

you wish to see the effect of apostasy, look at me." He was a poor wreck of a man, a helpless drivelling child and he is since dead. A people are not to be judged by such acts as these. But the Governor of Missouri in his message says:

"These people had violated the laws of the land by open and armed resistance to them; they had instituted among themselves a government of their own, independent of, and in opposition to, the government of this State" (false); "they had, at an inclement season of the year, driven the inhabitants of an entire county from their homes, ