Church, vol.5, p. 298 gives the date as March 4 and notes a division of seventeen to sixteen against repeal.
43. See An Act to Incorporate the City of Quincy, February 3 1840, sec.4. The myth that the Nauvoo charter facilitated unprecedented extension of the city died hard. Henry. Brown, for example, in his History of Illinois published in 1844, stated that the third section of the Nauvoo charter turned the city into a land speculator.
44. State Register, March 31 1843.
45. It is the view of Dallin.Oaks, President of Brigham.Young University, that this provision in the Chicago charter

would have been exceptional, perhaps occasioned by the geographical location of Chicago placing it at considerable distance from the hub of its judicial circuit. Letter to the author, July 25 1978.

46. Thompson, (1915b).
47. Quincy Whig, January 25 1843.
48. Nauvoo Wasp, January 28 1843.
49. The Telegraph was an Alton paper, a town comparatively distant from Hancock and thus further away from direct Mormon political influence.
50. Nauvoo Neighbor, May 24, June 21 1843.
51. Sangamo Journal, July 8 1842.
52. History of the Church, vol.5, pp. 87-88.
53. Warsaw Signal, August 20 1842.
54. Sangamo Journal, August 19 1842.
55. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 137.
56. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 145.
57. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 169.
58. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 385.
59. Letter of Wm.M.King to Badger and Hall, September 1 (?) 1842, American Home Missionary Society Collection.
60. Wm.Weston to George.Weston, February 1843.

61. Times and Seasons, October 15 1842.
62. An unquestioning application of the Deviance Amplification model to a religious sect can lead to overlooking this problem of insulation against the deviant label. Deviance Amplification assumes that there is some symmetry between the label ascribed to the group, perception of the label by the group, and the amplified response to the label. That is, the "content" of the deviant label is seen as related to the nature of the amplified deviance. Yet in a situation like the Mormon-Gentile conflict in Illinois, the labelled group may react in a hostile fashion to the deviant label but not necessarily because they have understood the content of the label in the way the labellers intended. Deviance need not therefore be amplified in the sense that the same behaviour becomes more intense.
63. J.M.Whitworth, "Communitarian Groups and the World", in R.Wallis ed., Sectarianism (London: Peter.Owen, 1975), pp. 117-137.
64. See Chapter 5 for details of internal opposition at this time.
65. Letter of George.Rockwell to T.H.Rockwell, August 3 1843.
66. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 447.
67. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 467.
68. See History of the Church, Appendix to vol.3; Nauvoo Neighbor, July 12 1843; Times and Seasons, July 1, July 15, August 1 1843.
69. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 474. The aftermath of the arrest took the form of a court case brought by Smith

against Reynolds and Wilson. Smith won the case but received only \$40 compensation. Orrin.Porter.Rockwell, who had been held in Missouri for a time, was not indicted for the assault on Boggs. See History of the Church, vol.6, p. 363 and p. 36 respectively.

70. Governors' Letter Books 1840-1853, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol.7, (Springfield Ill.: 1911).
71. Quoted in the Nauvoo Neighbor, August 23 1843.
72. Quincy Herald, July 21 1843.
73. This incident was also reported in the Warsaw Message.
74. Times and Seasons, May 1 1843.
75. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 105.
76. Warsaw Message, November 29 1843.
77. M.B.Hogan, The Official Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge (Publisher unknown), probably 1974.
78. Taken from an excerpt from the History of Bodley Lodge Number 1 A.F. & A.M. Quincy Ill., made available by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Illinois.
79. K.W.Godfrey, "Joseph.Smith and the Masons", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 79-90.
80. W.R.Cross, "Mormonism in the 'Burned-Over District'", New York History, 25, (1944), pp. 326-338; Godfrey, (1971).
81. Many passages in the Book of Mormon are interpreted as anti-Masonic. See W.J.Whalen, The Latter-Day Saints in the Modern World (Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1967), for a list.

One example is 2 Nephi 26: v.22: "And there are also secret combinations, even as in times of old, according to the combinations of the devil, for he is the foundation of all these things; yea, the foundation of murder, and works of darkness; yea, and he leadeth them by the neck with a flaxen cord, until he bindeth them with his strong cords forever". Whalen interprets the flaxen cord as probably referring to the cable tow around the neck of the initiate as he is led into the Lodge Room during the first degree of initiation.

82. C.Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo", Overland Monthly, 16, (1890), pp. 616-638.
83. K.J.Hansen, Quest for Empire (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1970).
84. For details of balloting irregularities see Bennett's fourth letter of exposure in the Sangamo Journal, July 22 1842.
85. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 370.
86. A Lewis.F.Evans took part in an anti-Mormon meeting at Carthage in June 1844, while the Chittenden brothers are listed as members of the mob which killed the Smiths. See History of the Church, vol.6, p. 462 and also Appendix: 1.
87. D.H.Oaks & M.S.Hill, Carthage Conspiracy (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975).
88. See Appendix: 1 for Masonic identities of anti-Mormons.
89. There is not enough evidence to support a conclusion that there existed multiple affiliations of anti-Mormons across the major voluntary associations in the community, to the extent that one could apply the notion of multiple organisational field as used by Zürcher and Kirkpatrick, 1976.

The smallness of the community itself may have given the anti-Mormon movement a similar cohesion, but this should not be taken as indicative of effectiveness.

90. Hogan, 1974.
91. Reprint of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Illinois 1840-1860 (Springfield Ill.: D & J. Brown, 1874).
92. J. Brooks ed., On the Mormon Frontier - the Diary of Hosea Stout (Univ. Utah Press, 1964).
93. Doctrine and Covenants, section 124, vv. 38-40.
94. E.C. McGavin, Mormonism and Masonry (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956). Hansen, 1970 notes that the Council of Fifty performed rituals similar to those of Masonry.
95. Oliver. Olney Papers, Yale University.
96. J.C. Bennett, The History of the Saints or an Expose of Joe. Smith and Mormonism (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842); C. Lewis, Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the Mormons (Lynn: Published by the Author, 1848); S.W. Taylor, Nightfall at Nauvoo (Avon Books, 1973), pp. 362-364 gives an account of the Endowment ceremonies, taken from the Warsaw Signal. The ceremony as described consisted of washings, anointings, re-enactment of the Adam and Eve story accompanied by the presentation of aprons, the passing through of various rooms representing the Terrestrial and Celestial Kingdoms, the taking of various oaths of secrecy and loyalty, and being given a new name to be revealed only to the man to whom one was sealed for eternity. Lewis described much the same ceremony as she had experienced it in the Temple, shortly after arriving in Nauvoo. She mentioned caps, robes, signs, and the "third name of the Patriarchal Grip". The oath of the "Order Lodge" quoted

by Lewis is reminiscent of the kind of oath supposedly sworn by the Danites. The Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints does not have any secret Temple rites.

97. Warsaw Message, November 1 1843.
98. The Mormons also had difficulty collecting wharfage from Gentiles. See History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 238-239.
99. Nauvoo Neighbor, September 13 1843.
100. C.Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo II", Overland Monthly, 17, (1890-91), pp. 145-151, Letter of August 13 1843.
101. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 239.
102. Times and Seasons, December 15 1841, January 15 1842.
103. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 271.
104. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 304.
105. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 524; for Bagby's account see Warsaw Message, October 11 1843.
106. Letter of W.Bagby to "Dear Charles", November 26 1843.
107. J.S.Coleman, Community Conflict (Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

Chapter 5: The Moral Crusade and the Enemy Within 1842-1843

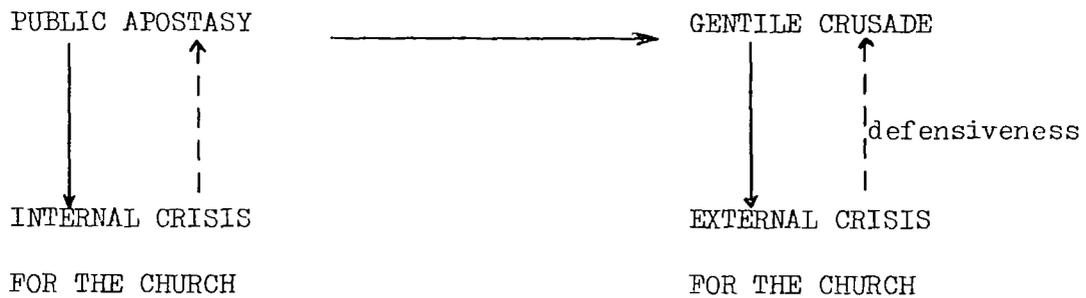
While practical attempts were being made to stem the tide of Mormon power, an expressive Moral Crusade was being mounted in the Illinois press. Although no organised activity directed towards redressing the grievances alluded to in the crusade was generated by it, the crusade was not unimportant in the development of the conflict. In essence the crusade was a battle of legitimation between Gentile and Mormon. The Gentiles mounted the moral platform in order to legitimate present opposition and past vilification, as well as to express some genuine concern at what appeared to be a gross outrage upon accepted morality. The accusations made by the Gentile press were based largely upon the testimony of apostates and thus created a crisis of legitimation for the Mormon Church in terms of its public image and the internal plausibility of its doctrinal system. Gentile and Mormon had to legitimate their past and present actions in order to foster the firm commitment of present and potential adherents.

While the crusade was forged by the Gentile political press and, to a far lesser degree, by the clergy, in order to weaken the Mormon Church through adverse publicity, the essential input which governed the timing of the crusade was the apostate. An apostate of a special kind, however, namely the public apostate, keen to expose the alleged villainy of former fellow believers. The initiative in the crusade was thus, ironically, placed within the Mormon camp. Rather than a consequence of the inexorable logic

of the conflict, the Moral Crusade was a contingent bonus for the anti-Mormons. The crusade launched as a result of the information provided by apostates was to a large degree constructed so that the information could be categorised and assimilated in conformity with past vilification. The major innovation which the crusade made was the introduction of sexual misconduct as a basis for negative stereotyping. It was in this period, therefore, that one finds some of the roots of what was to become the myth of the sexual charisma of Mormon missionaries, most recently resurrected in the McKinney affair.¹

In order to evaluate the role of the Moral Crusade as an integral part of the total conflict, it is necessary to look at the way in which it was constructed. To look at the "raw material" available to the crusade constructors from which they could build a sensational scandal. It is also necessary to assess the importance of Mormon defensiveness in amplifying the Moral Crusade. The interactive nature of the construction of the crusade is seen as hinging on the compound effect which the disclosures of the public apostates had.² That is, the apostate created material from which Gentiles were able to construct a crusade and thereby presented a threat to the non-deviant public image projected by the Church. The Mormons reacted to this threat defensively using tactics which boomeranged upon themselves in the sense that they merely confirmed the deviant image projected by the apostates through the Gentile press. At the same time, the apostate created an internal crisis for the Church by threatening the plausibility of beliefs held by members about the Church. This potentially enhanced the propensity to further apostasy which in turn, should it have become public

apostasy, would have perpetuated the Moral Crusade. Schematically this process may be simply represented as:



The contingent variables in the amplification of the crusade in such a case are: 1) the growth of public apostasy
2) a defensive policy by the Church which has a boomerang effect.³ Once the interactive construction of the crusade has been made clear in terms of these variables, it becomes possible to evaluate the effects of the crusade upon both Mormon and Gentile in terms of the contribution it made to the total conflict.

The Raw Material

The July 1 1842 issue of the Sangamo Journal called upon John. Cook. Bennett, formerly Mayor of Nauvoo and Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, to expose the Mormon Church. Bennett obliged, and there began in subsequent issues of the Journal a series of letters of exposure which continued until September. Following closely on the heels of these letters came Bennett's book The History of the Saints which underlined the villainies of the Mormon Church as alleged in the letters but painted them in more garish colours. Extracts from the book also appeared in the Journal. Other

presses such as the Quincy Whig and the Warsaw Signal reprinted the letters from the Journal interpreting them as confirmatory evidence of the rumours which had been circulating concerning the moral condition of the Church.

Bennett's exposure was "insider" information, superficially more cogent than the previous observations and allegations of Editors. His letters and his book therefore gave substance to the accusations made during the earlier vilification campaign in the Signal. He justified Gentile fears concerning the Mormon potential for violence by pointing to the threats made against his own life, and by substantiating the rumour that Smith had been directly involved in the assassination attempt upon ex-Governor Boggs. Further, he confirmed fears that the Danite Band really existed by alleging that O.P. Rockwell, Smith's presumed accomplice in the Boggs affair, was a member of this organisation. He also maintained that it was this organisation which had sought to take his life. Twelve members of the Band, he alleged, had stealthily drawn up to his residence, their carriage wheels wrapped in blankets to prevent detection, seeking to murder him. Such cloak and dagger tales were extremely attractive copy for the press. Taken as fact they would undeniably stretch the credence of readers towards encompassing new frontiers of Mormon audacity. The Sangamo Journal also confirmed that the Danite Band was a reality by attributing the murder of one John Stephenson to it.⁴

Bennett maintained an air of mystery and intrigue by not filling in all the details of some of his allegations. For example, he called upon Francis Higbee to tell what he knew about the murder

of a prisoner in Missouri without indicating the precise nature of the incident. Less mysteriously portrayed were Smith's power ambitions. Bennett quite bluntly asserted that Smith aimed to establish a theocracy. The gathering of the Saints was interpreted as instrumental to this goal. In his book Bennett alluded to a self-conscious desire on the part of Smith to build a Mormon Empire with Missouri, Illinois and Iowa Territory forming its nucleus. Smith also intended, alleged Bennett, to destroy the sacred institutions of Christianity and substitute a frightfully corrupt system.

It was in describing that "frightfully corrupt system" that Bennett found his forte. Tales of seduction teemed from his pen. He accused Smith of attempting to seduce Nancy Rigdon, reproducing a letter ostensibly from Smith to her in which the former tried to convince the young lady that everything which God gave was right including, by implication, adulterous relations.⁵ Bennett made similar accusations concerning Smith's relationship with Mrs. Orson Pratt. Bennett maintained that Smith had been unsuccessful in his overtures towards Mrs. Pratt and that her refusal of him required the sacrifice of a lamb to atone for her disobedience.⁶ The scandal was rendered more intriguing by her husband's sudden disappearance from Nauvoo. The Signal of July 16 1842 hazarded the guess that he had committed suicide. Another young lady, Mellisa Schindle, swore an affidavit which described an attempt on her virtue made by Smith, which was eagerly quoted by Bennett. Miss Martha Brotherton, taking up Bennett's invitation to speak out, gave a vivid description of how Young and Kimball had flattered her, and had locked her in a room while Young and then

the Prophet attempted to convince her that a polygamous marriage to Young would be quite in order. She alleged that Smith informed her that if the arrangement did not prove satisfactory after a month or so, he would release her from the union with Young and perhaps even take her on himself. She escaped entrapment by stalling her suitor, adroitly asking for time to pray about the matter.

In his book Bennett described an elaborate system of prostitution supposedly in operation in Nauvoo. Three tiers of women were said to have existed; the Cyprian Saints, Cloistered Saints and Chambered Sisters of Charity, the latter being women with whom Smith allowed others to have affairs. The air of mystery was enlivened by associating secret ritual with this system of spiritual wifery. The Order Lodge ceremony was described in detail, the initiate being stripped naked and then clothed and anointed in preparation for the administration of an ungodly oath to ease induction into spiritual wifery. While sources indicate that plural wifery existed in some form in Nauvoo at this time,⁷ Bennett's account would appear to be somewhat "gothic" in its exposition. It may have found its appeal in the public desire for vicarious pornography, eagerly consumed in a superficially puritanical culture.

The roots of the myth that Mormon missionaries gained converts by means of their sexual charisma are to be found in this period.

The Niles National Register of February 18 1843 stated that handsome females were being sent out to convert men.⁸ While the Quincy Whig reported the tale that women flocked to the hearing of Smith's

writ of habeas corpus before Pope in 1843, in order that they might have the "blessings of Jacob" cast upon them.⁹ This myth continued to develop during the Utah period and was used in the anti-Mormon campaign which occurred in Britain just prior to the First World War.¹⁰

Bennett strengthened the earlier theme of Mormon corruption with accusations of fraud. In his third letter, he accused Smith of transferring property prior to an application for bankruptcy. These accusations were picked up by United States Attorney, J. Butterfield, who was involved in an attempt by the Federal Government to execute payment upon a promissory note of September 1840 made out in the names of Smith and others.¹¹ In a letter of October 1842 Butterfield informed Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury, that Bennett's accusations were correct, that Smith had transferred property to relatives and friends without "consideration" for said property from the beneficiaries. Bennett's exposure listed land transactions for which some payment was made, although in one or two cases he pointed out that the sums fell far short of the actual value of the property transferred. The Federal Government opposed Smith's bankruptcy application in order to be able to proceed against his estate to recover the debt outstanding upon the note. The matter was not finally settled until 1852 when judgment upon the debt was satisfied by sale of real estate belonging to Smith's heirs, upon a bill in chancery.¹²

Bennett also alleged that Smith was not within his rights under the Act concerning Religious Societies, under the terms of which the Mormon Church was incorporated, to stand as sole trustee of

the Church.¹³ He further alleged that while such property as the White purchase was called Church property it was in fact Smith's own individual estate. Smith had been unanimously elected sole Trustee-in-Trust of the Church in January 1841. The precise pattern of land and property ownership within the Church, however, is difficult to determine particularly with respect to the personal holdings of Joseph. Smith. Smith often deeded land to Church members or gave followers like Amasa. Lyman power of attorney to sell lands deeded to himself.¹⁴ Any simplistic assumptions concerning the precise pattern of financial arrangements are rendered nugatory by such curious financial relationships as that which existed between Smith and the Committee responsible for building the Temple. The Committee gave Smith bonds to the value of \$12,000 for the faithful discharge of their duties.¹⁵ Whether Smith used Church property for his own personal enrichment and benefit is therefore a highly debatable issue rendered problematic by the inseparability of Smith qua individual from Smith qua head of the Church, even though the two may have been legally distinguishable in theory.

Bennett's exposure was well rounded. His book covered the whole gamut of previous exposures, from the fraudulence of the Book of Mormon on. He cemented his written work with lectures which extended as far as New York, making the affair more than a mere local storm in a teacup. He left no crime or misdemeanour unaccused:

It appears from the mass of evidence in this Expose, that the Mormon Heirarchy are guilty of infidelity, deism, atheism; lying, deception, blasphemy; debauchery, lasciviousness, bestiality; madness, fraud, plunder; larceny, burglary, robbery, perjury; fornication, adultery, rape, incest; arson, treason, and murder; and they have out-heroded Herod, and out-deviled the devil, slandered God Almighty, Jesus Christ, and the holy angels,...

New information contributed by the public and other dissenters was marginal and unspectacular. Both the Quincy Whig and the Sangamo Journal, for example, carried one of the few additional stories, that of Geo.W.Robinson's expulsion from the Church. Robinson made the point that he believed it was now a statute of the Church that nobody was allowed to leave - expulsion was the only route out. The Journal gave space to Oliver.Olney who gave notice that he was about to publish a History of the Mormons, for which purpose he had been taking careful notes for the past two years.¹⁷ The following week the Journal presented a document signed by ten individuals who stated their reasons for withdrawing from the Church. Little attention was given to the document, however.

There was a certain amount of anti-Mormon literature being produced by clerics. Such works received varying degrees of publicity. Books like that of Professor J.B.Turner, which gave a highly scholarly treatment of Mormonism, placing it in the context of similar "fanaticisms" of the Middle Ages, were not amenable to the extraction of interesting evils which could be used in a sensational portrayal of supposed Mormon wickedness. Such works, therefore, tended to receive little attention in the newspapers. They may have had substantially more influence among the Christian intelligentsia.¹⁸ Other works by clerics such as that by Clark,¹⁹ followed a format which had become almost traditional for anti-Mormon works - that of debunking Mormonism through an examination of its origins and a discussion of the scriptural authenticity of its beliefs. Such theological criteria for opposing Mormonism had been used since the early eighteen-thirties.

The genre therefore lacked the element of novelty so essential to good newspaper copy. The work of Henry Caswall, a British cleric, was given some exposure, being both quoted and reviewed. Caswall made a three-day visit to Nauvoo during which he interviewed Smith, showing him a Greek psalter which Smith pronounced to be a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics.²⁰ It was this kind of tale which gained currency rather than Caswall's longer narratives.

A work which was published in 1843 but which did not receive much notice in Hancock County until the following year,²¹ was Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet by Captain Marryat. It was the first of the novels about Mormonism, picking up the more "romantic" elements in the evolving myth about the Mormon character. Marryat claimed to be merely reciting the true adventures of Violet, although the work is clearly fiction. The book emphasised the involvement of the Mormons with the Indians, rather than sexual promiscuity. The sexual romance belongs to a later era, one of the first to appear being that by O.S. Belisle which was published in the eighteen-fifties. Even well into the mid-nineteenth century such novels were relatively rare, most anti-Mormon works following the historical/factual exposure format.

The Construction of the Crusade

It is clear from the above that the anti-Mormons had little essentially new information at their fingertips other than what was contained in the Bennett exposure. Bennett "blowing the whistle" in the way he did was an attractive proposition to the anti-Mormon press. Precisely because Bennett intended his letters

of exposure to be printed by the press, Editors did not need to re-package them. Bennett's work almost automatically underwrote past fears of Mormon power. Such lessons had been spelt out before, they needed no re-construction. There was not, therefore, a great deal of talk about morality per se. The moral infringements of the Mormons were assumed to be apparent from the exposure, they were not discussed. Neither were reformatory measures proposed. Even the vituperative Warsaw Signal found interpretative comment unnecessary, contenting itself with a mild advance warning to readers that the Bennett letters might shock.²² The closest the press came to proposing courses of action was a call for legal action against Smith personally.²³

The information was used instead, principally in the Journal, to reinforce the partisan positions already adopted over the question of the Mormon vote. The Journal, for example, took the State Register to task for traducing Bennett merely to keep in with Smith to obtain the Mormon vote for the Democrats. The Journal attempted to connect voting Democrat with furthering the aims of Smith, hoping to use the Bennett scandal to deter some floating voters from the Democrat camp. The State Register for its part, attempted to embarrass the Journal by printing old Journal articles which had welcomed the Mormons into the state. The Journal firmly rejected the ploy, maintaining that previously it had been reflecting the sympathy felt by the community but the paper now believed that it had been mistaken in the opinion it formerly held of the Mormon leaders.²⁴ The ghost of the welcome was thus adamantly laid to rest.

The political usage of the exposure was not as evident in the Quincy Whig, however.²⁵ It is here perhaps that one finds the clue to the identity of the major stumbling block to the development of a crusade of action rather than one of words. For in the pages of the Whig one finds a far greater concern than in the Journal about the relative credibility of Bennett's accusations. The political use of the exposure by the Journal indicated that there may have been active collusion between Bennett and the Editor. The Journal sustained the authenticity of Bennett and other exposers, but the Whig saw Bennett as a pimp, an accomplice to Joseph Smith's immorality, and a veritable knave. Yet it did not dismiss the exposure altogether, leaving readers with the adage "where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire."²⁶ The statement made by Miss Brotherton in part relieved the Whig of the quandary posed by Bennett, by providing independent corroboration of his tales which it could hail as enough to damn Smith even if Bennett had not written a word. The Journal, perhaps aware of the credibility problem, tried to stimulate the production of new information concerning the Church's doings in order to supplement the claims of Bennett. The other main Whig press, the Alton Telegraph, endorsed Bennett because it believed independent testimony was available. This need for confirmation because of the dubious nature of Bennett's character, rendered further testimony from public apostates essential for the continued efficacy of the crusade. The Signal, while it encouraged Bennett's exposure, was not blind to his character, but used his immorality to make the point that those who were elevated to high positions in the Mormon Church were essentially wicked.²⁷

It is difficult to gauge the effect of the crusade upon Gentile opinion with any accuracy. Gentiles may well have been discriminating in their acceptance of the allegations made against the Mormons. Charlotte Haven, for example, knew that plural wifery existed but could not believe that Joseph Smith would have had anything to do with it personally. She posed the rhetorical question: "What community or state could harbor such outrageous immorality?" in utter disbelief.²⁸ George Rockwell, however, mentioned in a letter of August 1844 that he had had frequent conversations with Mormon Elders upon the subject of plural wifery, which the Elders had defended and sought to prove was a correct doctrine by reference to the Bible. Oliver Olney commented that generally the Bennett sagas were not believed.²⁹

The majority of manuscript letters available concerned themselves more with the political activities of this period than with immorality. This is even the case with the letters of the clerics of the American Home Missionary Society. These clergymen reflected a general tendency to fasten upon extreme imagery when expressing disapproval of the Mormons, rather than dwell upon specific infringements. Nauvoo, for example, was dubbed the "Sodom of the West". Indeed there was a distinct inability to get down to specifics which lent a speculative quality to the crusade. Its Gentile audience came to believe that "half the story had not been told".³⁰ The crusade appealed to the imagination rather than stimulating a desire to formulate remedial action. As Governor Carlin tried to reassure the Mormons:

From the late exposure, as made by General Bennett it is not strange that the apprehensions of the citizens of Nauvoo are excited, but so far as I can learn from the expression of

public opinion, the excitement is confined to the Mormons themselves, and only extends to the community at large as a matter of curiosity and wonder.³¹

Because the exposures did not provide incontrovertible proof of moral infringement there was no obvious justification for decisive action. The crusade itself did not point the way. The Nauvoo Wasp published an article from the St. Louis Gazette which made the point that if Bennett did have hard evidence he should give it to the appropriate authorities.³² There was no visible, clearly defined misdemeanour, unlike the later situation in Utah where the doctrine of polygamy was quite publicly an accepted part of the Mormon faith. While malcontents such as Olney claimed that the Mississippi was clogged with the bodies of infants - the fruits of immorality, it was difficult to point to proof of the outrageous doings claimed in the exposures. There was certainly not the same concrete evidence available in this crusade that one finds accompanying modern anti-pornography crusades, for example, in which the crusaders are able to buy offending articles and present them to the authorities.

The speculative and collusive nature of the crusade might be thought to render it somewhat artificial in its construction. While this is to a large degree true, the above should not lead one to dismiss totally the possibility that there may have been a genuine sense of outrage among some readers - outrage itself intensified by fears which might have arisen from the very uncertainty of the accusations.

What kept the crusade going and prevented it from fleeing its

moorings for the realms of pure speculation was the Mormon defence. The Mormons prolonged the argument by presenting evidence which could be debated. The credibility question provided the perfect context for such debatable information. Torrents of articles poured over the pages of the Nauvoo Wasp in the latter part of 1842. The Wasp paid more attention to the Bennett affair than the more inwardly directed Times and Seasons. Mormon strategy in dealing with the exposure hinged upon denial of the accusations and character assassination of the accuser. Other tactics such as writing letters of refutation to the press and directly challenging Bennett when he gave lectures, were used but were less prominent. In the pages of the Wasp there were denials that the Danite Society existed, that there was a law of the Church prohibiting withdrawal, that Bennett had been forced to swear that Smith had not taught him anything immoral, that those Bennett cited as criminal were in fact members of the Church and so on. The Times and Seasons also participated in this mode of defence, denying that Kimball, Young and others had shut a sister in a room in order to persuade her that plural wifery was a correct doctrine. The paper also printed numerous affidavits of denial, such as those of the Higbees which refuted Bennett's insinuation that a prisoner had been killed in Missouri.

To discredit the public apostates fully the Church engaged in vehement character assassination. This may also have been functional in explaining to Church members why apostates were outside the Church engaging in such activity, namely that their evil could not be contained within a "pure" community. In order to maintain internal plausibility the apostates had to be portrayed as liars,

at least. The question as to "why had such evil men been allowed to remain in the Church?" was answered in terms of "being patient with the sinner in the hope of eventual repentance". The Times and Seasons stated that Bennett had been borne with until he made it clear that his pretensions to repentance were mere sham.³³ Bennett had, therefore, not only rejected the Church as such but also the special efforts to reclaim him from his inveterate wickedness. His rejection of the Church was couched in terms of hypocrisy and treachery in both the Mormon papers which published his formerly staunchly loyal articles alongside his exposure. He was likened to the turn-coat Avaré who had given evidence against the Saints in 1838. He was stigmatised as an imposter, a swindler of the Campbellite Church, a purveyor of spurious diplomas, and as a base adulterer who had cruelly treated the wife he had finally deserted in Ohio. Hyrum Smith added the infamous charges of abortionist and expelled Mason in an affidavit published in the Times and Seasons on August 1. The Wasp, mincing none of its words, accused Bennett of fornication and buggery.

Other apostates received similar treatment. Olney, for example, was cast as Bennett's right hand man and reported in the Wasp as having been before the Mayor's Court charged with burglary and grand larceny. Goods stolen from one Moses Smith were said to have been traced to Olney. He was tried and committed to the County jail, but escaped while the constable was having a pair of hand-cuffs adjusted because they were too small.³⁴ Robinson was accused of being a land swindler by Carlos Granger, while

the females who supported Bennett in his accusations against the Church were cast in the role of harlot.

The Gentile presses took up these counter-accusations providing a forum in which the relative credibility of accuser and accused could be debated. The Quincy Whig alluded to the statements made in the Nauvoo presses as in some cases unfit to be read in any decent family, thereby underlining the morally deviant image of the Saints. The articles in the Wasp were discounted as so much "editorial balderdash".³⁵ The Sangamo Journal acknowledged the anti-Bennett affidavits which had appeared in the Wasp but maintained that his exposure would still be believed.³⁶ In the following issue the Journal took up the question of the Mormon attempt to destroy the character of Robinson, and published Robinson's reaction to the charges in a subsequent issue.³⁷

The Mormons in Nauvoo attempted to publicly reaffirm their solidarity in the face of the threat presented by public apostates. On July 22 1842 a mass meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo convened and unanimously adopted the resolution:

That having heard that John.C.Bennett was circulating many base falsehoods respecting a number of the citizens of Nauvoo, and especially against our worthy and respected Mayor, Joseph. Smith, we do hereby manifest to the world, that so far as we are acquainted with Joseph.Smith, we know him to be a good, moral, virtuous, peaceable and patriotic man, and a firm supporter of law, justice and equal rights; that he at all times upholds and keeps inviolate the constitution of this state and the United States.³⁸

That same afternoon about eight hundred people signed a petition praying Carlin not to be persuaded by Bennett to issue a writ for Smith's arrest on the Missouri charges. The Ladies Relief

Society and non-Mormon citizens of the area also drew up petitions exonerating Smith's character and pleading for the privilege of enjoying their peaceable rights. They maintained a stance of innocence, holding firm to the belief that final vindication would be theirs. Joseph Smith's reaction to the treatment of the Bennett affair by the press was to liken the papers to roaring lions debasing themselves by joining in the braying of asses. His parable warned that the Lord would take the strength, the teeth and the claws from the lions which had lifted their hands against the innocent and oppressed.³⁹

Yet affirmative diatribe and satire masked what was a period of turmoil for the Church. Not only was there public apostasy but also internal dissent and shifting power alliances. Bennett's departure had created important gaps in the Mormon power hierarchy. His office as Mayor was taken by Joseph Smith himself in May 1842. Bennett had also been cashiered from the Nauvoo Legion. His office as Major-General was filled by Wilson Law.⁴⁰ While Smith was taking important civic office upon his own shoulders, there was a contrary tendency within the Church towards delegation of authority away from the person of the Prophet; a blunting of the Mormon power pyramid. In August 1841, for example, the Twelve were called to stand in their place next to the First Presidency to take charge of emigration and the business of the Church at the stakes in order to relieve the pressure on Smith and allow him more time to do his translation work. The following month the High Council of Nauvoo resolved to transfer all temporal business to the "proper authorities", although it is not clear to which part of the Mormon hierarchy they were referring. The

growing strength of the Twelve under Brigham Young is illustrated by a statement he made at a Conference in Boston in September 1843:

Elder Brigham Young stated the object of the meeting. The first item of business is the spread of the Gospel of salvation. I want to state what devolves upon the Twelve. Nine years ago a revelation was given which was fulfilled in 1835; and when fulfilled, the Prophet lifted up his head and rejoiced before the Lord. Previously, the responsibility of spreading the Gospel rested on him; now it is on the Twelve...⁴¹

Joseph Smith's judgment was directly overridden by the Church when it sustained Sidney Rigdon as his counsellor despite Smith's objections.⁴² In mid-1842 rumours that Rigdon was weakening in the faith were significant enough for him to reaffirm publicly his allegiance to the Church in August. In November, however, Smith maintained that Rigdon was tampering with the mails at the Post Office which had resulted in Smith failing to receive important correspondence and letters containing money.⁴³ A temporary appeasement between the two leaders was secured in February 1843, in which month Rigdon was elected City Attorney. This peace was shattered in the following month, when Smith wrote to Rigdon and accused him of complicity with Bennett.⁴⁴ Rigdon's alleged association with Bennett was brought up at the April Conference by Dimick B. Huntington, yet Rigdon was sustained as Counsellor. In a speech in August, Smith reiterated his belief that Rigdon was planning to betray him into the hands of Missouri. Smith publicly withdrew his fellowship from Rigdon and gained the unanimous support of the crowd for so doing.⁴⁵ Two weeks later Smith publicly expressed disbelief in the existence of a letter allegedly written by Carlin exonerating Rigdon of the charge of conspiracy with Bennett. Yet at a Special Conference of the Church held in October 1843 Rigdon was

sustained as Counsellor to Smith despite the fact that Smith had offered quite vocal opposition. A.W.Babbitt and William.Law had spoken in defence of Rigdon. Smith's reaction to Rigdon's re-appointment, according to a footnote in the manuscript history, was one of frustrated defiance.⁴⁶

Smith's personal charisma was further tarnished by personal abuse which he received within Nauvoo. In August 1843, for example, Smith complained of the abuses he had suffered during the election "on the hill".⁴⁷ The rivalry between the hill and the flat areas of Nauvoo, mentioned in the previous Chapter, had become focused upon a growing rift between Smith and the Law brothers who had substantial business interests on the hill. The Laws and the Higbees were to form the nucleus of the serious schism which rocked the Church in 1844. In this earlier period one sees resistance to Smith's authority in matters of doctrine and some murmurings against the organisational and civil authority which the Church attempted to exercise. A caucus was formed in February 1843 to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of Hyrum and Joseph.Smith during the previous City Elections. Smith also seems to have been in less than full control of land settlement in Nauvoo, for in May 1843 he received a letter from Thomas.Rancliff which complained of being swindled by William and Wilson.Law and Dr.Foster. Smith's reaction was to see this as "another example" that people would not obey counsel, specifically the advice he had given to the people on April 13 last. Smith was probably referring to his exhortation to English emigrants to settle the lower part of the town, and purchase their land from him.

It may also have been the case that the fracas between the Prophet and William Law and William Marks which erupted in late 1843, had an economic foundation. Law and Marks believed that Smith had ordered that they should be killed. At a special meeting of the City Council on January 3 1844, which resulted in a reconciliation between Smith and Law, it was revealed in the testimony of Daniel Carn that:

...certain men had been counseled by the Prophet to invest their means in publishing the new translation of the Bible; and they instead of obeying that counsel, had used their property for the purpose of building a steam-mill⁴⁸ and raising a hundred acres of hemp; and the Lord had not blessed them in the business, but sunk their hemp in the Mississippi river.⁴⁹

These internal conflicts were rendered more complex by the secular motives which often fuelled prima facie doctrinal disagreements. In the above case, for example, Warren Smith, a member of the police force allegedly instructed to kill Law, had been sued by Law two or three years previously. There were also rumours that Law and Marks could not subscribe to "all things in the Church". The developing theocratic structure of Nauvoo society was conducive to this overlapping of doctrinal and secular antagonisms.

The authority structure of the Church was also being questioned. Elder Benjamin Winchester, for example, had defied the authority of the Twelve when he had maintained that they did not have jurisdiction over his movements while he was in Philadelphia. At the investigation which followed in May 1843, Smith recommended that Winchester should come to Nauvoo, probably because he would be easier to keep in check there. Similarly Elder Page was reprovved in July 1843 for re-organising the Church at Cincinnati after

assisting Elders Kimball and Pratt to set that Church in order. The degree of control which Smith was able to exercise personally, or through the organisational structure of the Church, over the Churches in the East is difficult to assess, but such cases suggest that initiative was taken by Elders on occasion and was considered troublesome.

Smith was also vulnerable to prophetic initiative on the part of his following. One of the most serious cases in this period was the continued claims of Brewster. James Collins Brewster had gained a small following during the Kirtland era, claiming to have been visited by Moroni and enabled by revelation to translate the Book of Esdras. He was disfellowshipped by High Council in November 1837 as a result. The movement again appeared in the History of the Church for entries during December 1842 when it was made known to Smith that Brewster intended to take his followers to California. The schism did not collapse until after Smith had been killed.⁵⁰ A Mrs. Repshaw also laid claim to having received revelations, although it is not clear whether she gained a following. In August 1842 Smith declared that her revelations were not revelations from God. The nature of Smith's charismatic authority, founded as it was upon his claim to receive the word of God directly through revelation, rendered such initiatives from followers a direct challenge to his monopoly of divine authority.

The other main area in which dissent was in evidence was specifically doctrinal, namely the troubled waters of plural wifery. Here, potentially, one might find a breeding ground for new public apostates. Smith made a guarded denial of the doctrine in October



1843. Yet there was evidently some confusion within Nauvoo, probably due to the simultaneous public denial and private practice of the doctrine. There was certainly gossip within the city, sufficient to provoke Smith to angrily remark, when exhorting the people to increase home production:

Set our women to work, and stop their spinning street yarns and talking about spiritual wives.⁵¹

Harrison Sagers was brought before High Council a month later, in November 1843, charged with seduction and with having declared that Smith taught that it was right. Smith adamantly disassociated himself from anything immoral. Sagers, however, was not chastened by the experience and continued to teach the doctrine of spiritual wifery, leading to a new charge being brought against him in April 1844.

Two things are of importance regarding the significance of the internal dissent detailed above to the understanding of the construction of the Moral Crusade:

(1) The dissent was not made public and so could not become incorporated into the crusade.

(2) In some cases the internal dissent post-dated the crusade in the press which was largely spent by early 1843. The fact that internal dissent post-dated the crusade supports the contention made earlier that it was public apostasy which fed the crusade, not apostasy or dissent per se. Once this type of apostate ceased to come forward, the crusade languished for want of information. Why such dissenters did not make the leap towards public apostasy is extremely difficult to say. The motivation towards public apostasy would vary with each individual. Bennett,

for example, may well have been motivated by intense resentment after his fall from such an elevated position in the Church and may have seen exposure as a new career as well as catharsis. Other apostates such as Olney may have been disillusioned by the new doctrinal trends within the Church and the materialistic aspects of building the Kingdom of God in Nauvoo. Olney was spiritually careerist criticising the Church as a means to substantiate his own claims to prophetic status.

It is also the case that the Church was able to control dissent to some degree through its disciplinary procedures, or through threatening to expose the apostate's own evil. The latter method appears to have been used in the case of Francis Higbee, for example. The Church was not immune from the crusade, however, which undeniably affected the incidence of internal dissent and unease. Smith's sensitivity to possible treachery was significantly enhanced by the Bennett exposure and by Bennett's role in pressing for further requisitions from Missouri. His nervousness was clearly illustrated by his reaction to Rigdon's supposed complicity with Bennett.

The Mormon Church did, however, weather the storm of moral indignation more successfully than other communitarian groups. Fountain Grove colony and the New York colony of Oneida, for example, foundered "in the publicized misunderstandings of an esoteric sexual theory".⁵² In Illinois itself, the Swedish colony of Bishop Hill, Henry County, suffered the loss of its leader in 1850 due to troubles which followed a dispute concerning the degree of control which the colony could exercise

over a member married to an "outsider".⁵³ The size of the Mormon Church and its highly developed organisation, together with the highly diverse nature of its canon may, in part, account for its ability to survive an attack upon the moral front. When the situation became explosive for the Mormons in 1844 it was ignited by more than just moral issues.

Creation of a Mood

The escalating function of the crusade within the context of the total conflict can best be characterised in terms of the contribution it made to the creation of a mood of uncertainty and expectation of crisis. Although the public may not have been fully taken in by the exposures, the very inability to ascertain reliable facts as to the veracity of the accusations made fostered a frame of mind among the Gentiles which was an admixture of ambiguity, cynicism and latent fear. While unsure about Mormon behaviour and unable to determine the truth amidst the welter of affidavits presented by both sides, the public mind was pushed towards imagining all sorts of half-plausible horrors being perpetrated in Nauvoo by a group portrayed as totally unbounded by common standards of morality. Anything could happen, or indeed was already happening. One cleric exemplified this mood when he wrote:

The old citizens are under great excitement in consequence of the impudenses(?) lawlessness and wickedness of the Mormons and their leaders. We are on the eve of an outbreak and I should not be surprised to see very soon the scenes of Missouri enacted anew. It is a great calamity fastened on our county and state. They have unsettled everything; keep the county in constant excitement & exert a most withering influence on morals and religion. What is to be the finale of this chief of all modern humbugs ["in religion" crossed through] I know not.⁵⁴

Walter.Bagby was rather more precise, expecting violence at the end of the day. He dismissed the lull in activity during 1843 as merely the calm before the storm:

...although it seems quiet here now Yet I doubt not that something will turn up ere long that will bring about the crisis ' a calm most generally precedes a storm', they are still increasing in numbers rapidly, and the vanity of the wretch who controls them will soon burst(?) forth in some act of violence sufficiently flagrant to arouse the indignation of the people already struggling in their bosoms like the internal fires of an Aetna or Visuvius. I have very little doubt but that the Governor of Missouri will make another demand and then will come the 'tug of war'.⁵⁵

George.Rockwell writing from Warsaw in August 1843 also anticipated that there would be trouble "though it may not come for two or three years or perhaps longer". There was a general feeling of crisis which prompted some to move away from the area.

For the Mormons the crusade reinforced their suspicions and their fears of internal and external treachery, enhancing the tendency to retreat into the shell of defensive rhetoric. The crusade was conducive to the perception that truth was becoming irrelevant which rendered argument useless as a means to break down hostility between Gentile and Mormon. Neither side could talk to the other and be believed. The crusade, to this extent, escalated the growing polarisation between the parties.

Conclusion

It has been contended that there was a definite but contingent relationship between public apostasy and the development of the Moral Crusade; that the latter depended upon the former to keep it going; that such apostasy created a crisis for the Church, calling forth defensive action which only confirmed the negative

images put forward by the apostates; and that the two factors of apostasy and defensiveness are the two important contingent factors in the construction of a Moral Crusade of this kind. These factors would seem to be less applicable to fully visible cases of deviance such as some forms of modern youth culture. They become more appropriate in analyses of the kind of deviance which is suspected in an organisation or institution to which informational access is restricted and which has a preconceived non-deviant image. An example of such a case would be a government department suspected of corruption. The dynamics of the situation outlined above illustrate how a situation potentially productive of hostility can escalate when the party castigated as deviant actively rejects the deviant image projected onto it. This situation is analytically distinct from those situations where labelling and deviance amplification are thought to apply where further deviance and increased public hostility occur only after the "deviant" has accepted the deviant image projected.

Notes for Chapter 5

1. See Guardian, November 24, November 30, December 7, 1977; Sunday People, December 18 1977, January 8 1978; Daily Mirror, May 22 1978 for a few of the press articles on the McKinney affair.
2. It is admitted that other non-apostate forms of anti-Mormon material were used in the Gentile crusade, principally works by clerics. What is asserted here is that apostate literature and activity were the primary agents in sparking off the crusade.
3. Unlike Deviance Amplification this schema makes contingencies explicit thus overcoming the determinism of the former model, i.e. that deviant behaviour itself necessarily becomes more intense. It also premises conditions for de-amplification namely, the slowing down of public apostasy and/or the defensive reaction of the Church. It is the defensiveness of the Church, the self-conscious presentation of a counter-image which amplifies the crusade, not a congruent increase in "original" deviant behaviour. The crusade while categorising behaviour in terms of past vilification makes no assumptions about increased deviant behaviour in the present.
4. Sangamo Journal, July 15 1842.
5. Brodie 1971, maintains that there was some rivalry between Smith and Bennett for the affections of Miss.Rigdon. (p.310)
Brodie is also of the opinion that Bennett was an abortionist. (p.311)
6. Sangamo Journal, July 15 1842.
7. C.Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo", Overland Monthly, 16, (1890), pp. 616-638; D.L.Wilson & R.O.Davis eds., "Mormons in Hancock County", Journal of the Illinois State

- Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 31-65; H.M.Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo", Woman's Exponent, 1, (1882).
8. This method of gaining converts has been most explicitly attributed to the Children of God. See News of the World, July 17 1977.
 9. Quincy Whig, March 1 1843.
 10. M.R.Thorp, "The Mormon Peril: the crusade against the Saints in Britain 1910-1914", Journal of Mormon History, (1975), pp. 69-88.
 11. Senator Richard.M.Young (United States Senator 1837-1843) gave what amounted to a reference to Smith et.al. to the effect that the Government was safe in accepting the promissory note. The debt was contracted to finance the purchase of a steam boat.
 12. Records relating to attempts by the United States Government to obtain payment on a Promissory note made to the Government by Peter.Haws et.al., National Archives, Record Group 206.
 13. Bennett stated that the Act concerning Religious Societies provided for the appointment of Trustees, not a sole Trustee-in-Trust. The Trustees were authorised to purchase a quantity of land not exceeding five acres. See Sangamo Journal, July 15 1842; M.H.Cannon ed., "Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Joseph.Smith in Illinois", Pacific Historical Review, 14, (1945), pp. 425-433.
 14. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 292.
 15. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 197.
 16. J.C.Bennett, The History of the Saints (Boston: Ieland

- & Whiting, 1842), p. 257.
17. Sangamo Journal, October 7 1842.
 18. Turner was used by Bennett in his exposure as were most anti-Mormon works published prior to Bennett's, including the work by Howe.
 19. J.A.Clark, Gleanings by the Way (New York: W & J.Simon, 1842).
 20. The exposure of alleged incompetence on the part of the Mormon leader was paralleled very closely in the case of the Jehovahs Witness leader Charles.Russell. During a libel case hearing in a Canadian court, Russell said that he was a Greek scholar but was unable to read simple Greek letters when put before him by the prosecution counsel. See C.W.Sterling, The Witnesses (Chicago: Henry.Regnery Co., 1975), p. 34.
 21. Warsaw Signal, September 11 1844; Nauvoo Neighbor, June 19 1844. The work was mentioned in the Iowa Hawk Eye, December 7 1843.
 22. Warsaw Signal, July 23 1842.
 23. Sangamo Journal, August 19 1842.
 24. Sangamo Journal, July 22 1842.
 25. In its August 27 1842 issue the Whig does use the imagery of the exposure tales in a satirical attack upon the influence of Smith in politics. The Whig, however, was not as consistent as the Journal in making political capital out of the crusade.
 26. Quincy Whig, July 16 1842.
 27. Warsaw Signal, July 9 1842.

28. Haven, (1890), p. 636.
29. Olney Papers, Yale.
30. See for example the Letters in the American Home Missionary Society Collection.
31. Letter of T.Carlin to Joseph.Smith, July 27 1842, History of the Church, vol.5, p. 83.
32. Nauvoo Wasp, July 30 1842.
33. Times and Seasons, August 1 1842.
34. Nauvoo Wasp, February 15 1843.
35. See Quincy Whig, September 24 and August 13 1842 respectively.
36. Sangamo Journal, August 12 1842.
37. Sangamo Journal, August 26 1842.
38. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 70.
39. History of the Church, vol.5, pp. 274-277.
40. H.Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845 - A Unique Military Organisation", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Summer, (1961), pp. 181-197.
41. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 27.
42. The controversy between Smith and Rigdon is given in some detail in the History of the Church, an emphasis which is not reflected in the Mormon newspapers at the time.
43. Smith made this allegation in a letter to H.R.Hotchkiss concerning Smith's business affairs. The accusation was not made publicly.

44. Smith also accused Rigdon of complicity with Jared.Carter. Carter later appeared on a list of missionaries entrusted with disabusing the public mind concerning the arrest of Smith in 1843. The inclusion of Carter in the conspiracy is, therefore, either an additional confusion or further evidence that Smith's suspicions were not acted upon.
45. History of the Church, vol.5, pp. 531-532.
46. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 47-49.
47. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 531.
48. This would seem to contradict the inference drawn previously that pressure was put upon the Laws to build mills. This inference must stand, however, given the evidence in Times and Seasons already cited.
49. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 164-165.
50. History of the Church, vol.2, pp. 520 & 525-526; vol.5, p. 214. See also James.Colin(s).Brewster, Very Important to the Mormon Money Diggers (Springfield Ill.: March 20 1843).
51. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 58.
52. R.V.Hine, California's Utopian Colonies (Yale Univ. Press, 1966), p. 321.
53. H.E.Pratt, "The Murder of Eric.Janson", in R.P.Sutton ed., The Prairie State (W.B.Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 298-307.
54. Letter of B.F.Morris to Milton.Badger, August 25 1843, American Home Missionary Society Collection.
55. Letter of Walter.Bagby to "Dear Charles", November 26 1843.

Chapter 6: The Eruption of Violence 1844

Many studies of violence seek to explain its outbreak through use of the concept of Relative Deprivation. The use of this concept in the explanation of violence is in some ways reminiscent of the use made of the scapegoat theory of prejudice, for it too relies on the automatic production of aggression given the presence of frustration. The weakness of this link between frustration and aggression has been dealt with in Chapter 1. Both explanations also strive to offer a single cause of the phenomenon under study and for this reason both tend to ignore questions of the contingent development of any particular situation. As Wallis has pointed out,¹ in the context of why people join religious groups, many studies seek to overcome the lack of applicability of this general concept to particular empirical situations by proliferating specific types of relative deprivation to answer for each of them. Thus what ironically set out to provide a general, mono-causal and all-embracing explanation becomes lost in a welter of types because it can not deal with specific cases in a meaningful way.

The proliferation of types also creates a problem as to which type is most appropriate in any one situation. More than one type can be used to explain why violence occurred in Hancock County, for example. One could offer the explanation that the anti-Mormons were suffering from that type of relative deprivation which results from rising expectations,² insofar as their expectations of Smith's imminent downfall due to the internal instability of

the Church were not confirmed and, therefore, could be said to have made them frustrated. But one could also say, by taking different empirical evidence from the same situation that the anti-Mormons were suffering from decremental deprivation,³ insofar as they had lost power within their own community and had therefore lost local self-determination because of the rising power of the Mormons. Thus the generality of the concept itself and the number of permutations which it can be transformed into create a problem of evidence. Explanation in terms of type of relative deprivation can therefore become dependent upon one's choice of evidence.

The impasse springs from the generality of the concept. It is possible to translate all the main causes of discontent in Hancock County into types of relative deprivation, should one so wish. Thus political problems become relative deprivation of power, economic questions become relative deprivation of wealth, and so on. In other words, relative deprivation stands as a blanket term for any form of discontent which is measured in terms of the action taken to rectify a situation. Thus if discontents take political action, it is assumed that the actors are relatively deprived of power. At its worst the notion is reduced to tautology - one acts to redress a situation of deprivation, and the very act which one performs signifies that one is deprived. Thus one joins a religious sect because one is deprived of what that sect can offer, one plays sport because one is deprived of physical exercise and so on.

Gurr moved beyond definition to look at the processes of

political violence, analysing the likelihood of violence given certain balances of power within the political structure. Yet the conclusions which he drew from his analysis are still too general to be meaningful if applied to the situation presently under consideration. If one looks at the empirical situation first, rather than try to impress upon it generalisations gleaned elsewhere, one is struck by the need to look not just at the predispositions to violence, but at the process whereby violence was legitimated - the process whereby perceptions and interpretations of the situation become significantly changed so as to call forth new norms for the conduct of the conflict which embraced violence as a viable alternative. One is therefore interested in how "objective" changes in the environment were "subjectively" received. In other words one is asking the question, given the existence of frustration (by whatever name one wishes to call it) what happened to trigger this frustration into violence when it was triggered? The timing of the violence appears to be extremely important to a full understanding of the transition from non-violent to violent strategies.

This Chapter is therefore concerned with analysing a process of transition from non-violence to violence - a qualitative change in the nature of the conflict. A change from a situation of "competition for social power" as a means of obtaining control to a situation where violence becomes the legitimate means to overcome one's adversary or even destroy him. As with all such situations the transition is not total. Institutional means of control were not suddenly and totally abandoned for strategies of violence. One can detect that by 1844 the political system had become

dysfunctional for the anti-Mormons, a situation which has been interpreted as conducive to violence.⁴ Because of this there was also a growing feeling that time and means of defeating Mormon power were running out.

The Process of transition in Hancock County can best be documented in terms of five discernible phases in the development of a violent situation:

- 1) Changes in the public definition of the situation
- 2) Continued failure of legal strategies
- 3) Advent of a symbolic pretext to violence
- 4) Opportunity to perform a suitable violent act
- 5) Justification of the violent act

It is hoped that these phases are specific enough to be meaningful in the present context, yet still capable of generalisation to other situations without those situations necessarily conforming to specific types of violent situation.

(1) Changes in the public definition of the situation

The rhetoric of the anti-Mormons during 1843 had reached the climax of the contingent threat of extreme action should "further Mormon outrages occur". Early 1844 provided many examples of what the Gentiles could define as "Mormon outrages". As a result of the kidnapping of Avery by Missourians in late 1843, for example, John.C.Elliott had been arrested by the Mormons on a charge of kidnap. Elliott, so the Warsaw Message reported, had requested that he be allowed to go before a magistrate at Warsaw, but this had been refused. Hence the incident was clearly amenable to the

interpretation "Mormon arrests Gentile". Elliott was taken to Nauvoo and entered into recognisance after a hearing in which Joseph.Smith acted as prosecutor. Elliott was then re-arrested for using threatening language towards Joseph.Smith. Elliott was released when news was received in Nauvoo that the Missourians were crossing the river in their hundreds. In reality some twelve or twenty citizens of Green Plains had armed themselves and followed as far as Warsaw, angered by the circumstances of Elliott's arrest.⁵ Following hard upon this "legal outrage" came the attempted arrest of Milton.Cook for bastardy. Cook had been arrested in Nauvoo but had managed to escape. A re-arrest attempt at Carthage had brought Gentile citizens onto the streets to defend Cook. Confrontations took place between "Mormon" arresting officers and Gentiles at Bartlett's store and at Wilson's store. Shots were accidentally fired at the latter but nobody was hurt.⁶

These incidents precipitated the interpretation that the use of judicial power by the Mormons was becoming unbearable. The Warsaw Message published by request some of the ordinances of Nauvoo and interpreted them as:

...tending to show how utterly regardless of all law and right & decency, the authorities of that city can make themselves. One ordinance authorizes marriages without a license; another sets Smith above the license laws of the state, 'for the health and convenience of travelers'; another takes all process out of the hands of State officers, and puts it into those of the city; & yet another takes the pardoning power away from the Governor!⁷

The Mormons defended themselves through the pages of the Nauvoo Neighbor, denying that they had resisted any law and posing the question of whether it was any concern of the city of Carthage what ordinances were passed in Nauvoo.⁸ The Mormons were undeniably

aware of the hostile feelings with which their exercise of municipal powers was met. Smith received gentlemen from Carthage shortly after the Cook affair who complained that certain Nauvoo ordinances were designed to hinder the execution of the statutes of Illinois.⁹ Smith gave way: on February 12 the ordinance concerning unlawful search or seizure of persons or property by foreign process, and the ordinance concerning the extra case of Joseph. Smith, were repealed. This gesture was not universally interpreted as a sign of appeasement or a basis for mutual compromise. Walter. Bagby, for example, saw it as proof that physical resistance was the most effective way of dealing with the Mormons. He believed that after the show of force in Cook's defence:

General Joe concluded that discretion might be the better part of valour and forthwith instead of sending out a force to punish his (?) subjects the saucy (?) Carthaginians, proposed they should repeal those odious ordinances and promised to send out copies to us as soon as possible, thus we taught him a lesson his arrogance little expected ! everything seems to be quiet now...¹⁰

The Warsaw Message made tentative attempts to prepare the ground for possible compromise but such efforts met with little success. In February it reported "Another Mormon Outrage" in its columns, referring to the arrest of Alex. Simpson without due process. The continual flow of such incidents hampered the Message's attempts to bring about reasonable negotiation and discussion. Its editor, Thomas. Gregg had suggested a meeting at Carthage to take into consideration the various alleged grievances and consider proposals for a possible remedy. He was swiftly rebuffed by a reader who signed himself Hannibal:

Never !! Just as well might you call upon us to strike hands with Pirates, or to compromise with the Powers of Darkness.¹¹

The Message stood its ground, however, replying that in view of the danger of bloodshed a compromise of non-intercourse might be acceptable. It pointed out that many in Nauvoo were innocent of offence. Its pleas fell on stony ground. One "old citizen" who signed himself Farmer's Guard justified his opposition to compromise on the grounds that his rights had all too frequently been trampled under foot, and that the Mormons did not deserve to live among any civilised people.¹²

The rejection of possible compromise from within Gentile ranks opened the way to a totalising of opinion and a search for total solutions. The Warsaw Signal noted in its February 21 1844 issue that the Gentiles were divided as to whether the Mormons should be driven out now or not. By April the Signal was suggesting Oregon as a suitable alternative residence for the Mormons. While it was being mooted that peaceful co-existence was no longer practicable or desirable, resort to arms was acceptable and legitimate only in the event that it "became inevitable". The escalation of the intensity of hostile feeling is somewhat over-emphasised in the press material available due to the failure of the moderate Warsaw Message and the resurrection of the Signal in February 1844. The Signal waded in, accusing, haranguing and inciting to action. Its editor, Tom. Sharp was among those who called for a meeting of anti-Mormons early in February.¹³ The Signal took an angry state of affairs and moulded it into a state of crisis which appeared to necessitate urgent action.

The Signal's opening issue posed the question "if we do not act where will these Mormon encroachments end ?".¹⁴ It reacted

negatively towards Governor Ford's efforts to exhort the Gentiles to keep the peace. Ford had received resolutions from a meeting of the citizens of Hancock. He assured the Gentiles that he could do nothing; that only judicial power could alter the Nauvoo charters if anything was wrong with them. He admonished both sides to keep the peace, adding that if it came to war he would use the power of the Executive against the aggressor. The Signal implied that Ford was biased towards the Mormons and continued to deny that the anti-Mormons acted from political motives. It would accept peace but on its own terms, not those of Governor Ford. It made such terms explicit when responding to the warm reception given to Ford's exhortation by the Mormons in Nauvoo. The Mormons had expressed a desire for peace:

If the Mormons wish to live in peace they must, cease from pursuing such a course as they have heretofore. They must cease from screening each other from the just operation of the law - cease from sham trials, intended to let off offenders by a mere nominal penalty - cease from releasing persons in custody of State officers, by their city Habeas Corpus - cease from insulting the laws, and desecrating public morals by substituting for the laws of the state, a set of abominable ordinances, which give to all who believe in their validity free scope for licentiousness - cease from threatening the liberties of our citizens by their city ordinances - and cease from dictating who shall be our county officers. These are the only terms on which they can have peace.¹⁵

The Signal thus again transferred the initiative for peace to the Mormons. Both sides were expressing nominal desires for peace yet taking no concrete serious steps to arrange a venue for working out a mutually agreeable solution. Polarisation was deepening. The Gentiles were demanding the total capitulation of Mormon municipal power, while the Mormon response to the situation was to assert the legitimacy of that power and attempt to gain further spheres of influence outside the county.

In 1844 Joseph. Smith stood as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Although his manifesto was greeted with derision by the Signal, an underlying tension was created by the perceived audacity of this new move. As far as the Signal was concerned, Smith was a "great dunce" with respect to political science. Clearly, for the anti-Mormons, Joseph. Smith was trading upon his power position within the Church rather than any intrinsic qualities he possessed as a potential statesman. Smith used his missionaries as electioneering agents, to the discomfort of some.¹⁶ Bishop George. Miller interpreted Smith's candidacy as a deliberate power move - a means to further the political Kingdom of God. In the event of Smith's election:

...we would at once establish dominion in the United States, and in view of a failure we would send a minister to the then Republic of Texas to make a treaty with the Cabinet of Texas for all that country north of a west line from the falls of the Colorado River to the Nueces...and get them to acknowledge us as a nation...¹⁷

Notions of the extension of the physical Kingdom of God may have become more concrete with the organisation of the Council of Fifty in March 1844.¹⁸ The functions of the Council were to further Smith's candidacy and seek out a territory which the Saints could settle.¹⁹ It was to form the temporal government of Zion which would include some Gentile members.²⁰ It was an aid to precipitating Christ's World Government. There are few direct references to the Council as its meetings were secret. One does find oblique references such as "the Kingdom is organised" indicative of a feeling that plans concerning the advent of the Kingdom were being fulfilled. The sense of expansion was also manifested in the declaration that the whole of America now constituted Zion.²¹

The cry of combining Church and State was quickly raised. The

Mormons met the charge with the defence that the division between religion and politics had gone too far, that God had been thrust out of politics. What was badly needed was men of right principles, both right religious principles and political principles.²² The Signal made much of presumed fears concerning the possible consequences should Smith be elected. In its May 8 issue it printed a paper from one Moroni which stated that a new order was about to be established under which they would be able to put the spiritual wife doctrine into practice. It described the effects of this new order upon the Gentiles in graphic detail:

In a short time Brother Joseph will be President of the United States, and then, if our enemies should molest us in our spiritual devotions, we can change the laws and customs of the country...stone to death all who dare to oppose us...²³

The candidacy of Smith was thus ridiculous yet potentially dangerous from a Gentile point of view. It also served to confuse the Whig/Democratic division which had developed between pro-Mormon and anti-Mormon. Smith's manifesto was essentially Whig in its support for a National Bank and the tariff. Yet it was the Democratic press which had been most supportive of Smith in his recent tribulations. Such was the identification of the Mormons with the Democratic party, that the Quincy Whig voiced the expectation that Smith's candidacy would be subject to the approval of the Baltimore Locofoco convention.²⁴ While the Democratic State Register recognised Smith's policies as Whig, it made no attack upon Smith or his Church.²⁵

Smith's apparent espousal of Whiggery did not divorce the other members of the Church from the Democratic party. The Hancock Democrat, a campaign newspaper for Johnson, the Democratic

candidate, revealed C.L.Higbee and Hyrum.Smith as active in the Democratic cause, attending a mass meeting in Carthage during March. Hyrum.Smith had demonstrated his allegiance to the Democratic party in 1843, successfully swinging the Mormon vote to that party despite his brother's promise to the Whig Cyrus.Walker. Thus the independence of party politics which Smith's candidacy for President is often taken to signify must be heavily qualified when considering the party allegiance of individual Church members. In public the Mormons expressed confidence in their strength to meet the challenge of a Presidential campaign. The Nauvoo Neighbor of April 24 hazarded the guess that they could bring from two to five hundred thousand votes into the field.

Smith's exercise of power at the local level also continued to arouse alarm. In February a man called Bostwick was brought before a court at the Mansion for slandering Hyrum.Smith and certain ladies of Nauvoo. The women of Nauvoo met publicly to express their abhorrence of the man.²⁶ The see-saw of Gentile accusation and Mormon legitimation was re-activated and indicated a growing polarisation between the protagonists approaching a complete disjunction as to what constituted acceptable norms of behaviour. This was most evident in the growing fissure between Gentile and Mormon in their perceptions as to what was and was not legal. Law was becoming a matter not only of group identification but of group definition. The overarching common definition of "legal behaviour" was lost. The Gentiles were becoming more and more aware that it was impossible to use formal judicial proceedings to protect themselves from what they considered to be the autocratic use of power by Smith. The incidents of 1842-1843 had seen the

Gentiles lose the offensive legal battle against Smith. Now in 1844 they were clearly on the defensive. There was a tendency to see any judicial act performed by the authorities of Nauvoo as less than legal and diabolical in its implications for Gentile security. The Signal and Alton Telegraph even took the part of a negro who had been beaten in Nauvoo after having been allegedly found with stolen goods in his possession. The May 1 issue of the Signal reported that a man called Goodwin had stabbed a Mormon at Green Plains when the Mormon wished to withdraw from a deal. There was no castigation of Goodwin, merely the comment that the incident was likely to cause friction between the Mormons and the citizens of Green Plains. It was in this sense that law and condemnation of illegal behaviour or violence was determined not by the nature of the act but by group identity. When "hard" news was in short supply the Signal sustained the mood of disgust and fear with discrediting tales such as Smith turning his wife out of the house, or lurid tales of Danite intrigue in the Missouri days.

The Mormons were still fighting a losing defensive battle against growing internal dissent. Within the city there was evident discomfort at the manner in which city ordinances were being enforced. At a general meeting on March 7 1844, for example, Smith remarked that the officers of the city were having difficulty administering the ordinances, while John Taylor denied that municipal officers were acting in an arbitrary manner as some discontents maintained.²⁷ There were occasions when the officers within Nauvoo were openly resisted. On April 26 the Marshal attempted to arrest Augustine Spencer for an assault upon his

brother Orson. R.D.Foster, Charles.Foster and C.L.Higbee stepped in to resist the arresting officer, Charles.Foster drawing a pistol upon Joseph.Smith who was also present. All three were arrested for their resistance.²⁸

On March 24 Smith publicly announced that he had knowledge of the existence of a conspiracy against his life.²⁹ The finger was pointed at C.L.Higbee, R.D.Foster, J.H.Jackson, William.Law and Wilson.Law. Chauncey and Francis.Higbee were brought before Justice Wells on a charge of assaulting the police and acquitted on April 1. On the same day R.D.Foster was fined \$10.00 for a breach of the ordinance on gambling. On the eighteenth R.D.Foster, Wilson.Law, William.Law and Jane.Law were cut off from the Church. The dissidents formed their own Church on April 28, maintaining the tenets of Mormonism but firmly believing that Joseph.Smith was now a fallen prophet. On May 6 Joseph.Smith received a warrant upon complaint of Francis.Higbee who fixed damages at \$5,000. Smith obtained his release from the Municipal Court of Nauvoo on the eighth.³⁰ On May 12 his brother Hyrum received an anonymous letter, supposedly from J.H.Jackson, threatening his life.³¹ Smith may also have been experiencing opposition from the women of Nauvoo, led by his wife, to the doctrine of plural wifery. Smith stated in an address of May 26 that he had received no trouble from "these men", meaning the dissenters, "until that Female Relief Society brought out the paper against adulterers and adulteresses".³²

General disquiet is also indicated by the occasional oblique defences of certain practices by Church leaders. Sidney.Rigdon,

for example, at the April Conference of the Church, defended the secret meetings within the Church both past and present.³³ It is possible that this remark was prompted by consternation concerning the secret meetings of the Council of Fifty. The Gentile presses were quick to flaunt internal turmoil within the Church. On June 5 the Signal gave considerable publicity to the exposure of the Church written by J.H.Jackson which cast Joseph.Smith in the roles of hypocrite, counterfeiter and engineer of the Boggs assassination attempt.³⁴

Such a combination of internal dissent and external opposition was conducive to a sense of impending downfall. Smith had sustained the loss of key figures within his organisation with the exit of the Laws and Higbees, and had alienated himself from Sidney.Rigdon. It has been thought that the Council of Fifty was a response to Smith's loss of support within the First Presidency.³⁵

The Gentiles eagerly anticipated Smith's personal collapse. This for them would have been the optimum passive solution to the conflict. The Signal's reaction to the new schism founded by the Laws was one of projected hope:

Well affairs are now assuming the aspect, which we have long desired they should, and everything bids fair for the complete prostration of Joe Smith's influence.³⁶

Plans for the production of a dissident press to be published in Nauvoo were greeted by the Gentile presses as additional fuel for the fire. F.Higbee corresponded with Gregg about the proposed paper and Gregg even suggested a name for it.³⁷ The Alton Telegraph hailed it as the means to the elucidation of the whole truth. It would "...enable the people of Illinois to decide how

far the longer toleration of Mormonism, as it has hitherto existed among them, with all its priveleges and immunities, is consistent with their safety, and the welfare of the State".³⁸

The Expositor was expected to put the rumours and rhetoric beyond question. It was to be the arbiter of truth. There was a growing sense of moving towards some kind of climax - the final truth to be followed by the inevitable downfall of Smith. This was most clearly seen in the rhetoric of the Signal which increasingly contained prophecies of doom for the Mormons which it hoped would be fulfilled. In its May 29 issue it related the incidents surrounding Smith's entrance to Carthage to demand an immediate trial upon the charges of perjury and adultery levelled against him. The Signal commented that it was believed that Smith was "not safe out of Nauvoo, and we would not be surprised to hear of his death by violent means in a short time".³⁹ Smith was reported as being apprehensive of his own safety, reacting with some alarm to a pistol going off as he crossed a tavern yard in Carthage. The Signal reinforced the point by alluding to earlier prophecies which it had made and which had been fulfilled. The paper had predicted three years ago that Nauvoo would become the haven of blackguards, now, it said, the city protected a man who had swindled the government⁴⁰ and Smith himself was a counterfeiter.⁴¹

The Signal now came close to explicitly advocating violence, and anticipated justification for such a course of action:

An officer of justice might as well go to purgatory to find a culprit as to Nauvoo, if Joe has taken him in charge. The law and its agents are mocked; and yet if the citizens of this community should rise up, and resort to the only means left us, to rid ourselves of this pest, there are fastidious moralists, who would immediately brand us as 'mobocrat'...⁴²

This pre-figurement of violent action was carried still further with the publication of a fantasy extermination of the Mormons, described by the Signal as a "good specimen of fun -".⁴³

By June 1844, the Governor, the Gentiles and the agents of control who attempted to serve process in Nauvoo had moved towards a position where the use of physical force, if not violence, was an acceptable strategy. As yet Joseph. Smith had relied upon the exercise of his judicial power rather than make direct use of physical force.

(2) Continued failure of legal strategies

The Signal was obviously looking forward to the "fun" of anti-Mormon activity, yet it was with some difficulty that the anti-Mormons formulated any policy as to appropriate action. At an anti-Mormon meeting on January 3 1844 three possible forms of non-violent action were put forward and operationalised. Firstly, it was resolved to seek redress of their grievances from Ford by advising him of the present state of affairs in the county. Secondly, it was resolved to request the Missouri authorities to demand Joseph. Smith and others on outstanding charges connected with the Missouri troubles. Thirdly, it was resolved to ferret out the dishonest and be on their guard against suspicious persons. As a matter of policy, therefore, the anti-Mormons could act together in three different non-violent ways; by using the agents of control in Illinois, by going outside Illinois to Missouri, or act themselves in mutual self-protection. This non-violent policy became unworkable for essentially three reasons:

- a) The incidents of early 1844 seemed to demand immediate attention by the anti-Mormons themselves - attention of a forceful kind.
- b) The anti-Mormons perceived that Ford was out of sympathy with their cause and could not therefore be totally relied upon.
- c) The anti-Mormons could not mobilise support on the basis of such a policy.

The Milton.Cook affair had demanded immediate action; the anti-Mormon response to the arrest attempt was to send runners to all parts of the county to beat up assistance. While the public meeting, with its primitive co-ordinating structure, could be used to publicly express desired policy, the actual incidents of early 1844 prompted "then and there" physical resistance. Such localised initiative served to push expressed policy towards support of physical resistance. The anti-Mormon meetings became the medium of post-hoc legitimation for such forceful action. This was achieved through an over-lapping of personnel. Walter.Bagby, for example, active in recruiting opposition to the Cook arrest, was a member of the Committee reporting resolutions at a meeting of the citizens of Carthage on January 10. The Secretary of that meeting was John.C.Elliott who had previously been arrested by the "Mormons" in connection with the Avery kidnap. It was quite clear from the resolutions passed at this meeting that the personal experiences of the anti-Mormon leaders of arrest by Mormon officers had influenced them towards favouring a policy of organised physical resistance:

...there is no alternative now left us, but the most abject and ignominious submission to positive tyranny and oppression, or a bold and fearless resistance...⁴⁴

They resolved to march to any point to which they might be called should the need arise and supported the policy of encouraging the organisation of defensive bodies.

Ford's address to the citizens at the end of January left them in little doubt as to the barrenness of the Executive as a source of support for the anti-Mormon cause. In February the anti-Mormon meetings professed a determination to be prepared for any emergency and to maintain the laws. Members spent time appointing delegates to keep in touch with others in the county. There were also frequent denials that they were inciting mobocracy. But there were few attempts to formulate a concerted concrete plan of action. The Mormon account of the meeting of February 17 stated that the object was to devise ways and means of expelling the Saints from the State.⁴⁵ The anti-Mormons were in the perplexing position of trying to formulate a plan of action which was legal but which did not require the active support of the Governor. The cover of legality was important insofar as it provided a redoubtable justification for anti-Mormon strategy.

The anti-Mormon convention reported in the Signal of February 21, resolved to prepare an address to the public to set out the true position of the anti-Mormons. Two resolutions were passed which were specifically aimed at fostering rationality and the limitation of action to legal means. Subsequently, a strange silence appeared to fall on the anti-Mormon movement. The pages of the Signal throughout April and May turned to other types of news. Possibly the movement had led itself into an impasse by publicly avowing adherence to legal means when the rhetoric of the movement

had clearly moved on to a willingness to accept the use of physical force. A purely legal battle was out of the question as the anti-Mormons just did not have the power resources to pursue such a strategy. The experiences of early 1844 had clearly demonstrated their inability to counter Smith's use of judicial power by complementary tactics. The only viable course which could combine the use of physical force and legality was one in which the anti-Mormons aided the agents of control in the execution of process. Alternatively, the rhetoric of the movement could be transformed into a plan of violent action if a pretext sufficiently strong presented itself which would justify transcending legal boundaries.

Thus while motivation was clearly on the side of urgent action, there were heavy constraints upon the form that action could take if it was to have at least the tacit support of the public at large. If the hard core anti-Mormon could not enlist the active support of the populace, which may have been the case in early 1844, they could at least hope to justify their own extreme actions by reference to a substantial pretext. Many of the incidents of early 1844, while undoubted irritants, were outrages of an individualistic kind - individuals rather than the anti-Mormons as a group had had their liberty directly threatened. It required substantial effort to translate the incidents into group threats sufficient to mobilise support for violent action. No one incident was sufficiently outrageous to act as a catalyst for violence. Hence their impasse.

(3) Advent of a symbolic pretext to violence⁴⁶

On Friday June 7 the Mormon dissidents led by William Law brought out the first issue of the Nauvoo Expositor. The Mormon Church was again faced with a serious case of public apostasy. Smith moved swiftly to try to physically crush this phoenix-like opposition. On June 10 the Nauvoo City Council passed an ordinance deeming libellous persons disturbers of the peace. After a highly emotive session in which the spectre of Missouri persecution was again raised, the council declared the Expositor a nuisance and ordered it to be abated, despite pleas by the Gentile Councillor Warrington that such a course of action was too harsh. By about eight O 'Clock that evening the press had been destroyed.⁴⁷

The Mormon presses maintained that the action was legal, the destruction of the Expositor was seen as "Retributive Justice".⁴⁸

A knot of base men, to further their wicked and malicious designs towards the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to bolster up the intents of black-legs and bogus makers, and advocate the characters of murderers, established a press in this city...⁴⁹

The Mormons perceived the Expositor as yet another instrument of persecution:

...in the name of freemen, and in the name of God, we beseech all men, who have the spirit of honor in them, to cease from persecuting us collectively or individually. Let us enjoy our religion, rights, and peace, like the rest of mankind: Why start presses to destroy rights and priveleges, and bring upon us mobs to plunder and murder ? We ask no more than what belongs to us - the rights of Americans.⁵⁰

An Extra of the Neighbor published on June 17 sought to disabuse the public. It vilified the producers of the Expositor and defended the Church's position on marriage. The latter was portrayed as celestial marriage, that is marrying for eternity,

rather than polygamous union. The Mormons held a public meeting on the sixteenth and appointed delegates to go to the various precincts in Hancock County to correct false rumours. The Extra maintained that some Mormons in the Carthage and Warsaw areas had been forced to leave their homes.

The reaction to the destruction in the Gentile presses varied considerably. The Sangamo Journal interpreted the act and its aftermath in political terms. It assumed that Ford would act from political motives, that the Mormons would have to "pay" for the deed in votes while the anti-Mormons would have to keep calm until after the November election. It felt sure that nothing much would come of the destruction because the Mormons had too many votes.⁵¹ For the Quincy Whig the act demonstrated Mormon disrespect for law, explained the hostility aroused against them in Missouri, and was "conclusive evidence, that the charter of that sink hole of iniquity should be repealed..."⁵² The Alton Telegraph expressed the hope that the act would not go unpunished and, while it upheld the need for the maintenance of law, desired the removal of the Mormons from the State.⁵³ For the Signal it was the pretext upon which to urge extreme action:

War and extermination is inevitable ! CITIZENS ARISE, ONE and ALL !!! - can you stand by, and suffer such INFERNAL DEVILS ! to ROB men of their property and RIGHTS, without avenging them.⁵⁴

A newspaper had been destroyed - the freedom of the press violated. As the Sangamo Journal noted the press was protected by the Constitution which was paramount to any city charter.

The Expositor had been the new weapon of the Gentiles against the Mormons. Smith, by destroying this yearned for symbol of

verbal opposition by physical force had effectively changed the rules of the conflict. He had extended the boundaries of the conflict to include the use of force. No longer were his actions directed at particular individuals; the Expositor was produced by a group and represented the interests of anti-Mormons as a whole. The act of destruction was a clear, indisputable fact - a highly visible point around which anti-Mormons could rally.

At a meeting of the citizens of Warsaw on June 14 it was succinctly stated that when they could no longer rely on the law for redress they would use their "reserved rights". By defining the destruction of the Expositor as a gross infringement of law, the anti-Mormons made the transition to the acceptance of use of arms:

We hold ourselves at all times in readiness to co-operate with our fellow citizens in this state, Missouri and Iowa, to exterminate, utterly exterminate, the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders...⁵⁵

It was further resolved to drive out the tools of Smith and scatter the settlements around Nauvoo.

On June 12 Joseph Smith and other members of the Nauvoo City Council were arrested on a charge of riot upon the oath of Francis Higbee. On the same day, Smith obtained a writ of habeas corpus and appeared before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo. The court ruled that no tumult had been occasioned and that Smith had acted upon proper authority in destroying the Expositor. The prosecution of Smith in this matter was deemed malicious.⁵⁶ The citizens of Hancock were enraged at this further evasion of the full rigours of the law. They believed that a sufficient posse

could not be raised to execute the writ. They therefore arranged for delegates to go to Springfield to solicit the intervention of the Governor. At the same time they arranged points of rendezvous where the citizens could gather in order to form a posse in case the Governor and the militia did not materialise. It was reported that support could be expected from Iowa.

For the anti-Mormons the long awaited climax had come:

You Fellow citizens are justified before the world, and in the sight of Heaven. Strike, then ! for the time has fully come...⁵⁷

Warsaw came alive with the sound of marching men. George Rockwell tried to organise recruits:

I have passed whole nights without sleep, and have traveled on horseback more than 300 miles in various directions to raise men and means to accomplish our ends, knowing that our cause was just and placing but little confidence in our Governor with whose party the Mormons have voted for three years past.⁵⁸

The preparation for physical resistance still exhibited a certain strain towards legality. It was still hoped that it would be possible to use force under the legitimate cover of law with the tacit assent of the Governor.

The Mormons too looked to the Governor as the source of arbitration. They appealed to him to come to Hancock and make a full investigation of the state of affairs there. On June 17 Smith submitted to a second arrest on the riot charge and was discharged after an examination before D.H.Wells. Fearing that the mobilisation in Warsaw presaged an attack upon Nauvoo, Smith placed the Mormon city under martial law. The Signal reported that people were not being allowed to leave Nauvoo and published

an affidavit from a businessman who claimed to have been forced to swear that he was not a Carthage spy before being allowed to leave.⁵⁹ Smith also appealed to President Tyler to save the innocent and oppressed from the persecution of the mob and the Missourians whom he believed had joined them in the cause of exterminating the Mormons.⁶⁰

(4) Opportunity to perform a suitable violent act

Ford arrived at Carthage on the morning of Friday June 21. He placed the militiamen who had gathered in the vicinity under military orders and requested to hear both sides of the argument. John Taylor, one of the Mormon representatives sent to put the Mormon case to Ford, later maintained that the interview with Ford was made difficult by the presence and constant interruption of virulent anti-Mormons.⁶¹ Ford believed that the destruction of the Expositor was a very gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and that the Municipal Court had assumed more power than the charter bestowed. He required that Smith and the others charged with riot come to Carthage and submit to the law, and dispatched a constable to arrest those so charged. Smith's immediate reaction was to defend his actions and attempt to confirm their legality. He pointed out that to be tried again would be to contravene the double jeopardy safeguard in the Constitution. He dared not come to Carthage, he wrote to Ford, for fear of his life.⁶² Smith initially intended to lay his case before the President, but changed his plans and fled from Nauvoo on June 22, heading West. The following day a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Smith, only to find him missing. Emma Smith,

Reynolds.Calhoun, Lorenzo.D.Wasson and Hiram.Kimball implored Smith to return to Nauvoo, perhaps fearing that otherwise the mob would attack the city. On June 24 Smith headed for Carthage, meeting Captain Dunn four miles from the town. Dunn had been sent with orders to take the State arms from the Nauvoo Legion. Smith returned to Nauvoo with Dunn to ensure peaceful compliance with the order. He finally arrived in Carthage at five minutes to midnight on June 24, and retired to Hamilton's tavern.

On the twenty-fifth Joseph.Smith was arrested on the additional charge of treason upon the oath of Augustine.Spencer, whose attempted arrest in Nauvoo the previous April had caused an affray. Hyrum. Smith was also arrested on the same charge upon the oath of Henry.O.Norton. It is not absolutely clear from the affidavits precisely what the act of treason was. It is generally inferred that the calling out of the Legion by Smith, ostensibly to defend the city against the gathering mob, was construed as treason.⁶³ In response to the crisis troops had been pouring into Carthage from the surrounding counties, such as Schuyler and McDonough. At the request of the McDonough troops the Smith brothers were paraded before them and introduced as Generals of the Nauvoo Legion. The Carthage Greys, who escorted the prisoners, believed that the Governor and Brigadier M.R.Deming were conferring some sort of honour on the Smiths. They took exception to this and began hissing and cussing like "a pack of wild indians" and were totally beyond the control of their commander.⁶⁴ Later that day, the Smiths were brought before R.F.Smith, a justice of the peace and Captain of the Carthage Greys, on the Expositor riot charge. They entered into recognizance to appear at the next session of

the Circuit Court of Hancock County. The treason charge was not heard. Yet R.F. Smith issued a mittimus to commit Joseph and Hyrum. Smith to jail on the charge of treason. A hearing on the treason charge took place the following day, June 26. Defence counsel obtained a postponement until twelve noon the following day. Subpoenas were granted to obtain witnesses from Nauvoo. A further postponement was made, setting the date for the hearing at Saturday June 29, probably due to the anticipated absence of Governor Ford.

Ford had determined to go to Nauvoo to search for counterfeit money presses and to rebuke the Mormons for the illfeeling which he believed they had created in the county.⁶⁵ With this visit in mind, the troops, such as those under Levi. Williams, were commanded to assemble at Golden's Point at two O 'Clock on the twenty-seventh "preparatory to marching into the city of Nauvoo in 'the order of military attack'".⁶⁶ At a council of officers, however, it was decided to disband the majority of the troops and take only a small force to Nauvoo as many of the troops wished to go home and it was believed that they could not be restrained in Nauvoo but would "burn the place".⁶⁷ All troops except some dragoons, the Carthage Greys and the Carthage Riflemen were disbanded. The latter two were left in Carthage to guard the prisoners.⁶⁸ On Thursday Ford left for Nauvoo with the remaining troops.

The structure of the situation was such as to render it conducive to a violent outcome. When disbanding orders reached Golden's Point there was probably a deep sense of anti-climax.

Eudocia Baldwin Marsh spoke of the annoyance caused by the consequent wastage of food which had been prepared for the march.⁶⁹ The anti-Mormons among the troops, particularly those under Levi Williams from the Hancock area, had been deprived of the opportunity to enter Nauvoo as the superior force, under the cover of law and with the full support of the Governor. Their moment of glorious supremacy had been snatched away. Organised for action they were now left without a target. By virtue of their military organisation they had ready made leaders who could suggest possible alternative targets. The epitome of legitimate social control, the Governor, was physically distant. The objects of their hatred were relatively isolated in Carthage jail, miles from their Nauvoo stronghold. The Smiths were protected by a company of troops which had already expressed its intense dislike of them and which would be likely to connive at any violence even if unwilling to participate fully. The mood of the Gentile citizens in the area was either supportive of anti-Mormon sentiment or passive. Few would be expected to act in defence of the Smiths. A collective act passively supported by the citizens would be less liable to judicial retribution than individual acts of violence. To delay would mean risking the acquittal or escape of the Mormon leaders and assign ultimate revenge to the distant future. Such inferences may well have been drawn by the troops at Golden's Point given the situation they found themselves in. Bagby believed that the fear that the Mormon leaders would be acquitted lay heavily upon the minds of the citizens:

The citizens believed that when the Smiths delivered themselves up and when the Governor had disbanded the troops that the Smiths would be acquitted for you might as well attempt to dart straws against a hurricane as to convict them in a court in this county when they had or might have had judge jury sheriff

clerk and as many witnesses as he wished to call on, to do his bidding.

Nay it was not even "good nonsense" to think of such a thing, and in such an event he would have been turned loose, emboldened by his continued success to annoy us tenfold more than ever, and it was not to be expected that we could (?) call out a military force of some 4 or 5000 men every few months to compel that greatest of scoundrels to yield to the civil authorities and when we had done for him to turn about and procure his own acquittal. Such reflections as these forced upon the minds of the citizens by past events in the history of that audacious adventurer(s), drove them to madness...⁷⁰

What actually happened at Golden's Point is difficult to determine as the major source of information is a pamphlet by a man called Daniels who was ostensibly an eye witness to the events of June 27 and later a star prosecution witness at the trial of the accused assassins of the Smith brothers. Daniels' testimony at the trial was somewhat discredited by the supernatural aspects which he introduced into his account. Such elements have been rejected by the Mormon Church.⁷¹ According to Daniels, Davis and Grover chose ten men from each of their companies to aid the Carthage Greys in killing the Smiths. These troops then marched to the Rail Road crossing where they were joined by Sharp and others. Tom.Sharp allegedly made an inflammatory speech after the Governor's disbanding order had been read. A company of eighty-four spurred on by Grover then collected to proceed to Carthage.⁷² S.O.Williams, a member of the Carthage Greys, described Carthage on June 27 as:

...quiet...a Guard of six men was placed on the jail with a Sergeant to command it which was relieved about every 3hrs. When the Gov. had been gone about 2 hours he sent back a messenger to Capt.Smith (?) stating that he was afraid some violence would be offered to the prisoners and that he expected him to do his duty the same Messenger was sent back to the Gov. that we would About 5 0 'Clock p m our look out on the Court House cried "there is about 400 Mormons coming down the fence to the jail". I can not explain to you the situation of the jail and our encampment on paper - but when

I see you (which I hope will be soon) I will show you - As soon as the alarm was given our company and the Militia company were immediately formed and started for the jail which was about 700 yards from our quarters - At the time the alarm was given the mob were in about 200 yards of the jail - we marched double quick time and when we got to the jail both the Smiths were killed and the mob running off. When the mob came up in front of the jail our guard challenged them - the mob demanded the prisoners - they were told that if they did not retire (?) the guard would fire on them the mob raised a shout and commenced jumping over the low fence in front of the jail when our guard fired on them - the guard were immediately over powered⁷³ and the mob rushed into the jail and did their work - the Guard were not hurt except some bruises⁷⁴ - one of the guard who was the Sergeant in command lost his sword and another his musket. the Guard in return captured a musket and a rifle - the mob all had their faces blacked when we were marching to the jail about 150 yards from the jail we saw Jo come to the window and turn back again (?) about a second or two afterwards he came to the window and tumbled out. He was shot several times and a bayonet run through him after he fell⁷⁵ - From all the information I can get the mob were about 250 strong - the forces left to guard the prisoners about 60 or 65 strong. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the Gov. who returned here about 12 O 'Clock that night and advised us to evacuate the town.⁷⁶

(5) Justification of the violent act

The inhabitants of Carthage fled fearing immediate reprisals from the Mormons in Nauvoo. The Mormons, however, somewhat stunned by the deaths of their leaders, remained quiet. They assured the Governor that if he could manage "human butchers, he ha(d) nothing to fear from armless, timid, and law abiding Latter Day Saints".⁷⁷ Deming was convinced that the Mormons intended to act only upon the defensive and warned the citizens of Carthage and Hancock that any aggression towards the Mormons would be punished by the severest military law. To ensure that peace was maintained he called in troops from Adams County.⁷⁸ On June 29 Deming urged the citizens to return to their homes to reduce tension in the area. Governor Ford arrived on the scene



By S. Muller in Norway 1844

and sent representatives, Jonas and Fellowes, to Nauvoo and Warsaw to ascertain the state of feeling. He expressly prohibited any intervention from Missouri and Iowa to dampen rumours that anti-Mormon aid was forthcoming from these sources. The Nauvoo City Council met on July 1 in response to the visit of the Governor's representatives. It resolved to sustain the laws, applauded Ford's attempts to maintain peace, and asked him to take away the public arms from the rest of the citizens as he had taken them from Nauvoo. The Mormons undertook to:

...reprobate private revenge on the assassins of General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith by any of the Latter-day Saints. That instead of 'an appeal to arms', we appeal to the majesty of the law, and will be content with whatever judgment it shall award and should the law fail, we leave the matter with God.⁷⁹

The public statements of the Mormons revealed a tendency to interpret the killings and the punishment of the killers in eschatological terms:

Better blood was never shed, and nobler souls never escaped blood to bliss, to supplicate God to come out of his hiding place and curse this wicked generation ! O God, thy will be done.⁸⁰

There are also indications that the deaths of the Smiths led some to expect the Second Advent. A letter written by members of the Twelve to the Saints abroad, dated July 15, contained such sentiments as:

And we have now every reason to believe that the fulfilment of his great purposes are much nearer than we had supposed, and that not many years hence we shall see the Kingdom of God coming with power and great glory to our deliverance.⁸¹

More specific were the words of Orson Hyde, in the same month, to an audience in the East:

This generation speak much about the clouds and weather; they discern the face of the sky, but why can they not discern

the signs of the times ? The fig trees are leafing, and all things indicate the second advent of Christ.⁸²

Some Mormons may even have anticipated that Joseph.Smith would rise from the dead. The St.Louis Era reported that a Mormon was giving out that Smith had actually risen from the dead. The Nauvoo Neighbor castigated such journalism as "a diarrhoea of verbosity".⁸³ Despite official disapproval of such rumours, hopes of this kind may have been entertained. Ford, in his history of Illinois, for example, spoke of Mormons looking for the resurrection of the Prophet.⁸⁴

The passivity of the Mormons may have been induced as much by internal problems as by fear of Gentile attack or hope of eschatological revenge. The Church had suffered the loss of two of its leaders following a serious schism. Allegiances had been disrupted by the schism and there was the additional problem of new alignments forming around the various contenders for the succession. The Alton Telegraph had reported in late June that there was some desertion of Nauvoo after the Expositor fracas.⁸⁵ John.Gillet, who had property interests in Nauvoo, wrote that a few had left the city and that while he thought there would be some emigration into the city that fall, it would probably be less than expected.⁸⁶ Dissenters did not always leave the city, however. Sarah and Isaac.Scott remained. Sarah noted in a letter that she could not but wonder that had the Smiths been innocent the Lord would not have suffered them to fall by the hands of murderers. She also noted that Smith had prophesied a year ago last conference that he could not be killed within five years.⁸⁷ An article in the St.Louis Transcript reported that non-Mormons

in Nauvoo believed that several of the seceding Mormons lived with their homes under guard.⁸⁸

There were also indications that the Nauvoo economy was at a low ebb. One outsider remarked that:

With the exception of the growth of the city, there are but few other evidences of industry or enterprise among them. They appear to have but few work-shops or manufactories of any kind, and a stranger is puzzled to determine how they obtain the means of subsistence.⁸⁹

Times and Seasons exhorted the Saints abroad to gather and sustain Nauvoo with their money, for persecution and the heavy rains of 1844 had meant that little farming or building had been done, which had created a lack of employment in the city.⁹⁰

The Mormon presses attempted to ward off confusion, doubt and economic mayhem by stressing that there was continuity of practice with the Church under Joseph. Smith. Times and Seasons in its July 1 issue, staunchly corrected the rumour that the gathering had ceased. An epistle from Brigham. Young published in Times and Seasons on August 15 underlined that Nauvoo was still the place of gathering and that the completion of the Temple was still a high priority, as was the continuance of the system of tithing as a means of financing its completion. Benjamin. Brown who returned to Nauvoo after a hectic mission in New Brunswick some time after the killings, was smartly sent out again on a tithing mission.⁹¹

The passivity of the Church and its eschatological sense of revenge did not imply complete acceptance of the killings. The Mormons asserted the innocence of the Smiths and assigned blame for their deaths. Times and Seasons saw the event as persecution

for the Truth's sake - an act which strengthened faith and confirmed Mormonism as pure and holy.⁹² Joseph was believed to have been murdered because "they" feared his righteousness. The "they" was generally used to refer to the apostates rather than the Gentile anti-Mormons. It was to the apostates that the Mormons attached the heaviest debt of blame:

False brethren, or to call them by their right name, 'apostates', have retarded the work more, and combined more influence to rob him of life, than all Christendom: for they having mingled in his greatness knew where and when to take advantage of his weakness.⁹³

The Nauvoo Neighbor left the execration of the deed to the Gentile presses, quoting numerous articles from Illinois, Missouri, New York and Iowa newspapers. The newspapers themselves were awarded some degree of responsibility for events by one "J.L." in the Nauvoo Neighbor of August 14, because they had given their assent to lynch law even if they had not openly espoused it. Certain individuals were singled out among the Gentiles. Men such as Tom.Sharp and Senator Davis had the finger pointed at them. The role of Missouri in the affair was at first thought minimal but in the constant re-interpretation of the event over time, this role became exaggerated until by 1852 Lorenzo.Snow could cite Missouri as the prime agent in fomenting the troubles in Illinois and directly connect these with the killings.⁹⁴

The anti-Mormons were faced with the task of justifying their violent act in the face of some press opposition and the disfavour of the Governor. The very passivity of the Mormons was conducive to their being regarded as the injured party. The act of violence had been precipitated by an accidental configuration of events - it had not been explicit anti-Mormon policy. It

had transcended the boundary of legality within which the anti-Mormons had publicly announced they wished to keep their activity. It was therefore necessary to create an apologetic to justify the escalation to violence. The apologetic created had three main strands:

- a) the deaths were justified on the grounds that they were provoked - that the Gentiles were incited to violent action by men who deserved to die because they were evil;
- b) justification was attempted by appeal to necessity, i.e. no other action would have been sufficient;
- c) the killings were cast as legitimate acts in terms of the "higher law" of popular sovereignty.

a) The Smiths, said a correspondent of the Alton Telegraph, were "acknowledged, unprincipled scoundrels".⁹⁵ George Rockwell quite candidly stated that he had not the least doubt that the Smiths were bad men and deserved death.⁹⁶ Many correspondents of the Signal rehearsed the entire gamut of alleged Mormon crimes as implicit justification of the deed.⁹⁷ The suggestion that the Mormons were subjects of religious persecution was completely thrown out. A citizen of Adams County through the pages of the Quincy Whig, and a correspondent of the Alton Telegraph both pointed to the troublesome Mormon past and were led to the conclusion that there must be something intrinsic to the Mormon way of life which made it impossible for them to live in peace with their neighbours.⁹⁸ The Signal became engaged in a debate with the Telegraph, the latter deploring the illegality and savagery of the killings. The Signal of September 18 formulated the "real" issue in terms of whether the Smiths had deserved to die.

It put forward the "plea in mitigation" that the Smiths had put themselves above the law, and dispensing with the leaders of this sect had been a more humane solution to the problem than laying Nauvoo in ashes. The argument also turned upon the question of the honour of the citizens of Hancock. Had the citizens pledged their faith to Ford that the Smiths would not be harmed once they had given themselves up to the law? The Signal, to maintain an honourable public image, asserted that no such pledge had been given.

b) The killings were said to have been necessary for much the same reasons alluded to in the previous discussion of changes in the public definition of the situation. The Mormons had defied the law and by so doing had taken from the Gentiles their main recourse for redress. A writer in the Signal of July 10 pointed out that to have let the law take its own course would have been a "mere mockery". The Smiths would have got away by legal subterfuge. Stories were also circulated that the Smiths had planned to escape. It was believed that on the day of the killings a coat had been brought into the jail which when examined revealed a thin suit, like a boy's, "answering the two fold purpose of disguise and swift running". It was also said that the jailor, upon telling Joseph Smith of the approaching mob, received the reply that he need not fear for they were coming to rescue him.⁹⁹ Rockwell, among others, expressed the suspicion that the disbanding of the troops by the Governor was a ploy to allow the Smiths to escape.¹⁰⁰

c) The point that the Smiths had put themselves above the

law was much belaboured by the anti-Mormons because it justified their own action of going outside the law. The "higher law" appealed to was popular sovereignty - the will of the people. The law was seen as representing the public consensus as to what was right and just. It became redundant when it no longer reflected that consensus. Jacksonian Democracy fostered a belief in the power and right of the individual rather than of the State.¹⁰¹ Law and the State were only instruments whereby the rights of the individual could be safeguarded. It was perfectly plausible and justifiable to go outside this framework if it failed to offer sufficient protection. Such had been the philosophy behind the organisation of Regulator Companies in the Mid-Western States. They aimed to reach the horse thieves who had proved too elusive for the law.¹⁰² Sharp had referred to "reserved rights" in the past and was doubtless alluding to the right of moving outside the law with the support of the public at large. Given this backdrop, Sharp was concerned to show that the killings had the support of public opinion. He asserted that this was so in the pages of the Signal.¹⁰³ There may have been some basis for Sharp's claim. As Deming noted:

The manner of the murder is abhorrent to the feelings of all but those immediately concerned in the transaction; tho' there are but few in the state that do not feel that a violent death was but their retributive justice.¹⁰⁴

Sharp's most celebrated characterisation of the killings as non-murder was contained in his defence of his own part in the act. Sharp in the September 25 issue of the Signal, maintained that if he had aided the development of the situation which led up to the killings he had done no more than aid an "extra-judicial" act. George Rockwell also defined the act as non-murder. He expressed the view that if people understood they would not call

it murder but be grateful to those who dared "to execute justice" upon the Smiths.¹⁰⁵

The question of blame for the anti-Mormons was deflected away from individuals. Sharp attempted to exonerate himself personally, but generally the act was interpreted as "collective" and defended collectively. While blame was diffuse, policy became more specific. The Alton Telegraph saw repeal of the Mormon charter as "the" remedy, but its moderation was out of tune with the core of anti-Mormon sentiment which vociferously demanded the expulsion of the Mormons from the state. The death of the Prophet was not thought to be either adequate revenge, or a long-term solution to the Mormon problem in Hancock. The rhetoric of justification had propelled policy towards a more singular and total goal. The Signal's reply to the Telegraph's suggestion was that repeal would be of no use, for the Mormons would still:

...protect and shield each other from the operation of the Law, by perjury and packed juries...We believe the only permanent relief then, is the removal of the whole clan; and if the Legislature can effect this, we hold it their bounden duty to do so.¹⁰⁶

The Gentiles still expressed feelings of disquiet; they still did not feel safe. Tensions remained because many of the major bases of animosity had not been removed. Political rivalry remained. Despite Mormon intentions of staying out of politics and Ford's appeal to them to refrain from voting, the Mormons supported the Democrats in the August elections. Ford was again accused of pursuing a policy which was biased towards the Mormons because he was seen as courting the Mormon vote for his party.¹⁰⁷ All the old charges against the Mormons were revived, but now in support of the total goal of expulsion. The remaining obstacle

to the attainment of that goal by the anti-Mormons was the authority of the Governor. Their remaining battle was with the institutional authority which they believed had failed them.

Conclusion

The precise pattern of the eruption of violence in any tense conflict situation must inevitably be a matter for inspection in each individual case. What has been attempted here is to move towards the development of a few general categories which may be heuristically useful in understanding the transition from non-violent to violent action. It is clear from the above that the causes of discontent do not automatically dictate the form of violent action and that pretext and opportunity are not only highly contingent but also highly influential in shaping the nature of the violent act.

The pattern of violence in Hancock County was in many ways typical of the Jacksonian era. While the first part of the nineteenth century had been free from violent outbursts, by the eighteen-thirties the riot was becoming more common, particularly in the cities of the North-East. The most important types of riot which occurred were the Labour riot, the Election riot, the anti-Abolitionist riot, the anti-Negro riot and the anti-Catholic riot.¹⁰⁸ It was in 1844 that the notorious Philadelphia anti-Catholic riots took place, with which outrage the deaths of the Smiths were on occasion compared as symptoms of the unhealthy state of society. The victims of such riots were often the oppressed, while the rioters were the respectable members of the

community. The latter holds true in the case of the conflict in Hancock County. The key figures in the deaths of the Smiths included a founder citizen of Warsaw and a State Senator. Violence in the hands of the respectable, justified by appeals to the individualistic, democratic values of the community could become an acceptable weapon in community conflict, as it was to become in Hancock.

Notes for Chapter 6

1. R.Wallis, "Relative deprivation and social movements: a cautionary note", British Journal of Sociology, 26, (1975), pp. 360-363.
2. As used by S.Endleman in Endleman ed., Violence in the Streets (Chicago: Quandrangle Books, 1968).
3. As used by T.R.Gurr, Why Men Rebel (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970).
4. T.Rose ed., Violence in America (New York: Random House, 1969), p. xii.
5. Warsaw Message, January 3 1844.
6. Warsaw Message, January 10, January 17 1844.
7. Warsaw Message, January 17 1844.
8. Nauvoo Neighbor, January 24 1844.
9. The ordinance most specifically complained of was that which prevented unlawful search or seizure of person or property by foreign process in the city of Nauvoo. See History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 173-174.
10. Letter of Walter.Bagby to "Dear Charles", January 10 1844.
11. Warsaw Message, January 17 1844.
12. Warsaw Message, January 31 1844.
13. Warsaw Message, February 7 1844.

14. Warsaw Signal, February 14 1844.
15. Warsaw Signal, February 28 1844.
16. J.D.Lee, Mormonism Unveiled (St.Louis: D.M.Vandawalker & Co., 1877).
17. W.Watson compiler., Correspondence of Bishop George.Miller with the Northern Islander from his first acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the close of his life. Written by himself in the year 1855, p. 20.
18. See D.Hill, Joseph.Smith the first Mormon (Doubleday & Co., 1977^{p.368}); J.Brooks, John.Doyle.Lee Zealot - Pioneer Builder - Scapegoat (California: A.H.Clark Co., 1962^{p.56}); R.B.Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965^{p.292}), for suggestions that the Council of Fifty may have existed in some form in 1842 or even 1841.
19. This territory was probably for colonisation rather than a place for wholesale removal. See Flanders, 1965, p.289.
20. J.Shipps, "The Mormons in Politics: the first hundred years", Ph.D. thesis Univ. of Colorado, 1965; K.J.Hansen, Quest for Empire (Michigan State Univ.Press, 1967); J.R.Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the council of fifty and the State of Deseret", Utah Historical Quarterly, 26, (1958), pp. 131-148.
21. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 318-319.
22. Times and Seasons, March 15 1844.
23. Warsaw Signal, May 8 1844.
24. Quincy Whig, February 21 1844.
25. State Register, March 15 1844.

26. Nauvoo Neighbor, March 20 1844.
27. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 237 & p. 242 respectively.
28. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 344; Quincy Whig, May 8 1844. Precise details concerning this incident vary - see, for example, Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and his Progenitors for many generations (Liverpool: S.W.Richards, 1853).
29. For an intriguing account of this conspiracy see H.Cummings, "Conspiracy of Nauvoo", The Contributor, 5, (1884), pp. 251-260.
30. The public reporting of this case served only to wash the Church's dirty linen in public. The evidence alluded to homosexuality and implied that Higbee had syphilis.
31. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 367.
32. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 411.
33. Times and Seasons, May 1 1844.
34. J.H.Jackson, The Adventures and Experience of Joseph H. Jackson: Disclosing the Depths of Mormon Villany Practiced in Nauvoo (Warsaw: printed for the publisher, 1846 ed.).
35. Shipps, 1965.
36. Warsaw Signal, May 8 1844.
37. Letter of F.M.Higbee to Gregg dated Nauvoo (torn) 1844. Chicago Historical Society. The precise degree of collaboration between apostates and Gentile anti-Mormons is unknown.
38. Alton Telegraph, June 8 1844.

39. Warsaw Signal, May 29 1844.
40. The case referred to was probably that of Jeremiah.Smith in which Joseph.Smith intervened. Jeremiah.Smith was charged with embezzlement, but Joseph.Smith took him before the Municipal Court in Nauvoo on a writ of habeas corpus. The marshal who sought his arrest had determined to come to Nauvoo with force if Joseph.Smith did not give him up. Alton Telegraph, June 8 1844.
41. For counterfeiting charge see Warsaw Signal, June 5 1844.
42. Warsaw Signal, June 5 1844.
43. Warsaw Signal, June 5 1844.
44. Warsaw Message, January 17 1844.
45. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 221.
46. The word "symbolic" is used here in the sense of one object representing another, i.e. the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor is interpreted as coming to represent the whole gamut of Mormon "crimes" for the Gentiles. The word is NOT used in the same way as Gusfield when he refers to "symbolic politics" when he implies that political action is expressive rather than instrumental. Anti-Mormon political action was real and instrumental rather than symbolic in Gusfield's sense.
47. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 433-448.
48. For a discussion of the legality of the destruction see D.H.Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor", Utah Law Review, 9, (1965), pp. 862-903.
49. Nauvoo Neighbor, June 12 1844.
50. Nauvoo Neighbor, June 12 1844.

51. Sangamo Journal, June 27 1844.
52. Quincy Whig, June 19 1844.
53. Alton Telegraph, June 15, June 22 1844.
54. Warsaw Signal, June 12 1844.
55. Warsaw Signal, June 14 1844.
56. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 453-458.
57. Warsaw Signal, June 19 1844.
58. Letter of George.Rockwell to his father, June 22 1844.
59. Warsaw Signal, June 19 1844.
60. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 508.
61. J.Taylor, "An Account of the Martyrdom of Joseph.Smith", reprinted in B.H.Roberts, The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965b), pp. 404-457.
62. History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 538-541.
63. T.B.H.Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints (New York: 1873); Roberts, 1965b; Warsaw Signal, January 8 1845. For the affidavits see History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 561-562.
64. Letter of S.O.Williams to John.Prickett, July 10 1844, Chicago Historical Society. After the Smiths had been killed there began a series of debates concerning the precise nature of the precipitating incidents. Many small events assumed considerable prominence. One such event was the "revolt" of the Greys alluded to. Williams maintained that the Greys were arrested for their unseemly behaviour, but Deming, in a letter to the Warsaw Signal, dated June 30 1844 denied this.

65. T.Ford, A History of Illinois (New York: S.C.Griggs & Co., 1854^{p.342}).
66. Brigade Order No. 12, dated June 25 1844, Chicago Historical Society.
67. Letter of S.O.Williams of July 10 1844; Warsaw Signal, June 29 1844; K.Huntress, "Governor Thomas.Ford and the Murderers of Joseph.Smith", Dialogue, 4, (1969), pp. 41-52; G.R.Gayler, "Governor Ford and the Death of Joseph and Hyrum.Smith", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 50, (1957), pp. 391-411. That many troops wished to go home is the opinion of the Signal and conflicts with the more generally accepted view that most were spoiling for a fight.
68. Letter of S.O.Williams of July 10 1844.
69. D.L.Wilson & R.O.Davis eds., "Mormons in Hancock County", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 31-65.
70. Letter of Walter.Bagby to "Dear Sister", August 4 1844.
71. History of the Church, vol.7, footnote p. 50.
72. W.M.Daniels, Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum.Smith (Published by John.Taylor for the proprietor, Nauvoo, Ill., 1845:reprint n.d.).
73. It is a matter of conjecture whether the Carthage Greys were in on the "plot". Eudocia.Marsh implied that they were. (see Wilson & Davis, 1971). Worrell who was guarding the jail was asked at the trial of the accused assassins whether the guns of the guards were loaded with blank cartridges. He declined to answer "on account of its criminating himself". (Manuscript of Trial, Chicago Historical Society). Daniels was certain that the Greys were part of the plot.

74. J.Taylor in his account of events, expressed the belief that Joseph.Smith, who had been left a pistol by Cyrus. Wheelock, wounded two or three of the mobbers. (Roberts, 1965b). Eliza.Graham, a witness at the trial of the accused assassins mentioned that one or two wounded men came to the tavern where she worked as a waitress. (Manuscript of Trial, Chicago Historical Society).
75. Accounts vary as to what happened after Joseph.Smith fell from the jail window. Daniels maintained that a youth who dubbed himself the son of ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri, attempted to sever Smith's head but was prevented from doing so by a blinding heavenly light. (Daniels, 1845).
76. Letter of S.O.Williams to John.Prickett, July 10 1844. Accounts of the deaths of the Smiths are numerous. See, for example, the accounts of Willard.Richards and John. Taylor who were in the jail with the Smiths, as reprinted in Roberts 1965b; J.A.McRae & E.H.McRae, Historical Facts Regarding the Liberty and Carthage Jails (Utah Printing Company, 1954); LeGrand.L.Baker, "On to Carthage to Die", Improvement Era, June (1969), pp. 10-15; R.Blake, 24 Hours to Martyrdom (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973); D.H.Oaks & M.S.Hill, Carthage Conspiracy (Univ. Illinois Press, 1975); L.O.Littlefield, The Martyrs (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882).
77. Nauvoo Neighbor EXTRA, June 30 1844.
78. M.R.Deming to the Citizens of Carthage and Hancock Counties, June 28 1844; M.R.Deming to the Citizens of Adams County, June 28 1844; Deming Letters.
79. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 151.
80. Nauvoo Neighbor, July 3 1844.
81. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 189.

82. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 198.
83. Nauvoo Neighbor, August 28 1844.
84. T.Ford, History of Illinois (1854).
85. Alton Telegraph, June 22 1844.
86. Letter of John.Gillet to "Dear Sir", July 15 1844.
87. Letter of Sarah.Scott of July 22 1844 in G.F.Partridge ed., "The Death of a Mormon Dictator", New England Quarterly, 9, (1936), pp. 583-617.
88. Nauvoo Neighbor, July 17 1844.
89. Nauvoo Neighbor, July 17 1844.
90. Times and Seasons, July 15 1844.
91. B.Brown, Testimonies for the Truth (Liverpool: S.W.Richards, 1853).
92. Times and Seasons, July 1 1844.
93. Times and Seasons, July 15 1844.
94. L.Snow, The Voice of Joseph (Liverpool: S.W.Richards, 1852).
95. Alton Telegraph, July 13 1844.
96. Letter of George.Rockwell to his father, August 3 1844.
97. See for example, Warsaw Signal, July 10 1844.
98. Quincy Whig, July 24 1844; Alton Telegraph, July 13 1844.
99. Letter of George.Rockwell to his father, August 3 1844;

Letter of Thomas.Holman.Jr. to George.Weston, July 30 1844,
Weston Letters.

100. Letter of George.Rockwell to his father, August 3 1844.
101. D.Grimsted, "Rioting in its Jacksonian Setting", American History Review, 77, (1972), pp. 361-397.
102. See Chapter 1 for a brief description of Regulator Companies in early Illinois.
103. Warsaw Signal, July 24 1844.
104. Letter of M.R.Deming to "My dear parents and Sarah", July 1 1844.
105. Letter of George.Rockwell to his father, August 3 1844.
106. Warsaw Signal, November 20 1844.
107. Quincy Whig, August 14 1844; Sangamo Journal, August 15, August 22 1844.
108. Grimsted (1972); R.M.Brown, "Historical Patterns of Violence in America", in H.D.Graham & T.Gurr eds., The History of Violence in America (London: F.A.Praegar, 1969), pp. 45-84.

Chapter 7: The Triumph of "Mobocracy" 1844-1847

While early criticism of Mormonism had been heavily directed towards the Prophet Joseph Smith, his death did not give rise to the pacification of Hancock County. As noted in the previous Chapter, important grievances were still believed to have existed. Gentile complaints were now aired with a view to rallying public support for the goal of total removal of the Mormon population from the county. The killing of the Smiths had established a precedent for the use of violence insofar as its usage had been justified in that instance. The deaths of the Mormon leaders thus ushered in a period of conflict in which violence was an acceptable means for pursuing the goal of removal of the Mormons.

The violence used during this final episode of the conflict took a very definite form which is best described by the term used by contemporaries, namely "mobocracy". Mobocracy was used not in the literal sense of "government by the mob", but was a hyperbolic term which denoted a situation of stabilised unrest. In such a situation violence occurs with a certain degree of regularity but is not the strategy of a highly articulated social movement. Rather than the culmination of concerted organised activity, it is the result of mobilisation for action around individual precipitating incidents which derive their significance from the back-drop of tension built up in previous years. Thus the precipitating incident need not be serious if considered alone, but acts as a spark to ignite the propensity to violence. Mobocracy is neither highly organised or fully spontaneous. While the acts

of violence may be thought of as tending towards the goal of removal, they are not necessarily related in terms of each forming a link in a chain of preconceived strategy; neither do mobocrats act individually or spontaneously. The precise degree of organisation in a "mobocratic movement" is difficult to determine given the inevitable secrecy which attends the acts of mobocrats.

Mobocracy, or routinised violence, is undeniably a form of collective behaviour, yet clearly may not be considered a full fledged "social movement" given that the latter form of collective behaviour denotes a certain degree of continuity of structure and organisation. Smelser in his analysis of collective behaviour deals with violence which manifests itself in the form of mob-like activity under the head of "hostile outburst". His analysis of the hostile outburst, as also of the norm-oriented movement, is based upon a natural history model of activity. Smelser characterises these instances of collective behaviour as if they had birth, maturity and eventual death. The hostile outburst, for example, is described as issuing from a period of strain, then moving into a period of maturity when activity is accelerated (constituting the "derived phase" of the movement), which is, in turn, replaced by a settling down period or time of decline.¹ This rather over-neat model of collective activity will approximate the progress of any one riot or collective assault. In so doing, however, it becomes somewhat of a truism insofar as all action can be characterised as being initiated, having duration and coming to an end. The natural history model does not help to describe or explain periods of continuous or routinised violent activity such as one finds in "Mobocracy".

The Hancock County situation suggests that the Smelserian model is too simplistic. The violence in Hancock became routine - a routine punctuated by sporadic surges of activity. It is possible to maintain the Smelserian view by interpreting the continuous violence as replications of the natural history model. What such an interpretation might lead one to ignore, however, is an explanation of the continuity of the violence. It would seem preferable to view the violence in Hancock as a single instance of collective behaviour under the head "Mobocracy", and to characterise this type of collective behaviour in such a way that one is able to point to an explanation of the continuous nature of the violence.

The crucial point then is why did the violence continue? In order to answer this question one must first devise some model or discern some pattern of events which will enable one to demarcate points of continuity, i.e. points of resurgence in violent activity. The pattern which one observes within Hancock County is one of cycles of violent activity. Initially any one cycle of violence is activated by a precipitating incident which ignites residual tension. In the first instance, this residual tension in Hancock County resulted from the killing of the Smiths. The precipitating incident aroused sufficient feeling to enable core anti-Mormon leaders to mobilise support for a collective violent act. Such an act presented a challenge to the efficacy of the agents of control, who then moved in. Two alternatives presented themselves to the agents of control:

- and/or -
- a) to suppress the violence
 - b) to mediate a solution to the difficulties

As the agents of control were unable to do either, and given the occurrence of further precipitating incidents, the cycle was apt to be repeated. Alongside collective violence one finds the development of routine, individualistic violence in the traditional guerilla warfare style. Individualistic violence became the routine response to grievances which were not capable of arousing collective action.

The characterisation of events as a sequence of cycles of violence presumes that the agents of control will be largely ineffective in their attempts to restore peaceful co-existence between the protagonists. The role of the agents of control in this phase of the conflict is therefore a crucial one. In Hancock County the ineffectiveness of the agents of control was the result of the culmination of the long process of re-definition of what constituted legitimate authority. As seen in previous Chapters, the anti-Mormons were able to rhetorically deprive institutional agencies of legitimate authority, motivated to do so by the perceived failure of such authority to uphold anti-Mormon sentiment. The "higher law" of popular sovereignty, of which their actions were felt to be the expression, was reconstituted as the basis for legitimate action. The cogency of the anti-Mormon argument that their violent acts were an expression of popular sovereignty, rested upon the existence of the passive support of the public. The extent of such support is impossible to determine, given the level of bias in the majority of sources. The failure of the agents of control to muster support for their disciplinary and peace-restoring measures, however, does indicate that there was enough passive support of anti-Mormonism to facilitate the eventual

triumph of mobocracy. It was partly because of the opposition of the public that the agents of control came to acquiesce in the total removal of the Mormons. This partial capitulation to the mobocrats did not halt the violence. What it did do was to substantially change the nature of the alignment of the protagonists. The termination of violence was only achieved when all possible targets for violence had been removed from the county; Mormon, Jack-Mormon and Militia. Thus the cycles do not of themselves stipulate an a priori point of cessation. There is no high point followed by inevitable decline. Activity continues until the logic of each specific situation works itself out.

Cycles of Violence

There were three discernible cycles of violence in Hancock County prior to the final removal of the Mormons. These may best be distinguished by reference to the precipitating incidents which helped to propel them, namely -

- (1) The arrest and trial of the accused assassins of the Smiths: September 1844 - May 1845.
- (2) The firing upon the school house at Green Plains in September 1845.
- (3) The "Harvesters' Incident" of July 1846.

(1) The arrest and trial of the accused assassins of the Smiths

The aftermath of the killing of the Smiths saw the Governor in the dilemma of whether to rigorously seek out the perpetrators and risk further unrest, or openly ignore due process of law by not

intervening. Governor Ford maintained in his message to the Legislature in December 1844 that while he had wished to indemnify the honour of the State by arresting the murderers, he had not been anxious to proceed with the full rigour of the law.² The prominent anti-Mormons of Hancock, particularly Tom.Sharp, thus lived under the cloud of possible arrest throughout the autumn of 1844. In August the electorate returned Democratic or pro-Mormon candidates to Congress, to the General Assembly and to the local offices of County Commissioner, Coroner and Sheriff.³ The latter three offices, especially that of County Commissioner, were vital to the security of those suspected of the killings, as their incumbents would choose who would be the grand and petit jurors at any forthcoming trial. There was only one non-Mormon County Commissioner.⁴ Ford, a Democrat himself, now had officers who would be likely to co-operate in any attempt to bring those accused of the killings to justice. Ford may also have been under some pressure to get things moving and make arrests, for the State Register was at pains to find excuses for his torpidity hitherto.⁵

With impending writs over their heads, the leading anti-Mormons called for a "Military Wolf Hunt", inviting the militia captains of Hancock County, neighbouring counties and possibly those of other States, to assemble with their companies directly for the hunt.⁶ Ford believed the Wolf Hunt was a ruse - a means to disturb the public peace, destroy property and to take the lives of the citizens. He therefore called out the militia on September 18. Rumours were circulating that the anti-Mormons had enlisted the aid of "some thousands of the Missourians" in their allegedly nefarious plans.⁷ The Warsaw Signal denied that any handbill

had been circulated inviting Missourians to take part in an extermination of the Mormons. It ridiculed the Governor for sending two and a half thousand troops to deal with so few citizens.⁸ The Sangamo Journal interpreted the actions of the Governor as yet further protection of Nauvoo and the Mormon vote.⁹ Such a political interpretation of events was shared by other Gentile presses and by one of the Quincy Riflemen called to the scene of the Wolf Hunt.¹⁰

When Ford's troops under Hardin and Baker approached, the anti-Mormons dispersed. The Carthage Greys had time only to bury one piece of artillery which they could not take with them as they fled.¹¹ Ford marched his troops to Augusta where, according to the Signal, he would not let them talk to the citizens, principally because of the success which anti-Mormon propaganda had with his troops. Ford was portrayed as ill-tempered and ranting, resorting to the use of spies to gain information about the citizens of Hancock. The Signal openly admitted its willingness to defy the Governor and maintain the right of the citizens to hold an encampment. Ford's unpopularity was such that he was burnt in effigy at Lima, Adams County.¹² The tension building up in Hancock created a tendency to act first and ask questions later. At Ford's encampment near Nauvoo, for example, a young Springfield cadet called Norris was shot after a false alarm had been sounded.¹³

The Mormons did not fully share the Gentile view that the Governor's troops were in the county for their protection. While co-operating with the Governor in some respects, they were

nonetheless distrustful and apprehensive, sensing the growing instability of their position. They were endeavouring to sort out dire internal problems created by the death of the Prophet, and maintain the tacit support of the agents of control. The Governor had reviewed the Nauvoo Legion in case it should be necessary to call it into service as part of a peace-keeping force. He had also requested the Mormon George Miller to supply boats to convey his command to Warsaw, hoping to surprise the town by both land and water. In doing so, Miller and others were caught up in the Norris incident. Miller was so nervous about possible Gentile ambush that he firmly believed that the bullets which found Norris had been intended for him.¹⁴

The Mormon presses made little of the Wolf Hunt affair, their columns concentrating on the succession crisis and the continued mourning of the death of the Prophet. The Church was faced with the awesome problem of resolving the leadership crisis created by Joseph Smith's death. Although with hindsight one can see Brigham Young emerging as undisputed leader, the contest between contenders at the time was bitter, and threatened to fragment the Church. Although the two most serious rivals to Young, Strang and Rigdon, were cut off from the Church, both men attracted followings which included prominent Mormons.¹⁵ Young made strenuous efforts to maintain the orthodoxy of his position. The Mormon presses were used to inform the Saints who was and who was not a legitimate heir to the teachings of Joseph Smith. At the October Conference of the Church in 1844 Young asserted that it was his right to give revelations of God's will to the Church.¹⁶ In an attempt to stem the confusion which unorthodoxy was creating,

P.P.Pratt called for the cessation of publications which did not emanate from Nauvoo, New York or the English publishing department. He recommended that the Saints should not patronise free-lance doctrinal tracts, as they were likely to lead them into error.¹⁷

As the Wolf Hunters had disengaged themselves from the field of battle, Ford found himself with no tangible adversary. He therefore used his force to back-up his attempts to arrest those suspected of killing the Smiths.¹⁸ An earlier attempt to arrest Sharp had been made but Sharp had refused to go with the arresting officer. Ford's authority was so weak that he was unable to command compliance with his strategy from his own officers. Ford had intended to cross to Missouri to the anti-Mormon encampment there and make his arrests, but Colonel Baker refused to join the expedition and encouraged others to refuse. Baker himself visited the anti-Mormon camp and arranged terms for the surrender of the accused. Ford was very much aware of his lack of effective power; constitutionally he was unable to dismiss a militia officer, a Sheriff, Justice of the Peace, or a Constable.¹⁹ While Ford had originally sought J.H.Jackson, T.Sharp and Levi.Williams, only the latter two surrendered. Sharp and Williams agreed to stand trial on the understanding that they would be admitted to bail to await a hearing before the next term of the Circuit Court at Carthage. They made it clear that in agreeing to surrender that they in no way admitted their guilt. This achieved, Ford disbanded his troops in early October.²⁰

The main business before the October session of the Court was

hearing the cases against the "Expositor Rioters" and those accused of killing the Smiths. The members of Nauvoo City Council charged with the destruction of the Expositor, their witnesses and others encamped outside Carthage. At the same time a group of Indians moved into the vicinity. The anti-Mormons immediately accused the Mormons of using the Indians and their own Mormon supporters to overawe the Court. A public meeting of the citizens of Hancock was convened, at which Sharp, Williams, Foster and Davis gave addresses. It was resolved to ask Judge Thomas to adjourn the Court as soon as it was ascertained that there was an armed body of Indians or Mormons in the area. If the Court failed to adjourn upon receiving such information the citizens deemed it their duty to collect a force to protect themselves. Ford, anticipating trouble, had given the Nauvoo Legion permission to protect the Court under the direction of the Sheriff. Such a volatile alliance of Governor, Legion and Sheriff was not, however, made operational. Judge Thomas refused to be intimidated and presided over the Grand Jury which indicted nine²¹ of those accused of the murder of Joseph Smith, namely; Levi Williams, Jacob C. Davis, Mark Aldrich, Thomas C. Sharp, William Voras, John Wills, William N. Grover, Gallaher and Allen.²² Wills, Voras and Gallaher had received wounds in the fracas at Carthage jail and subsequently fled beyond the reach of the law.²³ Eleven²⁴ Mormons were indicted on the charge of riot arising out of the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor.

The indictment of parties from both sides of the conflict may be accounted for by the composition of the Grand Jury. The twenty-three Grand jurors included no Mormons. This is surprising

given the result of the August elections, but may have been the result of intimidation by the anti-Mormon Clerk of the County Commissioner's Court, George Thatcher. Yet neither were the jurors all anti-Mormons. Included among their number was the non-Mormon member of the Nauvoo City Council, Warrington, who had opposed the destruction of the Expositor.²⁵ It was generally believed that:

The indictments were based upon the testimony of one or two Mormon witnesses, much of which is believed to be manifestly false; and the impression is very general, that not one of them can be convicted of any participation in the act - however much some of them may have aided to produce the state of feeling which resulted in it.²⁶

Although there had been some verbal agreement that the defendants in the Smiths' killings case should be allowed their liberty prior to their trial scheduled for May 1845, there were attempts to arrest them in December. Deming tried to make arrests in Warsaw only to leave that town with no prisoners and with his horse's tail and mane missing - a derisory gesture from the citizens.²⁷ Senator J.C. Davis was arrested by Deming in Springfield. A Select Committee of the Senate, however, ordered Deming to release Davis, much to the chagrin of the Mormons who interpreted the act as legislative endorsement of the murder of the Prophet. The anti-Mormons interpreted the arrest of Davis as an attempt to stifle his activity in the Senate in connection with the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter. It was also reported that Ford feared Davis would further any investigation into his part in the events of June 27 1844. There was also some controversy in the Gentile presses over alleged threats by G.T.M. Davis that those accused of killing the Smiths would expose Ford's complicity in the killings if Ford went ahead with the prosecutions.²⁸

It was quite clear that Ford's legitimacy as an agent of control was seriously in question. It was equally clear that violence had only narrowly been avoided during the Wolf Hunt episode. Open confrontation and collective violence had been averted solely because the anti-Mormons had been disinclined to stand their ground. Ford was heavily criticised for using a sledge hammer to crack a nut, particularly when the State could ill-afford the heavy expense of constantly calling out the militia. The Alton Telegraph complained that the money could have been put to much better use.²⁹

There was a general weakening of support for the Mormons, not only among Ford's officers and men, but in the Legislature also. Anti-Mormon propaganda and the resilience of the anti-Mormons against attempts to control their hostility seemed to be having some effect. The Legislature was well aware of the anarchy which was developing in Hancock County and its environs. Repeal of the Nauvoo Charter had been posed as a possible institutional solution to the problem. Repeal was within the legitimate sphere of the Legislature's authority - it was perhaps the one means of bringing the situation under control without the use of force - a means of moving from a situation of containment to one of solution. The rationale of repeal was that depriving the Mormons of their quasi-legitimate civil and judicial authority would stem their alleged abuses of such authority and thereby appease the anti-Mormons.

On December 7 1844 Mr. Henry introduced a bill to repeal the Charter into the Senate, where it was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Dougherty who reported back

from that Committee had no compunction about citing religion as a cause for offence. He maintained that the many abuses of the Mormons had:

...kindled the flames of civil war within our hitherto peaceful and happy state, professing, as they do, the Mahometan faith under a name but little varied from the original, the tendency of which strikes at the very foundation of our society.³⁰

In the debates which followed in both Houses, the old arguments of Mormon abuse of law, the influence of religious prejudice on the question of repeal, the effect of repeal on creditors and investors in Nauvoo, the precedent which repeal of the Charter of Nauvoo would create and its effect on the charters of other cities, the advisability of modification of obnoxious sections rather than repeal, were all aired as they had been in the debates of 1842-1843. Few new arguments were presented. Mr. Ross in a speech in the House of Representatives on January 18, did make the point that total repeal might prejudice the forthcoming trials in Hancock County. It would, he said, "throw the mantle of public sanction over their anti-Mormon acts of violence".³¹ There was some substance to his fear, for the murder of the Prophet received the public approval of Dougherty in the Senate debate on December 16 1844. For Dougherty, death had checked the Prophet's career and may have saved the community from being deluged with blood. There was some controversy as to whether the Twelve, through the agency of A.W. Babbitt, had attempted to influence the Whig members of the House Committee on Banks and Corporations who were appointed to consider the repeal issue. Babbitt firmly denied the charge.³²

The able defence of Backenstos in the House of Representatives

could not stem the general tide of feeling in favour of repeal. In his speech Backenstos referred to the anti-Mormons as disappointed office seekers, implicitly pointing the finger at Senator Davis;³³ he accused the Warsaw Signal of manufacturing falsehoods to fan anti-Mormon excitement; he maintained that a declining Warsaw was jealous of a more prosperous Nauvoo and charged certain politicians with religious prejudice. The bill finally passed the House on January 24 1845 by a vote of seventy-four to thirty-two, and was approved by the Council of Revision on January 29 1845. The triumph of repeal required that many Democrats vote against the Mormon interest.³⁴ A receiver was appointed by the Circuit Court to sell and convey all the property held by the corporation of Nauvoo and use the proceeds to pay any debts due, under the supervision of the Court.

A bill was subsequently put before the Legislature to re-charter the city of Nauvoo. The bill passed to a third reading in the House of Representatives by a vote of sixty-nine to thirty-four, but it was laid on the table in the Senate.³⁵ Thus both in the repeal debate and in the rejection of the re-chartering bill, it was the action of the Senate which resulted in defeat for the Mormon interest.

The Mormon reaction to repeal left both the Gentiles and the agents of control in little doubt as to the virtual futility of legislative action. Publicly the Mormons stood defiant and proud in the face of repeal. They considered repeal to be unconstitutional - a deprivation of their rights, and so continued as before. Elections

for city officers proceeded as usual. On February 3 all those nominated by the Twelve for Municipal office were elected.³⁶

Mormon determination to continue despite the "highly repressive" act of the Legislature was picked up by the Gentile presses as evidence that they intended to defy the law. Legally the Mormons could only organise their city under the general law governing the incorporation of towns. This law was clearly difficult to apply in the case of Nauvoo as it stipulated that city limits extend for only one square mile. Ford could only advise Young to make a number of incorporations to cover the entire mileage of Nauvoo. It appears that Young did make some moves to incorporate at least part of Nauvoo on this basis.³⁷

Unable to redress their loss politically, the Mormons turned to more expressive behaviour, breathing rhetorical threats of eventual retribution in a similar vein to those vented following the deaths of the Smiths. Eliza Snow, the foremost Mormon poetess, for example, wrote in Times and Seasons that eventually the power and the glory would rest with the Saints:

If the legislature of Illinois are disposed to strip us of our covering, [the charter] and leave us naked, exposed to the chilling blasts of mobocratic fury which already begin to blow - if "it must needs be", we hope to die like noble spirits, and live again to see the robes of state dripping with the blood of innocence, and those who wear them appear before us to receive their final sentence, when "the saints shall judge the world".³⁸

The assurance of eventual justice and glory was tempered by a strong sense of present martyrdom. Death was not too high a price to pay for defending their rights:

...we will leave our enemies to judge, whether it would not be better to make Nauvoo one universal burying ground, before we suffer ourselves to be driven from our hard-earned and lawful homes, by such high-handed oppression, and it may

yet become a question to be decided by the community, whether the Mormons will, after having witnessed their best men murdered without redress, quietly and patiently, suffer their enemies to wrench from them the last shreds of their Constitutional rights; and whether they will not make this city one great sepulchre, rather than be the humble devotees at the shrine of mobocracy.³⁹

The Saints were to suffer as their Prophet had suffered. Yet eschatological revenge upon the Gentiles was perceived to be very near. The Mormons believed that God was already vexing the Gentiles with crime and natural disasters; the dissolution of the present "old world" was not far distant. Irene.Hascall.Pomeroy, convinced of the urgency of the situation, tried to persuade her father to come to Zion - the only refuge from the judgments which were coming upon the Gentile world.⁴⁰ The Mormons began to draw away from the world, not in the sense of complete introversion but relative to their previous usage of the Gentile world for their own purposes. Without the charter they were unable to enter the lists with the Gentiles in the judicial field from a position of advantage. Defence now became more direct and took the form of explicit defiance of Gentile attempts to serve process in Nauvoo. In the Nauvoo Neighbor of April 23 1845 John.Taylor advised the people of Nauvoo to resist the service of civil process for debt. The Mormons legitimised such defiance by defining Gentile process as unjust, making the argument more cogent by pointing to the fate of the Prophet when he had placed himself in the hands of Gentile justice. Such resistance to the law confirmed the opinion of some extreme anti-Mormons that repealing the Mormon charter was of little use in the attempt to "control" the Saints. This new disregard for law lost the Mormons the hitherto tacit support of the Democratic State Register. They had now sacrificed

the sympathy they had gained by their quiescent response to the death of their Prophet.⁴¹

Alienating support from the Mormons was still a prime goal of the anti-Mormons. The campaign against Mormon "thievery" which began in the Signal in late 1844 became important in this respect. It also provided a focus for anti-Mormon activity, a nucleus around which they could sustain a network of communication. Meetings were frequently held to take stock of "evidence" of Mormon thievery and to consider strategies to suppress "the depredations of the saintly Brotherhood of Nauvoo..." The citizens of Hancock and Henderson Counties, for example, resolved to form a committee of vigilance to watch the public road for marauders and deemed it correct to discontinue all intercourse with the Mormons as they were to be considered enemies of the State.⁴²

The Mormons rallied to deny the necessity for such action, perhaps in the hope of isolating the most bitter anti-Mormons by wooing the moderate citizens. The City Council expressed regret to "learn citizens are trying to heap up supposed crimes for the purpose of raising a tide of influence against the Mormon community". It defied the world to substantiate a single instance where Mormons had concealed criminals. Joseph.A.Kelting, a deputy Sheriff of Hancock, produced a statement to confirm that no stolen property could be found in Nauvoo. His explanation for the suspicions aroused was that a ring of thieves operating in that area passed goods into Iowa by means of Nauvoo as a way of shrouding their activities. The Mormons pledged to increase the

police force in Nauvoo and to ferret out criminals. In order to counter anti-Mormon propaganda and maintain an image of innocence and integrity, delegates were sent out from Nauvoo to disabuse the public mind.⁴³

Many Mormons writing to their relatives outside Nauvoo felt obliged to explain the unflattering image of Zion projected in the Gentile presses. Some implicitly admitted that there were those in Nauvoo who acted wrongly, as there were in any community. Ann.Pitchforth writing to her parents in Wales averred that the few bad people who came to Nauvoo soon got found out and left.⁴⁴ The dissident Sarah.Scott believed that stealing was a practice among the Mormons:

...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.⁴⁵

The Nauvoo Neighbor admitted that a "so-called" Mormon had been apprehended by a fellow Mormon whom he had robbed. The Neighbor wished to draw the moral that the Mormons were keeping their own house in order, but were the Gentiles? ⁴⁶ It would seem that there was evidence of Mormon criminality, but that theft was a practice underwritten by Church leaders is much less easy to substantiate given the level of prejudice in the Gentile press.

In the spring of 1845, therefore, the configuration of circumstances was such that the anti-Mormons could feel more confident in their cause. The agents of control had been made to look foolish over the Wolf Hunt "War", and the Legislature had

underwritten the anti-Mormon cry that the Mormons had a case to answer by repealing the Nauvoo Charter. Yet anti-Mormon rhetoric still swelled with vituperation for those who represented institutional authority, repeal had in no way induced the anti-Mormons to see such authority as a potential ally. Open confrontation with the Mormons was not possible given the tactical strength of Nauvoo. Although somewhat politically weakened, the Mormons had made substantial efforts to ensure their physical protection. In September 1844 the officers of the Legion had resolved to build an arsenal and gunsmith's shop. Plans for the arsenal went ahead and it was ready for the roof timbers by June 1845. Ammunition and artillery were brought into Nauvoo. In September 1844, for example, the brethren in St. Louis sent arms and ammunition to Nauvoo, and in April 1845 Elder Lorenzo Snow was reported to be bringing a six pounder cannon to the city.

As an alternative to open confrontation, the anti-Mormons began a campaign of violent intimidation of individuals, which may not have been totally unconnected with the forthcoming trial of the accused assassins of the Smiths, scheduled for May. In February the Signal reported that the old citizens of Pontoosuc had driven Mormons from an island from which it was believed they had stripped the timber and on which they had hoarded stolen property. There was also some intimidation of Jack Mormons, or non-Mormons who aided the Mormons in any way. An old citizen called Howd swore an affidavit claiming that he was attacked by anti-Mormons after supplying corn to Backenstos.⁴⁷ A gentleman signing himself "Fabius" in the State Register claimed that the work of intimidation was carried on by a highly organised but

numerically small group of fanatics:

The great body of our people are desirous of peace, and oppose the violent schemes of the few. This assassin faction cannot marshall more than 80 men in the county. Yet by an efficient organisation of lynch committees in the precincts, secret societies pledged to furnish money and do any act that these lynch officers shall require, by frauds, arson and threatened destruction of property they assume an importance and exercise an influence over many that submit to their arrogance rather than provoke their enmity.⁴⁸

General Deming in his letters of late 1844 and early 1845 alluded to the constant threats which he received from the anti-Mormons. Perhaps their most daring act, which demonstrated the degree of confidence which they placed in their strength, was the open threat made by the Carthage Greys to Backenstos. Backenstos was summarily given a deadline by which he was to leave the county. Anti-Mormon apologists held that Backenstos had affronted the old citizens by his remarks in the Legislature. The State Register interpreted the act as outrageous and saw it as a direct result of the encouragement given to the anti-Mormons by the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter.⁴⁹ The Carthage Greys had also allegedly come into possession of a piece of artillery which belonged to the State by means of forgery

Violence and intimidation were also attributed to the Mormons. Tales reached the Niles National Register that a Mr. Madison had been driven from Nauvoo by ruffians with knives.⁵⁰ The use of physical force was now replacing due process of law; arrests were followed by daring rescues. A man called Eaton, for example, heralded by the anti-Mormon press as chief of the bogus (i.e. counterfeiting) factory in Nauvoo, was arrested on a warrant issued by the Governor of Illinois following a requisition by the Governor of New York. He was later rescued by a gang.⁵¹

The Mormons also tried to make arrests, one of the most controversial being that of John.Elliott.⁵² Elliott, despite the protection of the Mormon William.Marks, was arrested on February 11 1845 on the charge of murdering the Smiths. He was brought before Justices in Nauvoo and committed to Carthage jail to await the next term of the Circuit Court. Elliott maintained that the real reason for his arrest was that he was a nuisance to the Mormons. He also claimed that the Mormons later admitted that the reason for his arrest was his appearance in Nauvoo disguised as a spy.⁵³ The Signal took the opportunity to castigate the proceedings as unjust and pointed out that one of the prominent witnesses brought against Elliott was Brackenbury whose mother was connected with the Mormons. Brackenbury was expected to testify at the forthcoming trial of the accused assassins of the Smiths. He was arrested for perjury in March, a ruse said the Mormons to prevent him giving evidence. With Mormon protection he was able to evade injury at the hands of the anti-Mormons. Elliott managed to escape for a short while. Bagby noted in a letter of March 1845 that there was considerable excitement over the whole affair and that attempts were being made to release him on habeas corpus.⁵⁴

As May approached, nervousness and paranoia increased, particularly in Nauvoo. At the end of March Brother Perkins brought word from Macedonia that the mob was organising and collecting artillery in preparation for a general raid upon Nauvoo at about the time the Court was due to sit. The Temple was now very closely guarded. Some consternation was caused in the city when, in early April, a man was severely beaten by Nauvoo police when found

in the Temple area after nightfall.⁵⁵ On May 10, little more than one week before the trial, a Mr. Miller and his son-in-law, Henry. Liecy, were brutally murdered in Iowa. The culprits were believed to have been the Hodge(s) brothers from Nauvoo. Three of the Hodge brothers were sought, Amos, William and Stephen. The latter two were indicted, found guilty and eventually hanged. There was some debate in the press as to whether the Hodges were Mormons. There is little doubt that the Hodge family had connections with the Church, but no direct evidence that the two brothers who were convicted were members of the Church.⁵⁶ Edward. Bonney, at one time aide-de-camp to the Prophet, took it upon himself to seek out the Hodges and arrest them.⁵⁷ In doing so he received the full support of S. Markham, Captain of the City Watch in Nauvoo, and of Hosea. Stout.⁵⁸ In July another member of the Hodge family, Erwin, was clubbed and stabbed to death. It was believed that he was killed because he had threatened to expose the gang which was operating in the Nauvoo area if they would not aid him in an attempt to rescue his brothers. Bonney believed that Brigham. Young was implicated in Erwin's death.⁵⁹

When the May term of the Court sat, more than half the jurors were Mormon. Few Mormons, however, were willing to appear as witnesses, many leading Mormons such as Brigham. Young remained in hiding to avoid the service of alleged writs which were reported to be in circulation.⁶⁰ The defendants were able to secure their discharge through two main strategems. Firstly, by overturning the original panel of jurors. The defendants presented two affidavits charging the County Commissioners, the Sheriff and his deputies with prejudice, consanguinity and partiality

in their arrangement of the panel of jurors. Judge Young agreed to overturn the panel and appoint elisors, or substitute selectors, to appoint a new jury.⁶¹ The two elisors appointed were Thomas. H.Owen, a Jack Mormon, and William.D.Abernethy, an anti-Mormon. New jurors were selected under considerable duress, for the Court was filled with and surrounded by armed bands vociferous in their support of the anti-Mormon cause.⁶² Consequently the jurors chosen were mostly anti-Mormons who were present in the Court room. The second ploy of the defence counsel was to impeach the evidence of the major prosecution witnesses. Daniels, for example, was accused of accepting money from the Mormons to testify against the defendants.⁶³ The bulk of the evidence presented by the prosecution attempted to establish that the accused were in the vicinity of the jail at the time of the killings, and that there had been some conspiracy between them. Josiah.Lamborn, prosecuting, actually concurred with the defence in casting doubt upon the validity of the evidence given by his three most prominent witnesses, Daniels, Graham and Brackenbury.⁶⁴ It may have been the case that Lamborn was bribed or threatened.⁶⁵

The accused were acquitted of the murder of Joseph.Smith. The trial of those accused of the murder of Hyrum.Smith scheduled for June 24 was dismissed for want of prosecution. The Mormons were totally disgusted with the acquittal verdict and indeed had taken little note of the trial after the original array of jurors had been quashed. Totally disillusioned with Illinois justice, the verdict was thought to be in keeping with the general pattern of the world's dealings with martyrs. The accused were referred to the Supreme Judge of the Universe for final sentencing.

One can see from the above analysis how the arrest and trial of those accused of the murders of the Smiths formed the hub of, or precipitating impetus for, the rather protracted cycle of incidents which followed. It is also clear that the ineffectiveness of the agents of control was crucial in propelling the cycle forward. The threatened arrest had led to the mobilisation of personnel for potentially violent collective action to support those Gentiles so threatened. The resultant "Wolf Hunt War" prompted the intervention of the agents of control who sought to quail the anti-Mormons by a show of strength. In this they only partially succeeded and emerged with the distrust of the Mormons and the contempt of the citizens. While some of the accused were brought to court, this was achieved through bargaining and not through the successful enforcement of the institutional authority of the agents of control. The Governor's force had only contained the collective expression of hostility; he had in no way dissipated the hostility itself. Rather, he placed the might of the State in the position of a third party, the potential enemy of Mormon and Gentile alike. The weakness of the State and its equivocal sympathies, subject, many believed, to the dictate of the ballot box, led the protagonists to rely on their own initiative to enforce their interests. The October term of the Court provided the setting for a mutual display of physical force, an exercise in brinkmanship. The agents of control in late 1844 sought to resolve the problem by removing the Nauvoo Charter. Repeal, however, served only to encourage the anti-Mormons in their course and foster defiance in the Mormons. Intimidation tactics were then adopted; individual covert acts of violence were committed which could not always be substantiated and the culprits rarely detected. The agents

of control could not intervene en masse for there was no collective enemy. The lack of confidence in county officials rendered any control attempts at a local level nugatory. The May trial resulted in victory for the anti-Mormons. The Mormons felt that the law had been discredited as an instrument of impartial justice. The trial removed none of the old grievances, as far as the anti-Mormons were concerned, it merely demonstrated their ability to overcome due process by intimidation. The use of intimidating force was becoming the routine response to situations of potential confrontation between the protagonists.

(2) The firing upon the school house at Green Plains

The Mormons and those Gentiles who supported them were very much on the defensive given the failure of the State to bring the anti-Mormons to heel. Men such as Deming, now Sheriff of Hancock, were constantly castigated as Jack Mormons and were placed under considerable strain. In June 1845 Deming fell into an argument with the County Clerk, Dr. Marshal of Warsaw. An affray developed and Deming shot and killed Marshal. They had argued about the entry of a land transaction at the recent tax sale. Deming had omitted to mark the entry an error, which meant that Marshal could not get his money back. Deming was stunned by his own extreme reaction to the situation. He claimed that it was self-defence and that he had genuinely believed Marshal sought to kill him, yet it was with difficulty that the citizens of Hancock restrained themselves from "cutting him to pieces".⁶⁶ Deming was indicted for murder⁶⁷ but died before coming to trial. He firmly believed that the altercation with Marshal had been staged by the anti-Mormons

to secure his removal from office so as to allow the anti-Mormon coroner to take his place.

Violent robberies continued to contribute to increase the level of tension in the area. On July 4 1845, for example, Colonel Davenport was murdered by robbers at his home in Rock Island. Bonney believed that Nauvoo had a "portion of the gang". Two of the Redden family associated with the Mormons⁶⁸ were brought to trial, but the case was dismissed for want of witnesses.⁶⁹ Bonney had been given blank requisitions signed by Ford which he could use in any State to apprehend the killers. Hancock County was fast becoming a ghoulish tourist attraction. A Mr.Hawley wrote to his son Albert:

I attended the funeral of Doctor Marshal at Carthage that was shot by Minor.R.Deming. I saw Deming the Murderer. Went to the jail where Jo & Hiram Smith were murdered & saw the two Hodges hung for murdering Mr.Miller in Iowa. A Mr.Davenport was murdered at Rock Island where Harriet Woodruff used to live but I did not see the place...⁷⁰

Such was the interest in the stream of sensational events occurring^r in the county that Bagby was forced to go incognito in St.Louis to avoid being talked to death.⁷¹

The August elections saw the office of Sherif filled by the pro-Mormon Backenstos. The old citizens again felt aggrieved at what they considered to be disenfranchisement by Nauvoo. One old citizen complained that Robert.Miller, a good citizen, could poll only ninety votes to the Mormon candidate's two thousand three hundred; one thousand nine hundred of which were cast in Nauvoo.⁷² Backenstos published a letter in the State Register of August 22 1845, putting forward the non-anti-Mormon point of view. He claimed that the anti-Mormons had resorted to intimidation

of those who would not vote for their party.

The cue for further collective violent action came in September. The anti-Mormons held a meeting at a school house near Green Plains to discuss measures to protect their property rights in the face of Mormon legerdemain. Gentiles had attempted to try property rights in Lima, Adams County, only to be foiled by Mormon private trustee arrangements. These arrangements enabled Mormons to pool their property so that when legal judgments were levied against property in the name of an individual, that individual could prove that the property belonged to others.⁷³

While the meeting was in progress:

...it being after night, an attack was made upon the house, by firing guns into it; several balls are said to have entered the timber in various parts of the building, and passed near the persons of some of the inmates. By whom this attack was made the writer of this has never been able to ascertain. It was reported the next day, through the settlement that the Mormons had attacked the meeting, and preparations were immediately made to take revenge. Accordingly, on Wednesday night, an attack was made on what is known as Morley's settlement, in the vicinity, and two or three houses burned...⁷⁴

Many believed that the attack on the meeting was a ploy by the anti-Mormons themselves to furnish a pretext for driving the Mormons out of the small settlements outside Nauvoo. By Sunday it was estimated that as many as sixty Mormon houses in various parts of Hancock had been destroyed.⁷⁵ Levi Williams was said to be at the head of the burners. Others who were later sought for participation were Joseph Harneys, Joseph Lamberth, Mathew Hines, Grason Orr, John Howell and Mr. Brackenridge, a lawyer.⁷⁶

The Mormons sent one hundred and twenty teams to Lima to rescue the beleaguered Saints and bring them to Nauvoo.⁷⁷ It

was reported in the Alton Telegraph that a group of three had been sent by the Mormons to negotiate with the citizens and had offered to sell out at a reasonable price. The negotiations failed ostensibly because the Mormons would not agree to leave Hancock, or state in which part of the county they intended to settle.⁷⁸ The Mormon desire to move westward became stronger, and concrete plans for such a move were now given careful consideration. Serious discussion of the propriety of moving West had taken place as early as January 1845. It became more appropriate as other avenues closed. Young had written to the Governors of various States of the Union requesting asylum for the Saints.⁷⁹ Only the Governor of Arkansas replied and gave the Saints little hope. He stressed his desire not to intervene in the affairs of Illinois and declined to provide a sanctuary.⁸⁰ On September 9 1845 the Council of Fifty met and resolved to send out a company of one thousand five hundred men to the Great Salt Lake Valley.⁸¹ On the eleventh Young selected those members of the Council of Twelve who were to start westward the following Spring. Young's principal concern was to successfully hold off the mob until the Temple could be completed and adequate arrangements made for removal. He was under the threat of personal arrest; some attempts had been made but were never successful. Young was also under pressure from Backenstos to place armed men at his disposal to quell the mob, for Backenstos was experiencing considerable difficulty raising a posse from among the non-Mormon citizens. Young hesitated, preferring not to intervene, but on September 15 and September 16 the Legion was organised to await the Sheriff's call to action.

The anti-Mormons were becoming more and more provocative. On September 15 they sought to drive out of the area those Jack Mormons who had gained office in August. Ethel.B.Rose, Treasurer and Assessor together with Chauncy.Robison, County Recorder and School Commissioner were ordered by eight or ten men to leave town; which they did.⁸² On the following day the anti-Mormon cause gained its first martyr as Mormons and Jack Mormons struck back. Franklin.Worrell, who had been a member of the Carthage Greys and Sergeant of the Guard at Carthage jail when the Smiths were killed, was shot by a small group of men under Backenstos' command. Accounts vary as to who ambushed whom. The Mormon account maintained that Backenstos was pursued by a party of mobocrats after he left Warsaw for Nauvoo. He called upon Orrin.Rockwell and Redding to aid him as he passed them on the road. He commanded the mobbers to stop, but they refused and continued to advance with their guns raised. Backenstos therefore ordered Orrin.Rockwell to fire, which he did, killing Worrell. Tom.Sharp's narrative stated that Worrell with three or four others were investigating the burning of Mormon property, when they saw a rider travelling at a rapid rate along the Nauvoo road. They attempted to intercept him only to be shot at by men lying in wait in the bushes near the Rail Road shantee.⁸³ Backenstos was indicted for the murder of Worrell at the October term of the Circuit Court, but was later acquitted after a trial in Peoria.⁸⁴

A few days later Samuel.McBratney (McBracking) was savagely murdered by a posse under the presumed leadership of the Sheriff and Bishop Miller. McBratney was passing through the settlement

at Bear Creek with a party of "burners" when he was shot and brutally hacked to death while he struggled for his life.⁸⁵ Geo. Rockwell issued a writ against Backenstos for murder.⁸⁶

The situation in Hancock was deteriorating so rapidly that the Governor declared a state of insurrection and called out the militia of the neighbouring counties to restore order. On the day prior to the Governor's declaration, Backenstos had swooped upon Carthage with an armed force wielding his authority with despotic fervour. Jason.H.Sherman swore in an affidavit that Backenstos entered the town with about four hundred troops and placed guards at strategic points to prevent the citizens escaping. Some prisoners were taken, although most were set free the same day. After his initial "raid" Backenstos left a garrison of about fifty men in the Court House, which was to remain there until the Governor's force arrived under Hardin on the twenty-eighth.⁸⁷ It was firmly believed by many:

...that neither the life, nor the property of any man in the county, who was not in favour with Mormons, was safe. Several towns, therefore, were almost entirely deserted. On the 19th or 20th September, most of the men of this village [Warsaw] fled for protection to Missouri, some taking their families with them, expecting that the town would be pillaged, and perhaps burned that day.⁸⁸

The county was in a virtual state of occupation. Backenstos issued passes to those whom he considered to be on legitimate business so that they would be protected by his posse from molestation by the mob or their spies.⁸⁹ The Warsaw Signal Extra of September 24 1845 claimed that travellers were searched and intimidated by the Sheriff's men. Backenstos may have wished to assert his authority to the detriment of the anti-Mormons to sap their confidence and make them less active during the coming Court

session which was to hear the Expositor affair case, the case of the September burners and the case to be answered for the killing of Worrell in which he was heavily implicated.⁹⁰

In ordering out a force at the command of the Executive because local agents of control had shown themselves to be incompetent and partisan, Ford created considerable ill-feeling. When Hardin arrived, he dismissed Backenstos' posse much to the latter's dismay. Hardin ordered that no armed force of more than four men was to assemble anywhere in the county. Hardin now became the immediate source of authority and was, as a result, constantly lobbied by all parties to the conflict. A citizen of Warsaw called Montague, for example, lobbied Hardin on behalf of the old citizens stressing that the county had been peaceful until the Mormons had settled.⁹¹ Brigham Young, for his part, asked Hardin to prevent a meeting of the citizens of the surrounding counties at an anti-Mormon convention, fearing that it would cause further excitement.⁹² Hardin attempted to investigate the causes of unrest and apprehend the culprits. Accompanied by the Attorney General as legal adviser, Hardin made investigations into the recent abduction of Phineas Wilcox who had disappeared after visiting relatives in Nauvoo, and into the supposed murder of Daubenhayer (Debonair) whose body had been found buried near the home of a Mormon. The troops marched to Nauvoo making a thorough search for Wilcox, but all remained a mystery. While there Hardin, together with W.B. Warren, Stephen A. Douglas and J.A. McDougal, conferred with Church leaders concerning the removal of the Mormons from the State. The question had been posed earlier by a committee from Quincy. Brigham Young, as requested, outlined

the Mormon intentions in writing so that they could be laid before the citizens and the anti-Mormons. He stated that preparations for removal had begun prior to the recent disturbances:

That one thousand families, including the Twelve, the High Council, the Trustees, and general authorities of the Church, are fully determined to remove in the Spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property, and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls...⁹³

Removal for the Mormons was not perceived as just an expedient forced upon them by anti-Mormon violence, it was seen as part of the glorious plan of the Last Days. Young went as far as to almost thank those who had conspired to hasten the time.⁹⁴ As the fulfilment of God's plan required the justification of the righteous - the sifting of the Saints from the recalcitrant Gentiles, there was a growing tendency for the Mormons to isolate themselves from the Gentile world to a greater extent than formerly. This tendency was obviously reinforced by the enmity aroused in the earthly conflict between Mormon and Gentile, which was itself interpreted in eschatological terms. The Gentiles were a veritable tool in the hands of eschatological forces. Young, for example, expressed the view that the Gentiles were angry without knowing why, but he knew that it was because the Kingdom of God was already set up.

Withdrawal was sometimes expressed symbolically such as the disinclination to celebrate the fourth of July. It was also expressed in a withdrawal of religious ministry from the Gentiles. As early as March 1845 Young was restraining Elders from going out to preach to the world:

If the world want (sic) to hear preaching let them come here, and if they really want the gospel, let them clean Carthage jail.⁹⁵

Young wished all the brethren to put all their efforts into finishing the Temple. By the end of September he was expressing the opinion that the Mormons did not owe the country a single sermon. The withdrawal of "power and priesthood" from the Gentiles was seen as necessary preparation for the final restoration:

In our patience we will possess our souls and work out a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, preparing, by withdrawing the power and priesthood from the Gentiles, for the great consolation of Israel, when the wilderness shall blossom as the rose, and Babylon fall like a millstone cast into the sea. The just shall live by faith; but the folly of fools, will perish with their bodies of corruption: then shall the righteous shine: Amen.⁹⁶

As the Mormons had given up preaching to the world they decided, at the October Conference, that the Mormon newspapers should be withdrawn. One last appeal went out to invite all rulers and people of all nations to lend their assistance in accomplishing "these great and important events".⁹⁷ They believed that their consciences were now clear of the doom which was to shortly befall unbelievers.

The growing sense of withdrawal also found expression in the social and economic spheres. Heber.C.Kimball harangued the Mormons not to work for Gentiles, suggesting self-sufficiency as an alternative. Mormon women, he alleged, had been insulted in Warsaw, a town whose citizens were not worthy of Mormon society.⁹⁸

Activity within Nauvoo did not slacken because of removal plans. There was a last ditch surge of energy, not only to finish the

Temple but to complete the city as a monument to the industry of the people of Nauvoo. Despite the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter, community projects went ahead for a while. Projects such as the dam in the Mississippi, which was to provide water power for Nauvoo, had to be abandoned when hostilities became acute.⁹⁹ There was a great bustle of preparation for the trek west; the organisation of the sale of property and outfitting wagons. Kimball promised that there would be no lack of things to do when they left Nauvoo, tacitly admitting that Nauvoo had seen many without employment.

The Gentiles responded to the removal agreement with a certain degree of pragmatism, perhaps not altogether convinced that the Mormons would really leave. On October 1 a Convention of representatives from nine counties which believed they had an interest in the affairs of Hancock,¹⁰⁰ was held at Carthage. Sharp, in his manuscript history, emphasised that the delegates were not politically motivated, both parties were represented and political demagogism was left behind. One Committee of the Convention busied itself with collecting affidavits from citizens detailing Mormon "outrages" over the past few years. Another Committee under Colonel Singleton of Brown County put forward a plan of military organisation for Gentile defence: all those who wished to volunteer to support the proceedings of the Convention were to form military companies and report themselves by November 1. The Convention resolved that while it would endeavour not to hinder the Mormon exodus, it would stand ready to act in the event of any breach of the agreement.¹⁰¹

Not all greeted the proposed removal with complete relief. Some feared that the Mormons might form a hostile alliance with the Indians or possibly act with England in the Oregon dispute. One gentleman who signed himself "Backwoodsman" of Palmyra wrote to the Mormons and categorically stated that they should not settle California as this would immediately create bad feeling.¹⁰²

Superficially it appeared that the agents of control had mediated a solution to the problem, even though this in effect entailed capitulating to the mobocrats by acquiescing in their goal of total removal of the Mormons. They had intervened when collective violence had broken out in September and posed the solution of removal. The routine of violence into which anti-Mormon, Mormon and Jack Mormon had fallen was not easily broken, however. Nor did the mediation of the agents of control earn them the respect of the protagonists. The cycle of violence was to be traced again.

(3) The harvesters incident

Hardin's force was disbanded with the exception of two companies which were maintained as a peace-keeping force under Major William Warren. Warren's force was, however, unable to prevent continued acts of covert violence which kept the level of tension within the county high. Before the end of October, for example, the house of the Mormon Nathan Bigelow had been threatened by the mob. Bigelow appealed to Warren, who sent a few men to defend him. Unfortunately Bigelow, believing these men to be

the returning mob, accidentally shot Lieutenant Charles.Everett.¹⁰³
In November a party set fire to a hayrick near the barn of the Mormon Solomon.Hancock. Edmund.Durfee went to the assistance of those trying to put out the fire and was shot dead. While arrests were made in connection with this incident, witnesses were difficult to obtain as many feared that to testify would be to put their own lives at risk.¹⁰⁴

The Mormons, finding Warren's force inadequate, made their own arrangement to patrol "threatened areas" in small companies. This brought the Church into conflict with Warren. The tension between Warren and the Mormons was in no way eased by Warren's possession of writs against the Twelve for "treason", although Warren did not serve them as he did not wish to hold up the exodus by detaining Mormon leaders. George.Miller obtained an interview with Governor Ford in order to try to persuade him that it would be expedient to remove the troops on the grounds that they only encouraged mob activity by their presence. Brayman, Ford's agent on the scene, convinced the Governor that peace could only be preserved if the force was maintained.

At the December term of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Illinois indictments were found on the charge of counterfeiting the coin of the United States against Theodore.Turley, Augustus.Barton, Gilbert.Eaton, Peter.Hawes, Brigham.Young, Willard.Richards, John.Taylor, P.P.Pratt, Orson.Hyde, J.H.Jackson, Carlos.Grove and Edward.Bonney. Bonney was held in custody for a time but was eventually acquitted in December 1846. Other defendants could not be arrested and the

cases against them were dismissed in December 1848.¹⁰⁵ Ford did not assist the U.S. Marshal in obtaining custody of those charged as he had informally agreed not to prosecute for past crimes in order to speed Mormon removal. The execution of law was now clearly a matter of expedience even for the Governor.

Petty violence continued during the Winter. Edward Everett, a member of the Quincy Riflemen, under the command of Warren, noted that :

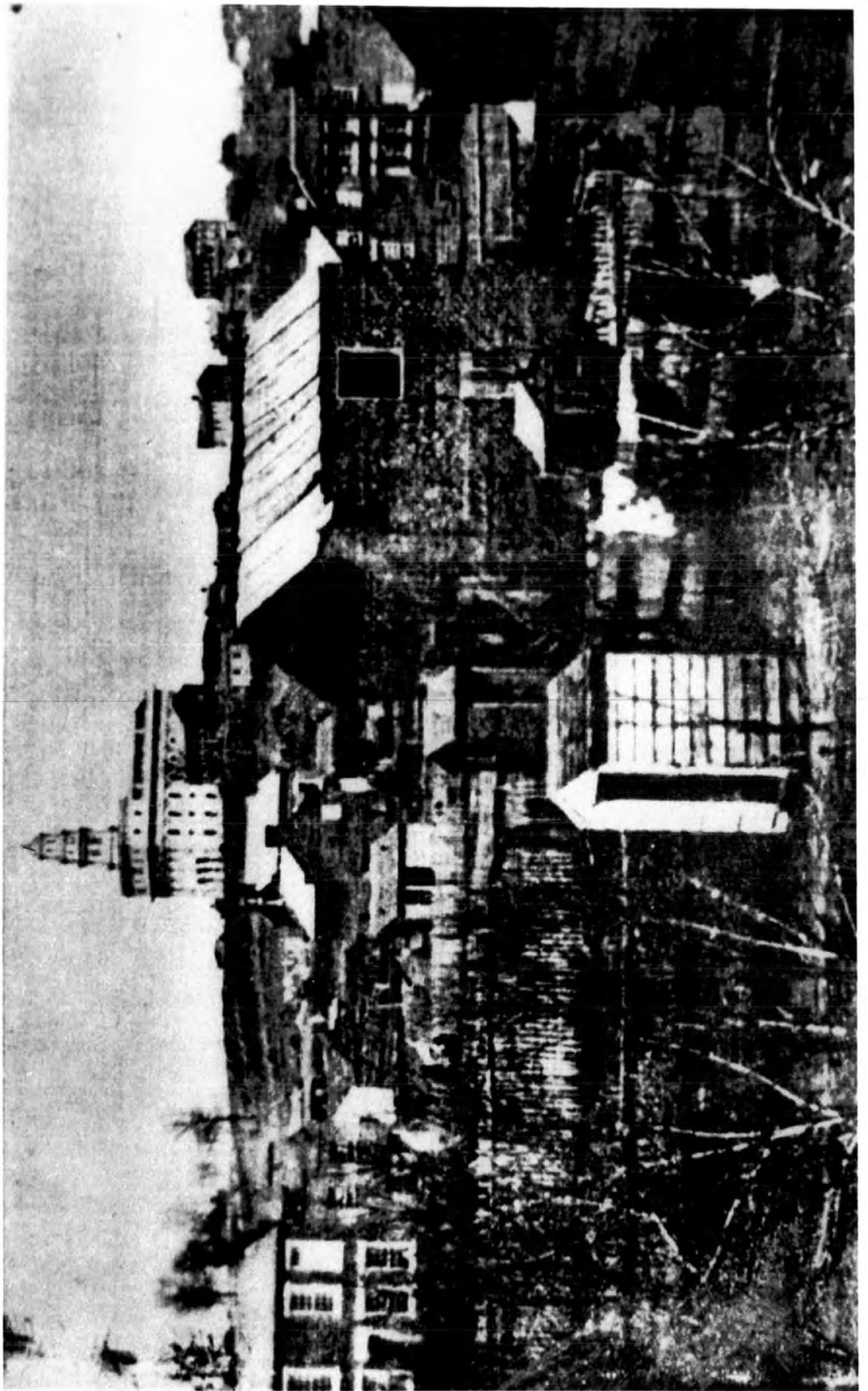
...scarcely a day passed without some expedition being undertaken for putting down disturbances, hunting horse thieves, recovering property, protecting individuals, etc., etc.¹⁰⁶

Everett stated that his fellow troopers were harassed by the "Mormon mob" when they attempted to take property on attachment for debt, and had to suffer Mormon youths throwing stones.

As the Spring of 1846 approached Mormon preparations for removal were closely observed. In early April, for example, J.H.Sherman, A.Hamilton and S.Corner visited Nauvoo to ascertain the stage removal preparations had reached. After observation they estimated that by June not less than six to eight thousand would be left in the county.¹⁰⁷ It was believed that men such as Babbitt and Backenstos were trying to dampen the desire to remove, possibly for political or business reasons. To the outsider, the exhortation for the Saints to gather to Nauvoo to receive their Endowments prior to emigrating west seemed to indicate that Nauvoo was being built up rather than run down as a centre of Mormonism. Although the main Church leaders, including Young, had moved westward in February, spurred on by the Governor's "planted" rumour that Federal troops would attempt to enforce

their writs for arrest as soon as the ice broke on the Mississippi, many Mormons were returning to Nauvoo to collect their families. Some Gentiles feared that there would still be enough Mormons or Jack Mormons left in the county in August to influence the elections.¹⁰⁸

Such fears were played upon only by the emergent ultra-anti-Mormon faction. In the Winter of 1845-46 two major changes were taking place which affected the alignments of the parties to the conflict. Firstly, there was a growing aversion on the part of many Gentiles to the frequency and severity of the violence being used. A meeting of the citizens of Carthage in November 1845, for example, deprecated the burnings and killings, pledged support to Warren, and proclaimed it the duty of all anti-Mormons to keep the peace.¹⁰⁹ Similarly in May the Alton Telegraph reported that public meetings had been held in Brown and Henderson Counties at which it was resolved to recommend to the citizens of Hancock that they refrain from any hostilities towards the Mormons until June, thus giving them ample time to fulfil their pledge to remove.¹¹⁰ These Gentiles sought to restrain the extreme anti-Mormons from further acts of harassment which they believed only delayed the Mormon exodus.¹¹¹ Secondly, an additional party to the conflict emerged as the Mormons sold their property and left. The buyers of Mormon property were dubbed "New Citizens" and formed a buffer between the Mormons and anti-Mormons. They were not Mormons, yet wished to safeguard their new homes which placed them in the position of wishing to defend Nauvoo. It was difficult for them to convince anti-Mormons that they were neither pro-Mormons or Mormons who had returned in



disguise. In attempting to maintain their position in Nauvoo the new citizens were not able to secure the full and active support of the Governor.

Ford was gaining a reputation for being completely incompetent. It was reported in the Sangamo Journal of May 7 1846 that he had written to Almon Babbitt stating that if the Nine County Convention wished to enforce removal of the Mormons he could do little about it. With such adverse publicity, his authority was undermined and he became little more than a paper tiger to the anti-Mormons.

Opposition ^{towards} the anti-Mormons would in practice have come from either Warren's force or the new citizens. In the hope of reducing the effectiveness of opposition from the latter, the ultra-anti-Mormons began a campaign of intimidation against them. Following a meeting at Carthage on June 6, at which the belief that the Mormons did not intend to leave was publicly aired, a force of three to four hundred anti-Mormons assembled at Goldens Point. It was presumed that this force intended to attack Nauvoo. Rumours circulated that many of the new citizens had been intimidated into joining this force. Negotiations were held between the new citizens and the anti-Mormons, but these broke down, principally said the anti-Mormons, because Backenstos intervened with a posse. Nauvoo prepared itself for an attack, but the anti-Mormons withdrew because they were short of ammunition.¹¹²

The new citizens responded by appointing a "Committee of Public Safety" consisting of fifty persons and resolved to appeal to the Nine Counties of the Carthage Convention for aid in restoring peace. It is perhaps significant that they did not appeal to

Warren or the Governor for aid, but to moderate anti-Mormons.

It was against such a background of escalating tension and extremism that the "harvesters incident" occurred. Some Mormons had been harvesting wheat on the farm of a man called Rice, when they allegedly began behaving badly, taking oats from a Mr. Lofton. They were summarily whipped and sent back to Nauvoo.¹¹³ On the return of the harvesters to Nauvoo a posse was raised which proceeded to the house of Major McAuley, capturing him and James W. Brattle. The anti-Mormons in retaliation captured five Mormons, while a further Mormon posse attempted to even the score by capturing fifteen additional anti-Mormons.¹¹⁴ It was believed that the Governor would not intervene in the matter. The Sangamo Journal of July 16 1846 accused Ford of having expressed a willingness to allow the parties to fight it out among themselves. The Hancock Eagle described the perceived plight of the citizens of Nauvoo:

The Governor has plainly instructed the agrieved to fight and kill off enough to put the lynchers down, but, as they have adopted the Guerilla system of warfare, it seems impossible to get them into action, and the consequence is, that the inhabitants of this city are continually agitated by repeated acts of violence which they cannot reach, and worn out by the incessant calls upon their vigilance to guard against surprise.¹¹⁵

Writs were sworn out for the arrest of some of the citizens of Nauvoo who were believed to have taken part in the mutual capture of hostages, principally Pickett, Clifford and Furness.¹¹⁶ Pickett resisted arrest on the grounds that to submit would be to place his life in danger. Deputy Sherif John Carlin, therefore, called out a posse to take him. Anti-Mormons began to assemble to support Carlin. The Hancock Eagle in an Extra of August 18

maintained that Carlin was not legitimately appointed, that he was no more than an anti-Mormon "regulator" Sheriff. Judicial chaos was compounded by the intrusion of special constable John.C.Bidamon who attempted to arrest various anti-Mormons who were in armed array near Green Plains, principally Levi Williams, George.Thatcher and George.Bachman.¹¹⁷ Tension was in no way eased by the Democratic victories at the August elections, thought by some to have been gained through the Mormon vote.¹¹⁸

Finally, in desperation, the citizens of Nauvoo applied to Ford for a major of militia to restore order. Ford, aroused out of his apathy by force of circumstance,¹¹⁹ ordered Major Parker to Hancock with ten men from Fulton County to ascertain how many persons in Nauvoo were Mormons, to assist any peace officer with proper warrants to make arrests, and to protect Nauvoo against attack. Parker was given authority to raise any volunteers who would aid him without cost to the State. Parker ordered those who had assembled under Carlin to disperse. Carlin resisted, supported by some of the citizens of Adams, Hancock, Warren and Henderson Counties who published their disapproval of Parker's interference, which they considered to be "unwarrantable" and "illegal".¹²⁰

Carlin's posse gathered momentum until it numbered about eight hundred men evincing considerable support for hard line anti-Mormonism. Command of the posse passed to James.W.Singleton who entered into negotiations with a view to drawing up peace proposals. Parker and Singleton agreed terms which stipulated that the Mormons were to leave immediately and give up their

arms to Brayman. Singleton's men, however, refused to agree to these terms causing Singleton to resign his command as he considered "that the Mormon population in Nauvoo, have agreed to as much as any reasonable or feeling man could ask".¹²¹ Thomas. Brockman, a Campbellite preacher from Brown County, took over as commander of the anti-Mormon forces.

On September 10, under their new leader, the anti-Mormon forces marched to Nauvoo, making camp about three miles from the Temple. They numbered about seven hundred men to the Nauvooans three or four hundred.¹²² Ford, upon the representation of Mr. Bideman, had ordered Major Flood to raise an additional force to suppress the outbreak. Flood, of Adams County, however, declined to act firmly because he believed that any force he might be able to raise for the defence of Nauvoo would be more than matched by the "rioters". He made an attempt to mediate peace but failed. He therefore handed over his authority to the people of Nauvoo who elected B. Clifford to command them. Nauvoo was in an inferior position with respect to arms. While the anti-Mormons had State cannon in their possession, the Mormons and new citizens had only makeshift cannon improvised from the shafts of a steamboat. After a few days of skirmishing a pukka battle took place on the twelfth. George. Rockwell gave the following account of the battle, from the anti-Mormon point of view:

In forming the line of battle on that day, the Warsaw Rifle Company was divided into two, and deployed out on the right and left to scour the cornfields and bushes, and prevent the army from falling into ambush. As 2nd in command of the Company, I had command of the left wing. We received the first fire of the enemy in a cornfield, and stood our ground manfully, returned their fire, advanced and drove them from their position. They numbered 40 or 50, and took their position in brick houses in front, and to the

left of the main body. We advanced through the cornfield to the fence, and for 15 to 20 minutes poured our fires into them. Capt. Anderson¹²³ was killed by the left wing, and numbers of others killed or wounded. In the meantime the 1st regiment steadily advancing with its artillery poured its fires into the buildings occupied by the enemy, and they retired as it advanced until our cannon balls had given out. After the cannon had ceased firing on the left, I was ordered with the rest of the Warsaw Company to charge upon two brick buildings occupied by the enemy, from which they kept up a fire on our artillery. We advanced in double quick time, and although their numbers were about equal to our own, they being covered by their houses, and we in the open field, they retreated and fled to a cornfield in their rear. Our company at times was very much exposed, bullets and grape shot from the cannon of the enemy whistled over and around us, and yet, providentially, not one of our company was killed or seriously wounded. The General says we did more execution than any Company in the field except the artillery. When orders were given to retire, we were the last on the field, and in good order I had the honor of bringing up the rear.¹²⁴

The Mormons, new citizens and the Governor had lost. Mobocracy had triumphed over institutional authority. The anti-Mormons were jubilant and Brockman in particular was eager to press home the victory. A Committee of one hundred from Quincy intervened to mediate peace, however, and a seven point treaty was agreed. The terms specified included the surrender and evacuation of Nauvoo by the Mormons; allowing the posse to enter the city in the company of ten of the Quincy Committee; and permission for five men and five clerks with their families to stay in Nauvoo to dispose of property. It was made quite clear to the Mormons at a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy that they would not be welcome there when they finally left Nauvoo. Brockman entered Nauvoo and ordered all who had taken up arms against his forces, whether Mormon or not, to leave. Joseph Heywood, one of the Mormon Committee which remained in Nauvoo to supervise the final preparations for removal, maintained that Brockman broke the treaty:

Notwithstanding the agreement that the committee were to remain undisturbed, still our houses were ransacked by armed men who quartered themselves in the Temple subjecting all obnoxious citizens to a sort of court martial and sentencing them to leave the place some in Two hours some forthwith while some were taken to the River DUCKED and then set across. Such are some of the beauties of mobocracy...¹²⁵

Conversely, Johnston of the Quincy Committee believed that the pledges made by Brockman were kept.¹²⁶ There were attempts to give aid to the expelled Mormons, collections of used clothing were made, for example. There is little doubt, however, that the plight of those leaving Nauvoo was desperate and the suffering from want of adequate supplies of food, clothing and shelter severe.¹²⁷

Brockman was the anti-Mormon hero of the day. He left Nauvoo to be welcomed by Sharp on behalf of the citizens of Warsaw to a dinner in his honour. A small anti-Mormon force remained in Nauvoo to ensure that no Mormons attempted to return. Rumours of alleged acts of cruelty by this force prompted Ford to march to Nauvoo again in late October with a view to reinstating any new citizens who had been forcibly expelled. He was met by adamant defiance from the ultra-anti-Mormons who vowed in their meetings that they would resume hostilities the instant he left the vicinity. They were determined that no Jack Mormons should remain in Nauvoo. They harassed Ford's party in every way possible, even issuing writs for the arrest of two of his officers, Webber and Allen, on assault charges. Ford was himself personally insulted. Anonymous wags sent him a petticoat as a symbol of his weakness, and he was refused a glass of whisky in Carthage. To anti-Mormons like George Rockwell, Ford was simply a fool on a fool's errand, a mere plaything of the Jack Mormons, for there was no turmoil in Hancock County, as far

as he was concerned, not even an anti-Mormon force.¹²⁸ Unable to even retrieve any of the State arms to justify his expedition, Ford disbanded the major part of his force, leaving only a remnant of about fifty men who remained until December. Ford was not able to recover politically from his failures in Hancock County and was succeeded as Governor by Augustus French at the end of 1846.

Aftermath

The remnant of the Mormons, consisting of thirty or forty families eventually left Nauvoo in mid 1847 under the leadership of Daniel Wells, planning to join the California expedition.¹²⁹ Not all Mormons left the area completely, however, although estimates vary widely as to precisely how many stayed.¹³⁰ Notable among the families who remained in the Carthage area were the Salisburys, Millikins, Ellisons, Lamberts, Stevensons, Pilkingtons and the Siegfrieds. Emma Smith and her sons also remained. Emma remarried and one of her sons, Joseph Smith III, became the leader of the Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1860. Some Mormons were reported to have seceded en route and settled in Missouri, but it is not known whether this was permanent.¹³¹ The remaining symbol of Mormon presence, the Temple, was finally destroyed by an incendiary at the end of 1848.¹³²

Many accounts describe the stark decline of Nauvoo after the Mormon exodus.¹³³ The fate of the rest of Hancock County is not so clear. Opponents of Mormonism maintained that the Warsaw/Carthage

area was given a renewed sense of purpose by the exodus. It was observed that long delayed improvements were taken up and new buildings begun.¹³⁴ Tom.Sharp remained a respected member of the Hancock County community, securing election as a member of the 1847 Constitutional Convention.¹³⁵

Nauvoo was finally taken over by Cabet and his French Icarians in 1849 but the community was short-lived. It broke up shortly after Cabet departed following internal conflicts. Subsequently, Nauvoo became another small town, bypassed by the rail road and the Mississippi river traffic.¹³⁶

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the popular movement known as "Mobocracy" encompassed definite cycles of violent activity. The natural history approach of Smelser, if applied, would tend to cloud the phenomenon of constant resuscitation of activity, and in so doing lead one to ignore or underplay those dynamic forces within the situation which rendered violence continuous. It has also been shown that there were two distinguishable forms of violence, collective and individual. Collective violence occurred as a result of the ability of anti-Mormons to mobilise support in response to some precipitating incident. Individualistic violence of the covert guerilla warfare type occurred throughout the latter part of this period and became a routine response to the continued tension which existed in the county. The role of the agents of control has been shown to have been crucial in perpetuating the violent response insofar as it was their

failure to do more than contain the situation which led to the retracing of the cycle of violence. The weakness of the agents of control was highlighted by their acquiescence in the anti-Mormon demand for total removal of the Mormons from the county and in their physical defeat by the anti-Mormon forces at the "battle of Nauvoo". The Governor, weighed down by the stigma of being considered pro-Mormon, was unable to raise a loyal militia force of any size.

The anti-Mormons were triumphant because they were prepared to use collective violence. The Mormons to some extent "allowed" them to win because they did not resist the anti-Mormons as a unit. Had the Mormons risen against the anti-Mormons violently and collectively, the victory would have been less certain for the anti-Mormons. The core anti-Mormon leadership was able to physically mobilise the hitherto passive support which it had built up with the aid of sustained propaganda. The conflicts of interests which existed between institutional authority and the Mormons prevented the agents of control and the Mormons putting up effective joint resistance.

De-escalation of the situation as such, therefore, proved elusive. Cessation of hostilities came only after the removal of all possible targets for anti-Mormon aggression; Mormon, Jack Mormon, Militia. There was no "solution" short of vicinal separation.

Notes for Chapter 7

1. N.J.Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962).
2. Nauvoo Neighbor, January 1 1845.
3. See Appendix: 2.
4. D.H.Oaks & M.S.Hill, Carthage Conspiracy (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975, p.46 and p.59 note 1)
5. State Register, September 20 1844.
6. It is difficult to say with any certainty whether "Wolf Hunt" was a code term for hunting Mormons as R.B.Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965) suggests. The Nauvoo Neighbor mentioned an anti-Mormon hunt of this kind in its February 28 1844 issue, although it was not clear who or what was to be hunted. The September encampment could have been intended as little more than an opportunity for militia companies to get together and swap military tips. Such gatherings were held in other areas - see Alton Telegraph, October 5 1844. T.Gregg, The Prophet of Palmyra (New York: J.B.Alden, 1890), stated that the September encampment was called for by the officers of several independent companies.
7. Niles National Register, October 5 1844.
8. Warsaw Signal, September 25 1844.
9. Sangamo Journal, September 26 1844. The pro-Ford and anti-Ford presses spent some time arguing about the number of troops Ford had sent. The discrepancy in the figures

quoted in the press arose because of the shortfall in the number of volunteers. Ford had considerable difficulty raising recruits; although he called for twenty five hundred, he could only muster four hundred and seventy five. See History of the Church, vol.7, p. 310.

10. The rifleman was Edward.Everett, see E.Everett, "Reminiscences of the Mormon War in Illinois", Illinois State Historical Library Publications, 10, (1906), pp. 183-193.
11. State Register, October 11 1844.
12. T.Ford, A History of Illinois (New York: S.C.Griggs & Co., pp. 363-366 1854); Warsaw Signal, October 9, October 16 1844.
13. Sangamo Journal, October 3 1844.
14. W.Watson compiler, Correspondence of Bishop George.Miller with the Northern Islander from his first acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the close of his life. Written by himself in the year 1855. See also History of the Church, vol.7, p. 278.
15. It is not possible to enter into a detailed discussion of the many schisms which beleaguered the Church at this time. It is only necessary to note that Rigdon was not without friends. Even at his "trial" in 1844 prominent Mormons such as William.Marks spoke in his defence. Times and Seasons made reference to Rigdon having "a party" in Nauvoo (Times and Seasons, September 15 1844). Rigdon left Nauvoo to attempt to gather the elect at Greencastle, Pennsylvania, but by 1847 his Church had disintegrated. Many of Rigdon's supporters were caught up in the meteoric rise of the Church of J.J.Strang, which attracted not only William.Marks but also William.Smith, brother of Joseph.Smith, and aroused the curiosity of existing schismatics such as Brewster. George.Miller became disillusioned with Young's leadership and also threw in his lot with Strang.

Strang founded a colony on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan where he proclaimed himself King. In 1852 he stood for the State Legislature and was elected by Democratic votes. His "Kingdom" was shortlived, however, for he was shot by excommunicated followers in June 1856. See W.L.Goodliffe, "American Frontier Religion: Mormons and their Dissenters 1830 - 1900", Ph.D. thesis University of Idaho, 1976; F.D.Leslie, "An American Kingdom of Mormons", Magazine of Western History, (April 1886), pp. 645-651.

16. Times and Seasons, October 15 1844.
17. Nauvoo Neighbor, January 22 1845.
18. The anti-Mormons believed that this had been Ford's original aim in calling out the militia. Ford admitted the truth of this charge in his History of Illinois, 1854.
19. Ford, 1854.
20. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 283.
21. State Register, November 1 1844 cited eight as indicted.
22. J.H.Jackson was not indicted.
23. Oaks & Hill, 1975, p.79 and p. 162 note 64.
24. State Register, November 1 1844 cited seven or eight indicted on the charge of riot.
25. Oaks & Hill, 1975.
26. Alton Telegraph, November 9 1844.
27. Warsaw Signal, December 4 1844.
28. State Register, November 8 1844; Alton Telegraph, October 26 1844.

29. Alton Telegraph, October 5 1844.
30. Reports made to the Senate and House of Representatives of The State of Illinois, 14th Assembly, 1st. Session, Senate, p. 2.
31. State Register, January 31 1845.
32. State Register, February 14 1845.
33. Backenstos probably alluded to Davis when he spoke of a Senator's proposal to step down in favour of Hyrum Smith in exchange for Smith's securing him a nomination for Congress, being refused. State Register, February 28 1845.
34. Thompson gives the division as seventy five to thirty one, C.M.Thompson, "The Illinois Whigs before 1846", University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 4, (1915b), pp. 9-165. The division of seventy four to thirty two is taken from the Alton Telegraph, February 1 1845. The party division in the voting is given in Thompson (1915b), as:

	<u>For Repeal</u>	<u>Against Repeal</u>
<u>Hse. Representatives</u>		
TOTAL	75	31
Whigs	35	2
Democrats	40	29
<u>Senate</u>		
TOTAL	25	14
Whigs	9	5
Democrats	16	9

Yet less Democrats in the House of Representatives voted for repeal than in 1842-43. There were far more Whigs voting for repeal, principally because they represented counties where anti-Mormon feeling was most bitter. Such a voting pattern fits in with the view that it was the

Whig party which most vehemently opposed the Mormons. What made the difference in 1844-45 was the willingness of Democrats in the Senate to oppose the Mormon Charter. Unfortunately no direct comparison is possible as the Senate vote which prevented the bill for repeal passing to a third reading in March 1843 was not recorded.

35. Alton Telegraph, March 1 1845; Sangamo Journal, February 13, February 27 1845.
36. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 370.
37. J.Brooks ed., On the Mormon Frontier (Univ. of Utah Press, 1964), vol. 1, p. 29; History of the Church, vol.7, pp. 399-400.
38. Times and Seasons, March 1 1845.
39. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 353.
40. Letter of Irene.Hascall to Mrs.U.B.Hascall, July 26 1845, in Irene.Hascall et.al., "Letters of a Proselyte", Utah Historical Quarterly, (1957), January, p. 66.
41. State Register, May 2, May 9, 1845.
42. Warsaw Signal, January 1 1845.
43. Times and Seasons, January 15 1845.
44. Letter of Ann.Pitchforth to "My Dear Father and Mother", April 23 1845; see also J.E.Bennion Letters.
45. Letter of Sarah.Scott to "My Dear Father and Mother", February 6 1845, in G.F.Partridge ed., "The Death of a Mormon Dictator", New England Quarterly, 9, (1936), p. 603. The Sangamo Journal, February 20 1845 noted that a number of Mormons were in Quincy jail on charges of theft.

46. Nauvoo Neighbor, January 9 1845.
47. Nauvoo Neighbor, May 14 1845.
48. State Register, April 24 1845.
49. State Register, April 11 1845.
50. Niles National Register, May 24 1845.
51. Sangamo Journal, January 16 1845.
52. Elliott had been involved in the Avery kidnap and had attended anti-Mormon meetings - see previous Chapter.
53. Warsaw Signal, February 19 1845.
54. Letter of Walter Bagby to "Dear Sister", March 9 1845.
55. Brooks ed., 1964.
56. The father of the brothers, Abraham Hodge, was a policeman in Nauvoo at one time and in June 1848 was elected to the militia organised to repulse the Pottawattomie Indians who were making raids on the brethren moving westward. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 149; vol.7, p. 627. Amos Hodge was one of those who guarded the body of Joseph Smith as it was brought to Nauvoo. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 135.
57. Kelly and Birney state that Bonney was a detective who arrived in the Mississippi valley disguised as a counterfeiter. He apparently used this disguise when tracking the killers of Davenport. C. Kelly & H. Birney, Holy Murder the story of Porter Rockwell (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1934). Ironically, Bonney was later indicted for counterfeiting, but eventually acquitted (see below). He was for some time in contact with Governor

Ford concerning his efforts to clean up the gang on the Mississippi. His allegiances vis-à-vis the Mormons and the agents of control are, therefore, somewhat tangled.

58. E. Bonney, The Banditti of the Prairies or the Murderer's Doom (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson & Bros., 1855); Brooks ed., 1964, pp. 38-39.
59. Gregg, 1890; Sangamo Journal, July 3, August 7 1845; Bonney, 1855.
60. History of the Church, vol. 7, p. 408.
61. Oaks & Hill, 1975, believe that such a decision on the part of Judge Young was unprecedented. Ford, however, in his message to the Illinois Legislature in December 1846, maintained that the anti-Mormons were quite entitled to have the array quashed. Record of the General Assembly of Hancock County 1839-1853.
62. Ford, 1854.
63. See evidence of Thomas English and C. Gorrell, Manuscript of Trial, Chicago Historical Society.
64. Brackenbury and Daniels were later arraigned for perjury. Sangamo Journal, August 7 1845.
65. Bribery is suggested by D. Hill, Joseph Smith the First Mormon (Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1977); Oaks & Hill also speculate along these lines. pp. 174-175.
66. Letter of Walter Bagby to "Dear William", July 2 1845. See also Letters of M.R. Deming of June 24 1845 and July 1 1845.
67. Bagby stated "murder" in his letter of July 2 1845; Gregg, 1890 referred to the charge as "manslaughter".

68. Jack(son).Redden was a bodyguard of Joseph.Smith. Brooks ed., 1964, editors note p. 48. In October 1845 Jackson. Redden (Redding) was involved in a tussle with Dr.R.D. Foster when Foster tried to haul him onto the steamer "Sarah Ann". L.E.Johnson, also on board, had stepped up to Redden "to counsel concerning his father and brother's case." This may be an allusion to the Davenport case. History of the Church, vol.7, pp. 486-7; a Letter of Brother Purport (?) to "Dear Brother", October 27 1845, Chicago Historical Society, may also refer to the affray. The name of the cause of the trouble is here given as "Riding". The relationships between those allegedly involved in the spate of murders are not altogether clear, but it would seem that the culprits were not unconnected. Gregg, 1890 noted that the Longs who were hung for the Davenport murder had supported the alibis of the Hodges.
69. Bonney, 1855.
70. Letter of O.H(?)Hawley to Albert his son, not dated, Chicago Historical Society.
71. Letter of Walter.Bagby to "Dear William", July 2 1845.
72. Alton Telegraph, August 23 1845.
73. The History of Adams County, Illinois (Chicago: Murray, Williamson & Phelps, 1879), p. 113; Flanders, 1965.
74. Tom.Sharp, Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon disturbances in Illinois, Chapter 1, Yale University.
75. Alton Telegraph, September 20 1845. George.Rockwell, in a letter of September 23 1845, gave an estimate of forty to fifty dwellings destroyed.
76. Printed form requesting detention of suspected arsonists, dated October 1 1845, Mason Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

77. Letter of Irene.Hascall to Miss.Ophelia.M.Andrews, July 4 1845, in Irene.Hascall et.al., "Letters of a Proselyte", Utah Historical Quarterly, (1957), January, pp. 69-70. Letter postmarked Nauvoo Sept. 21 1845.
78. Alton Telegraph, September 20 1845.
79. Letter of Brigham.Young et.al. to Governor William.Owsley, April 30 1845, is one example.
80. See G.A.Smith, "Historical Address", in Brigham.Young and others, Journal of Discourses (Liverpool: various dates), vol.13, p. 113. The address is dated 1868.
81. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 439.
82. Tom.Sharp, Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon disturbances in Illinois, Chapter "-", Yale University.
83. For a highly romantic account of the heroism of Worrell's widow in retrieving his body see A.Archbold, A Book for the Married and the Single (Ohio: Practical Preacher, 1850).
84. State Register, December 19 1845.
85. Tom.Sharp, Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon disturbances in Illinois, Chapter "-", Yale University.
See also Letter of George.Rockwell to his Father, September 23 1845; Letter of J.M.Grout to Rev.Charles.Hall, December 1 1845, American Home Missionary Society Collection.
86. There is obscure evidence that a battle took place at Carthage about this time. Many anti-Mormons were believed killed or badly injured. See State Register, September 26 1845; Letter of Warren to Hardin, September 21 1845, Hardin Collection, Chicago Historical Society.
87. Affidavit of J.H.Sherman dated October 2 1845, "Printed Matter" Labelled "Sheet 8", Tom.Sharp, Manuscript History of the

Anti-Mormon disturbances in Illinois, Yale University.
The Alton Telegraph, October 4 1845, stated that Hardin
reached Carthage by the twenty-seventh.

88. Letter of J.M.Grout to Rev.Charles.Hall, December 1 1845,
American Home Missionary Society Collection.
See also Letter of George.Rockwell to his Father, September
23 1845.
89. For one example see "Pass from Backenstos for the safe
passage of Mr.Baker", dated September 23 1845, Hardin
Collection, Chicago Historical Society.
90. The Letter of Deputy Sherif Ferris, September 28 1845,
Hardin Collection, Chicago Historical Society, informed
Hardin that Backenstos' intention had been to protect the
County Commissioners Court.
91. Letter of Montague to Hardin, September 27 1845, Hardin
Collection, Chicago Historical Society.
92. Letter of Brigham.Young to Hardin, September 30 1845, Hardin
Collection, Chicago Historical Society.
93. Letter of Brigham.Young to Hardin, Warren, Douglas &
McDougall, October 1 1845, Hardin Collection, Chicago
Historical Society.
94. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 465.
95. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 386.
96. Times and Seasons, November 1 1845.
97. Times and Seasons, December 15 1845.
98. Times and Seasons, July 15, November 1, 1845.
99. History of the Church, vol.6, p. xciii.

100. The nine counties were Adams, Pike, Marquette, Schuyler, Brown, McDonough, Henderson, Warren and Knox. Hancock was not represented.
101. The citizens of Lee County, Iowa also held a meeting, on October 1 at Montrose, at which it was resolved that the Mormons should leave the county within a reasonable time. Alton Telegraph, November 1 1845.
102. See History of the Church, vol.7, pp. 499-502 for "Backwoodsman's" letter.
103. E.Everett, (1906); Alton Telegraph, November 8 1845. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 486 gives the injured man's name as Lieutenant Edwards.
104. Letter of Richards to Brayman, November 18 1845, Mason. Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.
105. Records relating to the Indictment in Illinois of Brigham. Young and other Apostles of the Mormon Church on charges of Counterfeiting, 1845-1848, Records of the Solicitor of the Treasury, National Archives, Record Group 206.
106. E.Everett, (1906), p. 186.
107. Sangamo Journal, April 30 1846.
108. Letter of Wesley.Williams to "My Dear Son", August 1 1846, Yale University.
109. "Proceedings of a Meeting of the Citizens of Carthage", dated November 18 1845, Mason.Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.
110. Alton Telegraph, May 2 1846.
111. Intimidation of new citizens was believed to deter other buyers. Without buyers the Mormons could not afford wagons

and other necessary equipment with which to begin the trek West. It is a matter for speculation whether or not some of the ultra-anti-Mormons were hoping to prevent the Mormons selling their lands in order to be able to forcibly expel them and then seize the lands at no cost to themselves.

112. Sangamo Journal, June 18 1846; W.A.Linn, The Story of the Mormons (Macmillan, 1902), Book IV "In Illinois"; Gregg, 1890; Warsaw Signal Extra, June 14 1846; "Circular of the New Citizens", dated June 15 1846, Chicago Historical Society.
113. Warsaw Signal Extra, July 16 1846.
114. Letter of Wesley.Williams to "My Dear Son", August 1 1846, Yale University.
115. Hancock Eagle Extra, July 13 1846.
116. The Warsaw Signal asserted that there was some intrigue between these three and "certain independent candidates" to gain the Mormon vote to ensure their return at the forthcoming elections. Warsaw Signal Extra, July 31 1846.
117. Hancock Eagle Extra, August 20 1846.
118. F.Gerhard, Illinois as it is (Chicago: Keen & Lee, 1857); Sangamo Journal, August 13 1846.
119. Ford in his order to Major Flood, had expressed the view that he had hoped he would never again have to intervene in the affairs of Hancock, but that the present state of things was such as he would never have anticipated. Ford to Flood, September 3 1846, Record of the General Assembly of Hancock County 1839-1853.
120. "To the Public" undersigned by citizens of Adams, Hancock, Warren & Brown Counties, dated August 29 1846, Chicago Historical Society.

121. Jas.W.Singleton "To the Public", Chicago Historical Society.
122. These are Warsaw Signal Extra figures taken from the September 14 1846 issue. Ford stated that the strength of the anti-Mormons was about eight hundred men, while that of the Mormons and their allies was between one hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty. Governor Ford's Explanation to the House of Representatives, dated December 7 1846, Record of the General Assembly of Hancock County 1839-1853.
123. A Mormon.
124. Letter of George.Rockwell to his Father, September 20 1846.
125. Letter of Joseph.Heywood to Mrs.Horatio.Shumway, January 3 1847.
126. Proceedings of the Quincy Committee, dated September 19 1846, Chicago Historical Society.
127. One of the most famous descriptions of Mormon suffering is T.L.Kane, The Mormons: a discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania March 26 1850. (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1850).
See also T.L.Kane, Papers and Correspondence relating to the Mormons, Yale University.
128. Letter of George.Rockwell to his Father, November 15 1846.
129. Alton Telegraph, June 25 1847.
130. Sources from the Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints tend to minimise the number of Mormons moving West e.g. S.A.Burgess, The Early History of Nauvoo (RLDS, not dated), states that "a few thousand" followed Young. Similarly, O.F.Berry. "The Mormon Settlement in Illinois", Transactions of the Illinois State Historical

Library, 11, (1906), pp. 2-15, puts the figure for those leaving with Young at "about 2,000". Stanley Kimball, a prominent Utah Mormon writer, implies that the proportion of Mormons leaving Nauvoo was above ninety per cent. See S.B. Kimball, "The Mormons in Illinois, 1838-1846 A special introduction", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 64, (1971), pp. 5-21.

131. History of Hancock County, Illinois Published by the Board of Supervisors of Hancock County, 1968; O.O. Winther ed., The Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane (San Francisco: Gelber-Lilenthal Inc., 1937).
132. For descriptions of the destruction of the Temple and theories as to who might have been responsible see E.C. McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis Inc., 1946), who implicates Tom. Sharp; J.E. Arrington, "Destruction of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 40, (1947), pp. 414-425, who places strong emphasis on the anti-Mormon J.B. Agnew; and Non-Authored, "Recollections of the Nauvoo Temple", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 38, (1945), pp. 481-485 - the actual piece is dated 1853.
133. For one example see McGavin, 1946, p. 257.
134. Letter of J.M. Grout to Rev. C. Hall, November 25 1846, American Home Missionary Society Collection; Letter of George Rockwell to his Father, November 15 1846.
135. See Appendix: 2.
136. T. Rees, "Nauvoo, Illinois, under Mormon and Icarian Occupations", Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, 21, (1929), pp. 506-524.

Chapter 8: Conflict and Sect Development

The main thrust of the previous Chapters has been to discover what the nature of the Mormon-Gentile conflict in Illinois was and what factors influenced the development of that conflict. The emphasis has been on the development of the conflict rather than the development of Mormonism as a religious system or religious organisation. Although in Chapter 2 the religious and social orientations of the Church when it entered Illinois were briefly discussed, and developments in Mormon doctrine have been alluded to along the way, the question of Mormon development qua religious sect has not been tackled directly. What is therefore necessary, by way of conclusion, is a more precise discussion of the influence of the Mormon experience in Illinois on the development of Mormonism as a religious sect. In order to do this it is first necessary to briefly summarise the conclusions of the previous Chapters concerning the nature of the conflict.

Summary of the Nature and Progress of the Mormon/Gentile Conflict

In examining the nature of the conflict certain sociological perspectives and explanatory ideas have been considered in order to determine their possible usefulness in understanding this particular situation. Where criticisms have been made they have been made with a view to noting the limitations of a particular generalisation rather than over-throwing a number of interpretations in favour of one more radical, yet in itself limited because it had been derived from one case study. Indeed it has been stressed

throughout that no one mono-causal explanation of the rise and development of the conflict would be accurate or would even warrant "sociological license". In general it has been considered necessary to stress both the interactional and the structural aspects of the conflict. The transactional view of conflict must be firmly located within the given social structure particularly in the case under review when both parties attempted to use the facilities available within that structure in order to pursue the struggle. Because such facilities were used and because the social interaction which produces conflict reacts upon itself, the issues prominent at any one time were transmuted or changed completely during the course of the conflict. In this sense it would be unwise to reify any one particular element or issue within the conflict at any one time and elevate it as "the" cause of both the generation and escalation of the conflict. The variety of issues and the gamut of ways in which these issues were joined must be retained. The alternative sometimes resorted to is to translate all events into a form which renders them compatible with a single explanatory concept, such as status defence or relative deprivation, for example. This necessarily distorts in the very important sense that it over-emphasises the role of one party to the conflict (the deprived or the status defenders in these cases), thereby tending to pre-empt a truly transactional view of the conflict.

Specifically, the concepts examined here have been those of scapegoating, deviance amplification, relative deprivation and the Smelserian view of collective behaviour. To all of these concepts the general criticism applies that they try to explain

too much without generating propositions specific enough for adequate verification. Each, however, has problems specific to its own framework of explanation.

In Chapter 1 some of the limitations of the notion of scapegoating as an explanatory concept were outlined. It was concluded that scapegoating was in itself a value-laden term portraying one party to the stigmatising campaign as blameless victim, the other as frustrated and looking for any object which would serve as a target for the aggression resulting from that frustration. The sequence of frustration producing aggression and the deflection of that aggression onto a weak minority group was found difficult to substantiate. Such a proposition also ignored the question of the possible stimulus effect of the supposed target of aggression. With reference to the Illinois situation, the period prior to Mormon entry was considered to determine whether there was evidence of rapid social change such as might be considered conducive to a generalised sense of frustration. It was concluded that while there was evidence of economic depression for the period of the late thirties to early forties, there was not sufficient evidence to link anti-Mormon personnel with conscious experience of hard times. Given the deficiencies in the basic premises of scapegoating together with the problem of evidence, it was concluded that attention needed to be given to the more specific aspects of the situation if any kind of explanation was to be offered.

Deviance amplification as a possible model for emphasising the dynamic elements in the conflict has also been criticised. The

main force of the criticism made here is directed at the critical assumption in the deviance amplification model that a hostile public reaction will cause the target of hostility to become more deviant and that this, in turn, will lead to the intensification of intolerance. In Chapter 3 it was argued that all that was required for an escalation of a hostile response was new information about past or present deviance. Once the negative stereotype of Mormon behaviour had been formulated, Mormon behaviour had only to be consistent to escalate the response; new norms productive of new or more intense deviance did not have to be formulated by the Church to inflame the public reaction. It was also highly contingent whether the sect responded to the show of intolerance in such a way as to admit acceptance of the deviant label thrust upon it. In Chapter 5 it was maintained that rejection of the deviant label by the Mormons perpetuated the Moral Crusade by creating a forum for debate concerning the relative credibility of labeller and labelled. Rejection of the deviant label need not propel the sect into further deviance, but may spark conformity in some respects. In the Mormon case there were self-conscious attempts to achieve conformity to the Gentile value, honesty. Deviance amplification may also be criticised for being too heavily dyadic in its characterisation of the interaction between "deviant" and "society", polarising these two parties in a way that is quite unrealistic for the Mormon situation where the Mormons were able to complicate the configuration of parties to the conflict through their ability to form coalitions. The existence of a prolonged Moral Crusade in itself does not provide evidence of an intensification of deviance. Rather, exposure of a religious sect in the press

is symptomatic of the newsworthiness of a particular aspect of a deviant belief system. An acknowledged problem with the deviance amplification model is accounting for de-amplification.¹ The Mormon situation unfortunately throws little light on this problem as the cessation of hostility was brought about by the exhaustion of available targets. On the other hand, it may also be the case in other instances of deviance, particularly those underpinned by a moral crusade in the press, that there is an exhaustion of targets in the sense of a drying up of sources of news about the religious group and/or arrival at a point of saturation, creating a level of boredom predisposing the public to mild acceptance.

Relative deprivation was briefly considered in Chapter 6 because it has been extensively used as an explanation for violent behaviour. As an explanatory concept it suffers from much the same faults as scapegoating. It is too all-inclusive and provides little scope for its own verification or falsification. It may take on the status of an assumption rather than a contention. It would, for example, be difficult to prove that a person was not relatively deprived of something. The notion borders on tautology if one sees it as an all-inclusive cause in this way. To be relatively deprived of political power in 1844 may have been a pre-condition for the occurrence of Gentile violence in that year, but such an explanation would leave out of court more specific situational pre-conditions which would enable one to fully comprehend the social processes leading up to the violent events. Relative deprivation, therefore, says little or nothing about what is likely to occur in the transitional period between

realisation of being relatively deprived of power and the act of collective violence. The mobilisation process is completely ignored. Similarly, the natural history approach to collective behaviour as used by Smelser and others tends to glide over the problems of ascertaining what happens during the process of mobilisation once the belief that all is not well has been established. The difficulties attending an analysis of mobilisation are well illustrated in the Mormon case where it is not easy to find information concerning highly particularistic aspects of grass-roots activity. This is, in part, due to the difficulty of identifying anti-Mormon personnel. Such information as is available and which enables one to interpret the mobilisation process and its aftermath leads one to conclude that the violence set in train by the killing of the Smith brothers in 1844 became routinised. It is the phenomenon of routinisation of violence, either collective or individual, the ability of an incipient popular movement to constantly resuscitate itself for re-mobilisation, which the natural history model bypasses. It is in this sense that Smelser's categories need filling in by being brought to bear more closely upon empirical data. Smelser's categories have a tendency to become reified by the formal structure into which he orders them. There is a strain towards an artificial logical symmetry as the formal components of action pass through his model on their way to reconstitution. Collective behaviour becomes "what happens to the components of action" and ceases to be what people do. The over-neatness of Smelser's schema also predisposes one to indulge in the assumption that social change is a question of action, or its components, becoming more or less general. Collective behaviour in Smelser's work appears to be the result of a formally cumulative transition

from generalised strain at the macro-sociological level to very specific behaviour at the point of outburst of collective behaviour. The movement of collective behaviour from more general to more specific sociological levels, or vice versa, has been shown to be unwarranted. (See Chapter 4).

What one can point to as emerging from an empirical view of one particular conflict situation are certain thresholds which demarcate the successive phases in the escalation of the conflict. Such thresholds are invariably contingent and not sufficient in themselves to determine the actual intensity or variety of conflict which results. The phases of the conflict denote qualitative changes in the nature of the interaction between the protagonists rather than a quantitative accumulation of hostility. In many ways escalation occurs as each party progressively perceives that peaceful co-existence is no longer possible. Such a realisation dawns as the available stock of problem-solving strategies becomes exhausted.

The initial phase of this and any conflict is the perception of deprivation and/or threat by one or more of the parties to the potential conflict. In the Mormon case, the Gentiles became aware of the non-advantageous aspects of Mormon settlement. They felt deprived of economic, social and political advantage and threatened by Mormon religious and political assertiveness. The press played a major role in sensitizing potential anti-Mormons to this perception.

In the second phase of the conflict the Gentiles attempted to control those aspects of Mormon behaviour which they perceived as threatening, using such institutional vehicles of control as existed within the given social structure. These attempts could have been successful but, as it happened, they failed due to the willingness of the Mormons to defend themselves by manipulating their strategic position within the power structure. The use of the political power structure by the Mormons was, in part, legitimised by the religious imperative to build the material Kingdom of God. This made it that much more difficult for Gentiles to put pressure on the Mormons to conform to Gentile norms concerning political behaviour.

When institutional efforts to control the Mormons failed, the awareness of threat was maintained by the moral crusade which rhetorically rehearsed Mormon deviance. As legal and legislative means had proved inadequate, a predisposition to use violence developed. In what might be called the third phase of the conflict, one therefore saw the legitimation of violence in terms of the execution of the will of a people deprived of their normal vehicles of redress. The propensity to use violence was further enhanced by the tacit cultural legitimacy of the use of violent means to solve social contests. Given the longstanding nature of the conflict and the partial restraint of desiring to stay within the law if at all possible, a strong pretext was necessary, together with the presentation of a suitable opportunity, for violence to occur. A pretext was necessary in order to provide a hub around which mobilisation could occur. The conflict had become diffuse over the years as more and more reasons for

opposition to the Mormons were piled up. A specific pretext which could act as a symbol of this diffuse opposition was necessary for effective mobilisation of support for committing a violent act.

The final phase of the conflict was marked by the routinisation of violence and the efforts of the agents of social control to contain the situation. The conflict was protracted as a result of the ineffectiveness of the agents of control in the face of passive public support for the violence inflicted upon the Mormon community, and the growing distrust of the Mormon community of anything Gentile including the agents of control.

What is striking throughout all the phases of the conflict is the relative immovability of the Mormons. Accommodation to Gentile values was only actively sought with respect to the Gentile value of honesty. It has been implied that this lack of conformity and unsusceptibility to informal and formal pressure to conform may be seen to have religious roots. The strongest single root in this regard was the theocratic trait in Mormon thought. This latent undercurrent in Mormon doctrine was not fully developed in 1838, the close of the Missouri and Ohio phases of Mormonism, but became more explicit during the Illinois period. It is therefore surmised that the events of 1838 onwards affected the development of this theocratic trend within Mormonism.

2. Conflict and the Development of Mormonism

A major problem in assessing the probable influence of the

conflict upon Mormon development is avoiding the temptation to explain all changes in doctrine in terms of changes in the social condition of the sect. In the case of Mormonism it would appear advisable to avoid a strictly social constructionist view of the emergence of doctrine as there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to support such an interpretation. This does not necessarily force one to adopt the opposite extreme, namely that Mormonism qua religious sect developed uninfluenced by its social environment. Inspection of the major trends in Mormon beliefs during the Illinois period reveals that certain developments were probably influenced by the conflict, while others developed as a result of theological logic and exposition. It is argued here that the conflict did affect the development of the practical expression of the latent Mormon doctrine of theocracy.

Doctrines which developed seemingly independent of social factors are numerous: Endowments, Celestial Marriage, doctrines concerning Plural Gods, the Resurrection and the Judgment, Mormon views about Death and Baptism of the Dead, being the most obvious examples. Nor would it be accurate to assume that all organisational changes within the Church were geared towards theocratic development. The organisation of the Quorums and the genesis of the auxiliary organisations such as the Female Relief Society, were quite independent of the trend towards theocracy. The articulation of the powers of the Priesthood such as the power of "endless lives", of the doctrine of translation, of sacrifice and so on, while prompting the comment that "priesthood is a perfect law of theocracy, and stands as God to give laws to the people...",²

was not theocratic in the true sense of a priestly order exercising political or civil power. A clear distinction was made between the Priesthood as the organising force within the Church in a liturgical sense, and the Council of Fifty which was the main expression of theocratic organisation in the Illinois period. The Council of Fifty was not considered to be exclusively an organisation of the Church. While many of these ideas and doctrines contributed to the conflict, they can not in themselves be said to have arisen from the conflict.

Having said this it is now possible to go on to discuss the main trends in the development of the theocratic strands within Mormon doctrine in terms of the possible influence of the conflictful environment in which they developed. The theocratic threads within Mormonism consisted of three inter-related religious ideas: notions concerning the Kingdom of God, the Gathering and the Millennium.

The Mormon idea of the Kingdom of God did not receive substantial articulation as a theological principle during the Illinois period. That is, the eschatological view of the Kingdom and how it was to be realised remained essentially as it stood at the beginning of the Nauvoo period. The Kingdom of God was not mentioned in any significant way in the revelations of the period as given in Doctrines and Covenants. Such mentions of it as one finds in the History of the Church are reiterations of past views expressing such ideas as "the Kingdom already exists" and "the Kingdom is not like earthly Kingdoms".³ The Kingdom of God was seen as an earthly Kingdom - a Government of God on earth:

It has been the design of Jehovah, from the commencement of the world, and is His purpose now, to regulate the affairs of the world in His own time, to stand as a head of the universe, and take the reins of government in His own hand. When that is done, judgment will be administered in righteousness; anarchy and confusion will be destroyed, and "nations will learn war no more".⁴

As such it was closely related to the longstanding ideas concerning the Last Days and the total Restoration of the earth which would be made manifest when Christ came again. It was due to the absence of God in government that chaos reigned. It was in such terms that the Mormons justified participation in politics, over and above specific situational reasons of defence. They were putting God back into government. As Sidney Rigdon put it:

I discover one thing: Mankind have labored under one universal mistake about this - viz., salvation was distinct from government; i.e., that I can build a Church without government, and that thing have power to save me !

When God sets up a system of salvation, He sets up a system of government. When I speak of a government, I mean what I say. I mean a government that shall rule over temporal and spiritual affairs.⁵

The Church was the nucleus of the Kingdom of God which would eventually roll forth to fill the whole earth in accordance with the prophecy in Daniel Chapter 2, breaking up all other Kingdoms.

The Mormon view of the millennium obviously coloured their perception of the proximity of the materialisation of the Kingdom. The Mormons, unlike the Millerites or Jehovahs Witnesses did not set a precise date for the fulfilment of the events of the Last Days. During the pre-Utah days, however, the Mormons perceived that the millennium was indeed very close. On February 4 1844, for example, Joseph Smith remarked that the selection of the one hundred and forty four thousand had already commenced. Pre-conditions

for the arrival of the Last Days were laid down in tangible terms:

The spirit of Elias is first, Elijah second, and Messiah last. Elias is a forerunner to prepare the way, and the spirit and power of Elijah is to come after, holding the keys of power, building the Temple to the capstone, placing the seals of the Melchisedec Priesthood upon the house of Israel, and making all things ready; then Messiah comes to His Temple, which is last of all.⁶

"Signs of the Times" figured prominently in the Times and Seasons and were believed to constitute evidence that God was already judging the heathen nations. Such judgments were themselves a means of purifying the nations prior to His universal reign.

"Signs of the Times" as an index of the closeness of the millennium became prominent after the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. There was a discernible heightening of eschatological awareness after such traumatic earthly events. Conflict was clearly consequential in this sphere of influence. Insofar as salvation depended upon receiving Endowments in the Temple and the Temple had to be built hastily because of the hostility which precipitated Mormon removal, conflict may be said to have heightened the sense of ritual emergency.

In order to build the Kingdom and in order to gain the soteriological benefits of certain rituals, the Mormons had to come together - they had to gather to Zion. Gathering was necessary "before the Lord comes to 'take vengeance upon the ungodly'..."⁷ Once Nauvoo had been settled and large tracts of land purchased by the Church, gathering became an economic as well as an eschatological necessity. In April 1844 a major change in the concept of Zion occurred. Formerly Independence, Missouri, had been Zion but had given way to the de facto supremacy of Nauvoo.

At the Conference of the Church in 1844, however, the whole of America was declared to be Zion. Despite this theoretical change, Hyrum Smith stressed that the gathering to Nauvoo was to continue until the Temple was so far finished that the Elders could receive their Endowments. Young later cautioned the Saints not to be in too great haste to move away from Nauvoo to build up stakes in the rest of Zion, but wait until the Lord said go.⁸ The principle of gathering to Nauvoo was maintained even prior to the move West. There was a dual strand within the doctrine of gathering: at the theoretical level, there was a tendency to dilute the notion of Zion as a fixed geographical place; at the practical level, there was a tendency to maintain Nauvoo as Zion so as not to fragment the social and religious organisation of the Church. The tendency towards dilution of Zion as a fixed place may have been influenced by an awareness of the impossibility of maintaining any one area as Zion given the hostility incurred in all previous settlements.

The direct influence of the conflict upon the constitution of doctrines pertinent to the potential theocratic development of the Church was therefore limited. The essential concepts which could religiously legitimise the setting up of a theocratic form of government were firmly imbedded in Mormon doctrine prior to the Illinois period. The conflict had the effect of making these latent concepts manifestly applicable to the Illinois situation. It was the social expression of pre-existing theocratic traits within Mormon doctrine which the conflict influenced, not the intrinsic doctrinal content.

There were two sides to Mormon theocratic development in Illinois; self-rule and rule of others. Self-rule expressed itself in the development of civic government in Nauvoo, while rule of others was expressed in terms of attempts to gain political and social power outside the city. These aspects of Mormon theocracy were necessarily inter-woven to some extent as self-rule was obtained through using the external power structure. It was the crossing or confusion of the boundary between religious and political power necessary to the development of a theocracy which exacerbated the conflict. A major theocratic step was the conscious decision to use the political structure of Gentile society to facilitate the attainment of religious ends. The Mormon view of the material nature of the Kingdom presupposed such a move. For the Mormons, unlike the Witnesses or Doukhobors,⁹ the distinction between eschatological theocracy and "here and now" theocracy was not very sharp.

The inclination to gain security through the acquisition of secular power was a heritage from the Missouri period. In 1834 the Saints had failed to gain redress for the losses they sustained when expelled from Jackson County, Missouri, by relying upon their own devices. After the 1838 expulsion, Joseph Smith turned to the National Government using constitutional arguments rather than a Mormon army to put his case for redress. The Nauvoo Charter may have been conceived as a means of defence or insulation from Gentile interference, as well as being the most rational form of economic and social organisation for a community of that size, given that the Church would wish to raise money and pass ordinances which could only be effected under a charter of incorporation.

The charter was used in a theocratic way to enforce Mormon values such as Temperance and chasteness through such ordinances as the prohibition of traffic in alcohol and the prohibition of brothels. More ambitious was the attempt of the Municipal Court to compete with the jurisdiction of courts outside the city through its interpretation of the habeas corpus provision in the charter.¹⁰ While the administration of the city was not de jure limited to members of the Church, and while at least one Gentile served on the City Council, it was nevertheless the case that, in general, Nauvoo was governed by and for Mormons. The city attempted to extend its powers into the surrounding county and beyond through a more extensive use of habeas corpus, through a denial of the jurisdiction of foreign process for search and seizure of person or property within the city, and through such acts as the abatement of the Nauvoo Expositor. Such extensions of power were a direct response to the attempts made to arrest Smith, and the growing strength of the apostate movement within Nauvoo. They were attempts to protect Zion in order to be able to establish the material Kingdom of God.

A similar argument applies to Mormon participation in State politics. Political activity was seen as a defensive measure in response to Gentile hostility. Joseph Smith explicitly defended the Mormon practice of en bloc voting in terms of its being necessary due to Gentile persecution.¹¹ With the formation of a specifically anti-Mormon party in 1841, the Mormons began to assert their own political influence more blatantly, particularly against the explicitly anti-Mormon Whig candidate for Governor in 1842. Mormon political influence was also used to secure Smith's

release when he was arrested on charges brought by Missouri in 1843. The use of such power was legitimised in religious terms as well as in terms of the right to exercise one's constitutional prerogative. It was God who ultimately secured the political victory for his people:

What is asked for in the name of Jesus Christ will be granted. J.C.Bennett's power fell like the lightning. God was asked not to let Joe.Duncan be governor, and it was so. We asked the Lord to deliver us from Governor Reynolds, of Missouri; and he shot himself, and has gone to hell. As for Squire Warren, of Quincy, it takes two of him to make a shadow.¹²

Most of these early uses of Mormon power could be interpreted as solely defensive actions. Towards the end of 1843, however, one can detect a definite change in the scale and direction of the assertion of Mormon political influence - an assertion which had clear theocratic intent. Towards the end of 1843 the question of "Joseph.Smith for President ?" had been implicitly raised. In January 1844 he was adopted as the Mormon Presidential candidate ostensibly due to the failure of other candidates to undertake to aid the Mormons in their quest for redress from Missouri. A further move which bid fair to extend Mormon power beyond the confines of Illinois, was the framing of an ordinance, to be passed by Congress, to allow the Saints to raise one hundred thousand volunteers to protect emigrants to Texas and Oregon. This ordinance of March 1844 came to nothing as the House of Representatives declined to read it.¹³ Equally ambitious and with the same intention of cementing and extending Mormon rule was the ordinance of December 1843, also presented to Congress, which proposed that Nauvoo should be granted "all the rights, powers, privileges, and immunities belonging to Territories..."¹⁴

If passed, the ordinance would have allowed Joseph. Smith to call upon the forces of the United States, when public safety should require, to quell mobs and protect the innocent.

Organisationally this strengthening of the civil and military power of Nauvoo and the bid for expansion was represented in the "coming out" of the Council of Fifty. In many ways this Council represented the embryonic theocratic organisation which was to find fuller development in the State of Deseret in Utah. Its distinctiveness as a theocratic body lay in its emanating from the Church yet not being, in intention, an exclusively Church organisation. On July 30 1844, for example:

Elders W. Richards and George. A. Smith met in council with Elder Taylor at his house. Bishop George. Miller and Alexander. Badlam wanted them to call together the Council of Fifty and organize the church. They were told that the Council of Fifty was not a church organisation, but was composed of members irrespective of their religious faith, and organized for the purpose of consulting on the best manner of obtaining redress of grievances from our enemies, and to devise means to find and locate in some place where we could live in peace; and that the organization of the church belonged to the priesthood alone.¹⁵

The Council, formed in March 1844, although in prospect much earlier, had also been responsible for Smith's Presidential campaign. It was to constitute the temporal government of Zion and as such represented a growing desire to move towards a realisation of the apocalyptic Kingdom on earth. Bishop George. Miller described the members of the Council as "princes in the Kingdom of God".¹⁶ The material link between the Kingdom of God and Mormon attempts to gain secular power is clearly illustrated in Miller's description of the Council's policy should Smith fail to gain the Presidency. In that event the Mormons would attempt to

make a treaty with Texas to the effect that Texas would grant the Mormons certain territory and acknowledge them as a nation in exchange for an alliance against Mexico.¹⁷

The Council was cloaked in considerable secrecy but what evidence there is suggests that it was very heavily involved in the preparations for the Westward Movement,¹⁸ and may have taken over a certain degree of responsibility for the administration of Nauvoo after the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter. The potential scope of the Council was to govern the whole earth, although this was not made explicit. As a universal form of government it was to include non-Mormons, for being the temporal arm of the Kingdom of God it would rule over the non-religious as well as the faithful and so the latter would have to accept the inclusion of the former in the Council.¹⁹

The theocratic intentions of the Council of Fifty are therefore clear. It is also evident that the events which comprised the conflict in Illinois precipitated its formation and the aggrandisement that it represented. The period 1839-1843 had witnessed a somewhat chequered career for Mormon interests. While accumulating power through the charter and the manipulation of their electoral strength, they had also engendered hostility which potentially could have brought the downfall of Smith, particularly had such hostility resulted in a coalition between anti-Mormons and Missourians. The legacy of their days in Missouri acted as a counter-weight to Mormon success in the political field. The year 1843 saw the finest balance between success and potential danger, precipitating a water-shed in

Mormon fortunes. The Prophet's brother, William, sat in the General Assembly in 1843; the attempt to repeal the Nauvoo Charter had been foiled in this year; the tide of internal dissent had been temporarily halted; Joseph Smith had secured release from arrest on the Missouri charges by enlisting the help of a prominent Whig politician; and this latter success had also vindicated the use of habeas corpus powers by the Nauvoo Municipal Court. But such victories were by no means certain. The political vacillation of the Mormons, leading to the split vote of 1843, had encouraged the revival of anti-Mormonism in more virulent form. The Mormons had exercised their political rights with superficial success but at the same time aroused opposition which rendered that success precarious. What the actual political power of the Mormons was, therefore, became shrouded in ambiguity. Superficially it looked unbounded.

The ambiguity of the Mormon position resulted in Mormon power strategy pointing in two seemingly contradictory directions, at the close of 1843. The Council of Fifty as the policy-making arm of the Church had both defensive and offensive functions. While aware of the hostility being directed towards the Church and making provision for it, the Council attempted to co-ordinate strategies for obtaining additional political and military powers from the National Government. Both protection of the incipient theocratic organisation within Nauvoo and political assertion were compatible with the overarching goal of bringing the material Kingdom of God to fruition. What one was seeing at the close of 1843 was a tremendously ambitious, but perhaps unrealistic, attempt

to reach out for that material Utopia: an attempt to both dominate and defend. Mormon theocratic strategy was thus shaped by the ambiguity of the power position of the Church which was a direct result of the ongoing conflict in Illinois. This strategy was neither introversionist or reformist, but rather insulationist and imperialist. While political activity subsided temporarily, to some degree, after this grandiose manoeuvre failed and the Mormon Prophet met his death, the Mormons did not forsake politics, nor did they give up the theocratic ideal.

3. Importance of the Societal Reaction in Sect Development

The theocratic strain within Mormonism, brought to the fore by the power aspirations of the sect and the heightening of eschatological sensitivity, may be thought of as one of the major developments within the Church which were influenced by the conflict. The important question which remains to be asked is how this theocratic trend, emergent in a hostile environment, relates to the general assumptions concerning the development of religious sects ?

Religious sects are usually characterised as groups of protest originating from religious differences or religious innovations. The sect, because of its distinctiveness in terms of religious belief and practice, which is conducive to a sense of religious elitism, is also thought to be indifferent to or at odds with the society which surrounds it. Faris characterises the sect as a conflict group emerging in a time of social disorganisation.²⁰

Taking a broader view of the notion of sect to include non-religious groups, Sugarman maintains that:

In part, the sociology of the sect is the sociology of how people drop out of the dominant institutions of society, and how they drop into an alternative.²¹

Wilson sees sects as both protest groups and responses to uncertainty.²² Gillin also characterised the early phases of a sect's existence as ones of negative differentiation: not swearing, not wearing expensive clothing, not drinking and so on.²³

The act of schism itself is taken as evidence of at least partial rejection of existing values on the part of the sect. This has in the past been reinforced by the view that sects are the religions of the oppressed and constitute the manifestation of unconscious deprivation in religious form. This view, found in Niebuhr's work, has been further articulated by Glock.²⁴ Glock maintains that there are distinct forms of deprivation; economic, social, organismic, ethical and psychic, which spawn particular forms of sect. The African Methodist Church, for example, is seen as a response to social deprivation experienced as religious deprivation. The form or type of deprivation, for Glock, influences the development of the sect:

Movements arising out of economic deprivation tend to follow a pattern of either disappearing relatively quickly or of having to change their organisational form to survive.²⁵

This view has been seriously challenged by those who point to the variety of motivations which may prompt a person to join a sect, and to the heterogeneity of the class composition of many religious sects.²⁶

The elements of protest and conflict with wider society become even more important in the opinion of certain writers when

they attempt to characterise the development of the sect. The type or social form called "sect" is used in contradistinction to the type "denomination" which itself is distinguished from the type "church". Building upon the heritage of Troeltsch and Niebuhr, sociologists have characterised the transition from sect to denomination as the re-socialisation of the sectarian into the dominant values of society. The sect then progresses to the status of "denomination" when it becomes conformist and respectable, forsaking the protests of its idealistic youth. Specific characteristics have been pointed to as exemplifying the distinction between the two forms. Wilson, for example, characterises a sect as a voluntary association where membership is attained by proof of merit, where exclusivity is emphasised, and where the unworthy are expelled. Its self-conception is of being an elect, a gathered remnant and the personal goal of members is perfection. In its organisation the sect stresses the priesthood of all believers and in its attitude to the world it is indifferent or hostile. The denomination, by contrast, accepts members through formalised procedures rather than a test of merit and tends to be more tolerant with regard to expulsion. Its self-conception is unclear and it is less dogmatic about doctrine, while the commitment of members is not as intense as in the sect. Its notions of the religious world are pluralistic rather than elitist and the denomination accepts the values of the prevailing culture. Its ministers are trained and lay participation is restricted.²⁷ A sect is thus distinguished from a denomination by criteria which signify "apartness", both doctrinal and social. The sect is considered to be at a distance from what is considered to be the social and doctrinal norms of

the day. Once the sect moves towards a more accommodating position, "from a position of protest and separation to one of general cultural conformity",²⁸ it becomes a denomination, or, more correctly, undergoes denominationalisation, but perhaps does not go far enough along the road to arrive at the polar type.

Wilson has pointed out that this dichotomous typology of sect and denomination, when standing alone, is not very useful in the analysis of sect development. Others such as Isichei have pointed out that some sects exhibit both sectarian and denominational characteristics at different times.²⁹ In her study of the Quakers, Isichei noted that this religious group had moved through successive phases of outward and inward orientation. The Mormons too present a problem for this kind of categorisation. Their theocratic inclinations manifested themselves through an acceptance of society's means but without acceptance of society's goals. It would be difficult to categorise them on the basis of partial conformity. Similarly, it would be difficult to interpret the Mormon acceptance of non-Mormons into the government of the Kingdom of God as denominational because it appeared to represent a breaking down of sectarian exclusivity. One could ask questions about Mormon development similar to those posed by Isichei about Quaker development and come up with much the same conclusion, namely that the sect may demonstrate both inward and outward orientations. The Mormons were able to maintain a balance between extroversion and participation in society on the one hand, and maintenance of distinctiveness on the other.

The usefulness of posing two polar types such as "sect" and "denomination" would therefore seem open to question. They would appear to be too rigid to enable one to describe what happens as a sect develops. Wilson moved on to look at specific types of sect in order to avoid the stark aridity of these constructs. What is proposed here is that one should look not at the initial and final stages of development but at the process of development itself. The aim should be to describe as accurately as possible the defining characteristic of that development, for this is what essentially lies behind the types "sect" and "denomination". Rather than define the stages of development, one should look at what is sociologically interesting about the process itself.

What the sect is in contradistinction to the denomination is basically a religiously and socially deviant group. It is religiously deviant as a result of an act of schism or religious innovation, and socially deviant due to its all-inclusive demands on its members and its hostile or indifferent orientation to its social environment. What the process of transition from "sect" to "denomination" appears to be is a dilution of this deviant orientation. The social significance of this transition may be grasped by considering the transactional nature of the social construction of deviance. It is not the sect alone which decides whether or not it is deviant, or how deviant it is. The label "deviant" is assigned by society and it is therefore society which actively defines, in part, the sectarian nature of the "sect". Many sects rely upon a certain degree of public reaction to confirm their distinctiveness.³⁰ The exclusivity of the sect paradoxically involves the social world, requiring it to help

maintain the boundary between sect and society.

The inclusion of society as an active agent in the process of transition from "sect" to "denomination" introduces new variables into the debate about what constitutes, and what affects, the process. The most important factor affecting the process is secularisation. If one defines secularisation as the declining significance of the sacred in social life, it follows that as secularisation progresses, religious doctrines will become more detached from the everyday social world. Religious or doctrinal deviance, in the sense of novel or heretical doctrine would, under such circumstances, be less likely to be seen as socially unacceptable. Such deviance would be regarded as esoteric or idiosyncratic and would be less likely to engender a hostile relationship between sect and society. Superficially this may have a denominationalising tendency in that sects which were doctrinally deviant may come to be viewed as more acceptable.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that those religious groups termed "sects", as opposed to "cults", are groups which arouse opposition on the basis of those aspects of members' behaviour which are considered to be "social" rather than on the basis of ritual behaviour or doctrinal belief. "Social" is used here not in the sense of wholly secular but refers to that form of deviance which is defined as socially salient and which is religiously legitimated. The Jehovahs Witnesses are publicly known as sectarians for their misunderstood pacifism, their opposition to blood transfusions and their legal battles in the United States over the question of whether their children

should salute the American flag in school. Similarly, the Doukhobors were identified as distinctive not as a result of heresy per se but through the nude parades of the Sons of Freedom, the difficulties which arose with the Canadian Government over their refusal to comply with land registration and educational requirements, and their own "pacifist" stance. Again, one can trace in the emergence of the public image of the Church of Scientology as sectarian, opposition to practices which affected the social interaction of members with non-members such as "disconnection". New sects which experience opposition do so largely because their tenets seem to threaten hallowed, yet "secular", institutions such as the family. Growing "sects" which do not experience labelling as deviant appear to be those which, while doctrinally esoteric, conform to the dominant values and norms of their host societies: Transcendental Meditation, Eckankar and the Aetherius Society are cases in point. Moreover, such groups are usually termed "cults" in everyday language rather than "sects". The social ascription of the term "sect" therefore implies social rather than doctrinal deviance.

It was because Mormonism exhibited this kind of sectarianism - doctrinal deviance and religiously legitimated behaviour which was defined as deviant and threatening - that it aroused the hostility it did. One specific example of this kind of intrusion of the "religious" into the "secular" was the implementation of Mormon theocratic ideas. Entry into politics as an extension of one's religion was perceived as deviant and threatening by the people of Western Illinois. (See Chapters 2 & 3). The aspects of Mormon behaviour most complained of were thieving, excessive

religiosity and the illegitimate use of political and judicial power. All but one of these are social in orientation and all, excluding theft, were religiously legitimated. Thus even given the pluralistic environment of the United States, the Mormons were contemporarily considered "sectarian" because of their religiously legitimated deviant behaviour.

Mormonism has moved away from this stark sectarian image towards a degree of social acceptance, although it has maintained its distinctiveness. In the present context this balance is interpreted as a balance between doctrinal deviance per se and the social deviance which is perceived by non-members to arise out of adherence to the sect's doctrines. Mormonism is still considered, by some, to be both doctrinally deviant and, in some respects, socially deviant. Social deviance, however, insofar as it is perceived to exist, manifests itself in what are considered to be minor infringements of the norms of acceptable behaviour, such as not drinking alcohol, tea or coffee. While such behaviour may be defined as deviant, it is not considered to be threatening. This transition has been heavily influenced by the other variable thrown up by the transactional view of deviance, namely, the societal response to the sect. The societal reaction has been viewed as a possible control mechanism seeking to drag the sect into a position of conformity. When "society" raises the cry of deviant it automatically puts forward a bid to control that deviance. If this control attempt is successful, the "sect" becomes more acceptable and less "sectarian". The clearest example of this with respect to the Mormons was the success of the anti-polygamy campaign of the

eighteen sixties to eighteen eighties, which attempted to weaken the theocratic organisation of the Church in Utah at the same time. The Mormons have also been responsive to other, more subtle, pressures to conformity, namely civil rights pressure for the more equal treatment of the negro. Similarly, the Doukhobors gave way under social pressure to adopt a less uncompromising attitude towards land registration, while the Church of Scientology halted the practice of disconnection. Such a control function was not successful, however, in the Illinois period of Mormonism insofar as social pressures were unable to secure the conformity of the Mormons within the Hancock County community. It was this failure which contributed to the protracted nature of the conflict and the ultimate "solution" of vicinal separation.

What is often seen as sectarian accommodation to the world would therefore seem to some extent dependent upon what "the world" requires the sect to accommodate to. The sectarian nature of a religious group is to this extent relative from place to place and from time to time. The student of sect development is therefore obliged to look not only at changes within the sect but at the sect's social context and the societal reaction to the sect which determine to what extent the group is considered deviant. The Mormon experience in Illinois aptly demonstrates the importance of looking not only at doctrinal deviance but also at religiously legitimated social deviance, for it is this which lies at the foundation of what in everyday speech is termed a "religious sect". In other words one should pay significant attention to the process whereby the group is defined as deviant and how the group reacts

to that ascription. "Sectarianism" thus encompasses more than a stylised form of doctrinal and organisational radicalism, it is the product of a process of social interaction between sect and society. As such it is a relative term and its applicability is subject to constant change.

Notes for Chapter 8

1. S.Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics (Paladin, 1973), discusses this problem.
2. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 555.
3. See, for example, History of the Church, vol.5, pp. 256-259.
4. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 63.
5. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 292.
6. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 254.
7. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 272.
8. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 258.
9. Both Jehovahs Witnesses and Doukhobors abjure the earthly Kingdom as a lesser Kingdom, participation in which is an unpleasant necessity. The world is evil, the Kingdom divine: the one can not partake of the nature of the other.
10. See Appendix: 3, Nauvoo Charter, section 17.
11. History of the Church, vol.5, p. 232.
12. "Brigham.Young's Instruction to the Elders", History of the Church, vol.6, pp. 325-326.
13. See History of the Church, vol.6, footnote p. 282.
14. History of the Church, vol.6, p. 131.

15. History of the Church, vol.7, p. 213.
16. W.Watson compiler, Correspondence of Bishop George.Miller with the Northern Islander from his first acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the close of his life. Written by himself in the year 1855, p. 20.
17. Correspondence of George.Miller, 1855. Although negotiations regarding the Texas venture appeared promising, Brigham. Young would have nothing to do with the scheme after the death of Joseph.Smith.
18. J.Brooks ed., On the Mormon Frontier (Univ. of Utah Press, 1964), vol.1, p. 105.
19. History of the Church, vol.7, pp. 381-382.
20. E.Faris, "The Sect and the Sectarian", in E.Faris, The Nature of Human Nature (McGraw Hill, 1937), pp. 46-60.
21. B.Sugarman, "Reluctant Converts", in R.Wallis ed., Sectarianism (London: Peter.Owen, 1975), p. 158.
22. B.Wilson, "American Religious Sects in Europe", in C.W.E.Bigsby ed., Superculture: American Popular Culture and Europe (London: Paul.Elek, 1975), pp. 107-122.
23. J.L.Gillin, "A Contribution to the Sociology of Sects", American Journal of Sociology, 16, (1910), pp. 236-252.
24. C.Y.Glock, "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups", in R.Lee & M.E.Marty eds., Religion and Social Conflict (Oxford Univ.Press, 1964), pp. 24-36.
25. Glock (1964), p. 33.
26. See A.W.Eister, "Toward a Radical Critique of Church-Sect Typologizing", Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,

- 6, (1967), pp. 85-90; J.A.Beckford, The Trumpet of Prophecy (Oxford: Basil.Blackwell, 1975); R.Wallis, The Road to Total Freedom (London: Heinemann, 1976).
27. B.Wilson ed., Patterns of Sectarianism (London: Heinemann, 1967), "Introduction", and, "An Analysis of Sect Development".
28. B.Wilson, Religious Sects (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), p. 235.
29. See E.Isichei, "From Sect to Denomination among English Quakers", and E.Isichei, "Organisation and Power in the Society of Friends 1852-59", both in Wilson ed., 1967.
30. The Sons of Freedom movement among the Doukhobors found it useful to shock and offend the Canadian public in order to draw the attention of their laxer brethren to the need for asceticism. See G.Woodcock and I.Avakumovi, The Doukhobors (Faber & Faber, 1968).

Appendices

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Appendix 1: Anti-Mormon Personnel

Occupations of Anti-Mormons (Non-Mormon Source)¹

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Thomas.Sharp*	Lawyer until c. 1841. Journalist. Land speculator (?).
Walter .Bagby	Tax Assessor. Financial difficulties in 1844.
Mark.Aldrich*	Studied law - abandoned studies. Worked for the American Fur Company. Elected to legislature 1836 - re-elected.
George.Rockwell*	Ran a drug store.
George.Weston	Probably a mechanic - but was subsistence farming - not very well.
Wm.N.Grover	Attorney and counsellor at law.
James .Boman	Land owner.
Johnson .Irwin	Farmer.
J.T.Johnson	Successful stock raiser.
Lyman.L.Calkins	Farmer.
W.W.Chittenden*	Merchant of some kind.
James.B.Hill (Born 1830)	Machinist and engineer on the Mississippi river.
J.M.Ferris	Lawyer and justice of the peace.
J.C.Davis*	Politician - state senator.

1. This list is derived from the biographical information given in Thomas. Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: C.Chapman & Co., 1880), and from letters by anti-Mormons. The biographies given by Gregg are often only one or two paragraphs long and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the occupation cited was being followed prior to or during the Mormon period. Where more than one occupation is listed these are either reproduced severally, or, where possible, the occupation followed at the time of the Mormon settlement is given.

* This indicates that the person can be identified as a Mason. This information has been gleaned from various sources, but principally from the Returns of the Hancock Lodge and the Warsaw Lodge for the year 1844. (Made available by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Illinois).

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Thomas.H.Owen	Baptist minister, politician - later (1846) postmaster.
L(ewis ?).C.Stevenson	Cabinet and furniture business - later farmer.
Franklin.A.Worrell	Engaged in merchandising.
Charles.L.Cochran	Farming.
Harlow.Hosford	Farmer and stock raiser.
Samuel.F.Pray	Farmer, stock raiser, sometime diver in the Mississippi seeking wrecked boats.
General.R.F.Smith	Harness and saddlery trade. Farming (?).
Robert.McConnell	in Hancock from 1845 on - Farmer.
Gilbert.Earl	in Hancock 1844 on. Arrived poor - made good - Farmer.
James.Ogden (Born 1829)	in Hancock 1842 on with mother. Impressed to serve with anti-Mormons. Later went prospecting in California.
Captain.James.Logan	Mercantile business - owner of a brickyard. Capt. of the "Bloody Pontoosucians" in driving out Mormons.
John.M.Finch	Steamboating and speculating - owner of one of the best steamers on the Mississippi. 1841 engaged in trade with Mr.Rollosson in Nauvoo until death of the Smiths. First postmaster of city (Dallas ?) - sometime Mayor.
Benoni.Mendenhall	Farmer
Jacob.Mendenhall	Farmer. Slowly successful - justice of the peace.
Thomas.Gregg	Journalist.

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Occupations of Anti-Mormons (Mormon Source)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Thomas.Sharp*	Editor of <u>Warsaw</u> <u>Signal</u> .	not stated
Colonel.Levi.Williams*	Farmer.	Green Plains
Wm.N.Grover	Lawyer.	Warsaw
J.C.Davis*	Lawyer.	Warsaw
Mark.Aldrich*	No business.	Warsaw
Henry.Stephens*	Lawyer.	Warsaw
George.Rockwell*	Druggist.	Warsaw
James.H.Wood	Blacksmith	Warsaw
Calvin.Cole*	Tavernkeeper	Warsaw
William.B.Chipley	Doctor.	Warsaw
---.Hays	Doctor.	Warsaw
J.D.Mellen	Merchant.	Warsaw
E.W.Gould	Merchant.	Warsaw
Samuel.Fleming	Constable.	Warsaw
John.Montague*	No business.	Warsaw
Jas.Gregg	No business.	Warsaw
J.C.Elliot	No business.	Warsaw
Lyman.Prentiss*	No business	Warsaw
D.W.Matthews	Merchant.	St.Louis (now)
J.B.Matthews	Merchant	St.Louis (now)
Trueman.Hosford	Farmer.	Warsaw
J.W.Athey	No business.	Warsaw
Onias.C.Skinner*	Lawyer.	Quincy (now)
Calvin.A.Warren	Lawyer.	Quincy

1. This list was supplied by sheriff J.B.Backenstos in a letter to Church leaders. It is inserted in the History of the Church, Period II, under the date of June 29, 1844. From internal evidence, however, the letter must have been written in late 1845. Sheriff Backenstos was always considered pro-Mormon by the anti-Mormons whose activities he tried to curb. The list is copied from H.of.C. vol. 7, pp. 143-144. Persons for whom occupations are not given have been omitted.

* Indicates that the person can be identified as a Mason.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Residence</u>
George.W.Thatcher*	County Clerk.	Carthage
James.W.Brattle	Land Shark.	Carthage
Alexander.Sympson*	Land Shark.	Carthage
Jason.H.Sherman	Lawyer.	Carthage
Michael.Reckard	Farmer.	$\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Carthage
Thomas.Morrison	Lawyer.	Carthage
E.S.Freeman*	Blacksmith.	Carthage
Thomas.L.Barnes	Quack Doctor.	Carthage
John.Wilson	Tavernkeeper.	Carthage
Edward.Jones	Farmer.	5miles north of Carthage
Captain.James.E.Dunn	Tavernkeeper.	Augusta
Joel.Catlin	Farmer etc.	Augusta
William.D.Abernethy	Farmer etc.	Augusta
Erastus.Austin	Constable etc.	not given
---.Austin	Loafer.	not given
Reuben.Graves	Farmer.	St.Mary's
Henry.Garnett	Farmer.	St.Mary's
F.J.Bartlett*	Miller.	St.Mary's
Valentine.Wilson	Farmer.	St.Mary's
Sylvester.M.Bartlett	Editor of <u>Quincy</u> <u>Whig</u> .	not given
Major.W.B.Warren	"A damned villain".	not given
Colonel.---.Gettis	Farmer.	Fountain Green
Matthews.McClaughny	Farmer.	Fountain Green
Nickerson.Wright	Farmer.	Fountain Green
John.McAuley	"One of the worst men in Hancock"	Camp Creek

Appendix: 2Election Returns for Hancock CountyPresidential, Gubernatorial and Congressional Elections

<u>Office</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Whig</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Representatives in the 26th Congress	1838	Third District ¹	J. T. Stuart	S. A. Douglas
		Adams County	<u>18254</u>	18218
		Hancock County	982	<u>1104</u>
			<u>629</u>	458
Governor	1838	Illinois	C. Edwards	T. Carlin
		Adams County	29722	<u>30648</u>
		Hancock County	895	<u>1179</u>
			<u>633</u>	436
Lieutenant Governor	1838	Illinois	W. H. Davidson	S. H. Anderson
		Adams County	28808	<u>30410</u>
		Hancock County	935	<u>1112</u>
			<u>630</u>	383
President	1840 ²	Illinois	Harrison	VanBuren
		Adams County	45576	<u>47443</u>
		Hancock County	<u>1617</u>	1352
			<u>1352</u>	624

Office	Year	Electoral District	Whig	Democrat
Representatives in the 27th Congress	1841	Third District	J. T. Stuart	J. H. Ralston
			<u>21698</u>	19553
		Adams County	<u>1557</u>	1421
		Hancock County	<u>1201</u>	523
Governor	1842	Illinois	J. Duncan	T. Ford
			39020	<u>46507</u>
		Adams County	<u>1524</u>	1421
		Hancock County	711	<u>1748</u>
Representatives in the 28th Congress	1843	Sixth District	C. Walker	J. P. Hoge
			7222	<u>7796</u>
		Hancock County	733	<u>2088</u>
Representatives in the 29th Congress	1844	Sixth District	M. P. Sweet	J. P. Hoge
			7563	<u>8752</u>
		Hancock County	702	<u>2251</u>
President	1844	Illinois	H. Clay	J. K. Polk
			45931	<u>58982</u>
		Hancock County	747	<u>1399</u>

<u>Office</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Whig</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Representatives in the 30th Congress	1846	Sixth District	J. Knox	T. J. Turner
		Hancock County	8456	<u>8843</u>
Governor	1846	Illinois	T. M. Killpatrick	A. C. French
			Hancock County	37033
			819	<u>1448</u>

Source: T. C. Pease, Illinois Election Returns (Springfield Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923).

1. Adams and Hancock Counties were in the same electoral district for Congressional elections until the re-apportionment effective in 1843. Figures for Adams are not given after this date.
2. Liberty Party figures are not given here or subsequently.

General Assembly Elections

<u>Office</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Whig</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Senator in the	1838	District	S.H.Little	T.H.Owen
11th General Assembly		Hancock County	<u>1067</u>	729
			<u>699</u>	<u>387</u>
Representatives in the	1838	Hancock County	M.Aldrich	
11th General Assembly			<u>578</u>	
			W.H.Roosevelt (political designation)	
			<u>344</u>	not given
Representatives in the	1840	Hancock County	J.F.Charles	
12th General Assembly			<u>1042</u>	
			M.McGregor (political designation)	
			<u>669</u>	not given
Senator in the	1842	Hancock County	J.F.Charles	J.C.Davis
13th General Assembly			167	<u>1530</u>
			W.H.Roosevelt (political designation)	
			620	not given
			S.Rigdon ¹	
				1

Office	Year	Electoral District	Whig	Democrat
Representatives in the 13th General Assembly	1842	Hancock County	E. Whitney	T. H. Owen
			546	<u>1603</u> W. Smith ²
				<u>1459</u>
Representatives in the 14th General Assembly	1844	Hancock County		J. B. Backenstos
				<u>1809</u> A. W. Babbit
				<u>1773</u> O. C. Skinner (Political designation)
			1080	not given
Senator in the 15th General Assembly	1846	Hancock County		J. C. Davis
				<u>1204</u> W. H. Roosevelt (Political designation)
				957
Representatives in the 15th General Assembly	1846	Hancock County	T. Morrison	
				<u>1298</u> J. Stark
				<u>1282</u> W. Darnell (Political designation)
			891	not given

Office	Year	Electoral District	Whig	Democrat
Members of the	1847	Hancock County	R. Miller	C. Choate
Constitutional			<u>871</u>	<u>1129</u>
Convention			T. Geddes	T. C. Sharpe ³
			<u>723</u>	<u>767</u>
				G. S. Moore
				<u>710</u>

Source: T.C.Pease, Illinois Election Returns (Springfield Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923).

1. Sidney Rigdon was a prominent Mormon. His poor showing demonstrates a tendency for the Mormons to vote for one of the dominant parties rather than run and support "Church" candidates as independents.
2. A brother of Joseph Smith.
3. Editor of the anti-Mormon newspaper the Warsaw Signal.

County Elections

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
County Commissioners	1839	J. McAuley	583
		A. I. Chittenden**?	289
Recorder	1839	C. Robison	425
		W. Williams	284
		J. F. Charles	271
Surveyor	1839	J. W. Williams	711
Probate Judge	1839	M. McGregor	651
		C. Turner	12
Treasurer	1839	S. Thompson	545
		G. W. Thatcher**	359
County Clerk	1839	S. Marshall	745
Sheriff	1840	W. D. Abernethy**	995
		E. G. Haggard	723
County Commissioner	1840	S. Comer	1155
		J. Weston**	558

* Indicates that the candidate can be identified as a Mormon.

** Indicates that the candidate can be identified as an anti-Mormon, although not necessarily standing as an anti-Mormon candidate or an anti-Mormon at the time of the election.

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
Coroner	1840	H.T. Wilson**	1057
		G.W. Stigall**?	626
County Commissioner	1841	R. Miller**	800
		J.T. Barnett* ??	776
		E. Worrell**	30
School Commissioner	1841	R. Wilton**	852
		W. Bagby**	848
Sherif	1842	W.H. Backenstos	1493
		S.H. Tyler**	789
		G.A. Chittenden**?	120
School Commissioner	1842	F.J. Bartlett**	1596
		W.D. Abernethy**	805
County Commissioner	1842	J.T. Barnett* ??	1540
		J.J. Brent	567
		J. Porter	167
Coroner	1842	G.W. Stigall**?	1595
		J.A. McCause	281
		B. Avise	221

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
County Clerk	1843	G.W.Thatcher**	1522
		S.Ermons (Ermons**)	922
		F.J.Bartlett**	86
Recorder	1843	C.Robison	1430
		J.A.Forgeus*	1216
School Commissioner	1843	R.D.Foster* (Later**)	1553
		B.Avise	865
Probate Judge	1843	J.Adams	1604
		E.Rand	1029
County Commissioner	1843	A.H.Perkins*	1641
		A.Hamilton	530
		C.C.Main	425
Treasurer	1843	J.P.Haggard	2114
		J.W.Brattle**	622
Surveyor	1843	J.W.Williams	2007
		A.Ripley*	642
Probate Judge (Adams died)	1843	D.Greenleaf	945
		E.Rand**?	347
County Commissioner	1844	G.Coulson*	1830
		F.J.Bartlett**	832

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
Sherif	1844	M. R. Deming	1911
		E. Whitney**	871
Coroner	1844	D. H. Wells	1838
		D. R. Green	867
County Commissioner	1845	G. Walker*?	2236
		Scattering no opposition	132
School Commissioner	1845	C. Robison	2352
		Scattering no opposition	35
Treasurer	1845	E. B. Rose	2233
		Scattering no opposition	53
Sherif (Deming died)	1845	J. B. Backenstos	2334
		J. Scott	750
Sherif	1846	M. Couchman	1278
		M. Aldrich**	887
		S. Fleming**	78
Coroner	1846	W. S. Moore	1323
		D. Bell	875
Treasurer and Assessor	1846	J. W. Brattle**	1292
		J. P. Haggard	874

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
County Commissioners	1846	F. Walton	1331
		D. N. Bainter	1332
		J. M. Renshaw	1348
		U. Dodd	878
		J. Lamb	873
		N. Prentice	871
Recorder	1846	R. F. Smith**	276
	Special Election	J. Carlin	157
		T. C. Sharp**	213
County Commissioner	1847	J. M. Renshaw	1491
Probate Judge	1847	D. Greenleaf	842
		J. Berry	557
Recorder	1847	J. Carlin	822
		R. F. Smith**	685
Clerk of Commissioners'	1847	G. W. Thatcher**	832
Court		C. C. Stevens**	277
		A. Cherrill	163
		H. R. Chittenden***	98
		W. D. Abernethy**	57
		C. Winston	72

Office	Year	Candidate	Poll
School Commissioner	1847	M. Rickard (if Reckard**)	986
		J. H. Sherman**	248
Treasurer	1847	W. G. Yetter	788
		J. W. Brattle**	665
Surveyor	1847	J. W. Williams	1257

Source: T. Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880).

Attribution of anti-Mormon and Mormon status taken from the History of the Church
and various other sources.

Appendix: 3Nauvoo CharterAn Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo¹

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois represented in the General Assembly -

That all that district of country embraced within the following boundaries To wit - beginning at the North East corner of section thirtyone in Township seven, North of Range eight West of the fourth principal Meridian in the Country of Hancock, and running thence West to the North West Corner of said section, thence North to the Mississippi River, thence West to the middle of the main channel of the said River, thence down the middle of said channel to a point due West of the South East corner of fractional section No twelve, in Township six North of range nine West of the fourth principal Meridian, thence East to the South East corner of said section twelve, thence North on the Range line between Township six North and Range eight and nine West, to the South West corner of section six in Township six, North of Range Eight West, thence East to the South East Corner of said section, thence North to the place of beginning, including the town plats of Commerce and "Nauvoo" shall hereafter be called and known by the name of the "City of Nauvoo". And the inhabitants thereof are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic by the name aforesaid, and shall have perpetual succession, and may have and use a common seal, which they may change and alter at pleasure.

Sect. 2. Whenever any tract of land adjoining the "City of Nauvoo" shall have been laid out into town lots, and duly recorded according to law, the same shall form a part of the "City of Nauvoo".

Sec. 3. The inhabitants of said city, by the name and style

aforesaid shall have power to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended in all courts of Law and equity, and in all actions whatsoever; to purchase receive and hold property real and personal in said city, to purchase receive and hold real property beyond the city for burying grounds, or for other public purposes for the use of the inhabitants of said city; to sell lease, convey or dispose of property real and personal, for the benefit of the city, to improve and protect such property and to do all other things in relation thereto as natural persons.

Sec. 4. There shall be a city council to consist of a Mayor, four aldermen and nine councillors, who shall have the qualifications of electors of said city, and shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, and shall hold their offices for two years and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The city council shall judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of their own members and a majority of them shall form a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members under such penalties as may be prescribed by ordinance.

Sec. 5. The Mayor Aldermen and Councillors before entering upon the duties of their offices shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation that they will support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and that they will well and truly perform the duties of their offices to the best of their skill and abilities.

Sec. 6. On the first Monday of February next and every two years thereafter, an election shall be held for the election of one Mayor, four Aldermen, and nine Councillors; and at the first election under this act, three Judges shall be chosen viva voce by the Electors present; the said Judges shall choose two clerks, and the Judges and Clerks before entering upon their duties shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation such as is now required by law to be taken by Judges and Clerks of other elections; and

at all subsequent elections, the necessary number of Judges and Clerks shall be appointed by the City Council. At the first election so held the Polls shall be opened at Nine O Clock A.M. and closed at six O Clock P.M. at the close of the polls the votes shall be counted and a statement thereof proclaimed at the front door of the house at which said election shall be held; and the Clerks shall leave with each person elected or at his usual place of residence within five days after the election a written notice of his election. And each person so notified shall within ten days after the election take the oath or affirmation herein before mentioned a certificate of which oath shall be deposited with the Recorder whose appointment is hereafter provided for and be by him preserved, and all subsequent elections shall be held, conducted, and returns thereof made as may be provided for by Ordinance of the City Council.

Sec. 7. All free white male inhabitants who are of the age of twenty one years, who are entitled to vote for State officers, and who shall have been actual residents of said city sixty days next preceeding said Election shall be entitled to vote for city officers.

Sec. 8. The City Council shall have authority to levy and collect taxes for city purposes upon all property real and personal, within the limits of the city not exceeding one half per cent per annum upon the assessed value thereof, and may enforce the payment of the same in any manner to be provided by Ordinance not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State.

Sec. 9. The City Council shall have power to appoint a Recorder, Treasurer, Assessor, Marshall, Supervisor of Streets, and all such other officers as may be necessary and to prescribe their duties and remove them from office at pleasure.

Sec. 10. The City Council shall have power to require of all officers appointed in pursuance of this act bonds with penalty and security, for the faithful performance of their respective

duties, such as may be deemed expedient; and also to require all officers appointed as aforesaid to take an oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their respective offices.

Sec. 11. The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all such Ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, convenience and cleanliness of said city; for the protection of property therein from destruction by fire or otherwise, and for the health and happiness thereof they shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen by death resignation or removal in any of the offices herein made elective; to fix and establish all the fees of the Officers of said Corporation not herein established, to impose such fines not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence as they may deem just, for refusing to accept any office in or under the Corporation, or for misconduct therein. To divide the city into wards, to add to the number of Aldermen and Councillors, and apportion them among the several wards, as may be most just and conducive to the interest of the City.

Sec. 12. To license, tax, and regulate auctions, merchants, Retailors, Grocers, Hawkers, Pedlers, Brokers² Pawn Brokers, and money changers.

Sec. 13. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city by Ordinance, to licence, regulate and restrain, the keeping of Ferries, to regulate the Police of the city; to impose fines forfeitures and penalties for the breach of any ordinance and provide for the recovery of such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties, and to pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act. Provided such ordinances are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State. And in fine to exercise such other Legislative powers as are conferred on the City Council of the City of Springfield, by an act entitled "an act to incorporate the City of Springfield approved February third one thousand eight hundred and forty."³

Sec. 14. All ordinances passed by the City Council shall within one month after they shall have been passed, be published in some Newspaper printed in the city, or certified copies thereof be posted up in three of the most public places in the city.

Sec. 15. All ordinances of the city may be proven by the Seal of the Corporation, and when printed or published in Book or Pamphlet form purporting to be printed or published by authority of the Corporation, the same shall be received in evidence in all Courts or places without further proof.

Sec. 16. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be conservators of the peace within the limits of said city, and shall have all the powers of Justices of the Peace therein, both in civil and criminal cases arising under the Laws of the State. They shall as Justices of the Peace within the limits of said city perform the same duties, be governed by the same Laws, give the same bonds and security, as other Justices of the Peace, and be commissioned as Justices of the Peace in and for said city, by the Governor.

Sec. 17. The Mayor shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Ordinances of the Corporation, and shall issue such process as may be necessary to carry said ordinances into execution and effect. Appeals may be had from any decision or judgment of said Mayor or Aldermen, arising under the City ordinances, to the Municipal Court, under such regulations as may be presented by ordinance. Which court shall be composed of the Mayor or⁴ Chief Justice and the Aldermen as associate Justices, and from the final judgment of the Municipal Court to the Circuit Court of Hancock county, in the same manner as appeals are taken from judgments of Justices of the Peace. Provided, that the parties litigant shall have a right to a trial by a jury of twelve men, in all cases before the Municipal Court. The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of Habeas Corpus in all cases arising under the Ordinances of the City Council.

Sec. 18. The Municipal Court shall sit on the first Monday of

every month, and the City Council at such times and place as may be prescribed by City Ordinance, Special meetings of which may at any time be called by the Mayor or any two Aldermen.

Sec. 19. All process issued by the Mayor Aldermen or Municipal Court, shall be directed to the Marshall, and in the execution thereof he shall be governed by the same laws as are, or may be prescribed for the direction and compensation of constables in similar cases. The Marshall shall also perform such other duties as may be required of him under the Ordinances of said city, and shall be the principal Ministerial officer.

Sec. 20. It shall be the duty of the Recorder, to make and keep accurate Records, of all ordinances made by the City Council, and of all their proceedings in their Corporate capacity, which Record shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Electors of said City, and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the ordinances of the city council, and shall serve as clerk of the Municipal Court.

Sec. 21. When it shall be necessary to take private property for opening, widening, or altering any public street, lane, avenue or alley, the Corporation shall make a just compensation therefor to the person whose property is so taken and if the amount of such compensation cannot be agreed upon, the Mayor shall cause the same to be ascertained by a jury of six disinterested freeholders of the City.

Sec. 22. All jurors empannelled to enquire into the amount of benefits or damages that shall happen to the owners of property, so proposed to be taken, shall first be sworn to that effect, and shall return to the Mayor their inquest in writing signed by each juror.

Sec. 23. In case the Mayor shall at any time be guilty of a palpable omission of duty, or shall wilfully and corruptly be guilty of oppression, malconduct or partiality in the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall be liable to be indicted in

the circuit court of Hancock County, and on conviction he shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars, and the Court shall have power on the recommendation of the Jury to add to the judgment of the Court, that he be removed from office.

Sec. 24. The city council may establish and organise an institution of learning within the limits of the City for the teaching of the Arts, Sciences and learned professions to be called the "University of the City of Nauvoo" which institution shall be under the control and management of a Board of Trustees, consisting of a Chancellor, Registrar and twenty three Regents, which board shall thereafter be a body corporate and politic with perpetual succession by the name of the "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the "City of Nauvoo" and shall have full powers to pass, ordain, establish and execute all such laws and ordinances as they may consider necessary for the welfare and prosperity of said University, its officers and students. Provided that the said laws and ordinances shall not be repugnant to the constitution of the United States or of this State, and Provided also that the Trustees shall at all times be appointed by the City Council, and shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of the cause of education which appertain to the Trustees of any other College or University of this State.

Sec. 25. The City Council may organise the inhabitants of said city subject to military duty into a body of independent Military Men to be called the "Nauvoo Legion" the court martial of which shall be composed of the commissioned officers of said Legion, and constitute the law making department with full powers and authority to make ordain establish and execute all such laws and ordinances as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government and regulation of said Legion. Provided said court martial shall pass no law or act repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or of this State, and provided also that the officers of the Legion shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State, the said Legion shall perform the same amount of Military duty as is now

or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the Mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the City Corporation and the laws of the State, and at the disposal of the Governor for the public defence, and the execution of the laws of the State or of the United States, and shall be entitled to their proportion of the public arms, and provided also that said Legion shall be exempt from all other military duty.

Sec. 26. The inhabitants of the "City of Nauvoo" are hereby exempt from working on any road beyond the limits of the City, and for the purpose of keeping the streets, lanes, avenues, and alleys in repair to require of the male inhabitants of said City, over the age of twenty one, and under fifty years, to labor on said streets, lanes avenues and alleys, not exceeding three days in each year, any person failing to perform such labours when duly notified by the supervisor, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar per day for each day so neglected or refused.

Sec. 27. The City Council shall have power to provide for the punishment of offenders by imprisonment in the County or City jail in all cases when such offenders shall fail or refuse to pay the fines and forfeitures which may be recovered against them.

Sec. 28. This act is hereby declared to be a public act, and shall take effect on the first Monday of February next.

Wm.L.D.Ewing
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Approved Decr 16th
1840. Tho.Carlin

S.H.Anderson
Speaker of the Senate

Notes for Appendix: 3

1. Made available in manuscript by Illinois State Archives. Punctuation and spelling is as original.
2. In History of the Church, vol.4, p. 242, this is transcribed "butchers". The city charter of Springfield, from which large sections of the Nauvoo charter were copied, gives "Brokers".
3. These "Legislative powers" are given in Article 5 of the Springfield city charter.
4. History of the Church, vol.4, p. 242, transcribes "or", "as".

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The bibliography is divided into the following sections:

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(a) Mormon and Historical Works	396-432

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(b) Sociological Works	415-432
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Section (a) lists all those items which relate to Mormonism in Illinois, the history of Illinois and more general works on Mormonism. Section (b) lists what may be broadly termed "sociological" works and items which relate to religious sects other than Mormonism.

Section (a) is itself subdivided into "primary" and "secondary" materials. The boundary between these two divisions has sometimes been difficult to determine. The main guideline has been to place under the primary heading all those works which give a first hand account of Mormonism in Illinois. Mormon doctrinal works have been included under this heading. No attempt has been

made to distinguish pro-Mormon or non-Mormon accounts from anti-Mormon works. The slant of most works can be determined from their titles. Courtesy lines appear in the form of citations of the location of the particular repository of the work concerned, unless repositories have specifically directed otherwise.

The sociological section has been restricted, with only one or two exceptions, to works which have been cited in the text and is not intended as a "bibliography" of sociological works on "conflict".

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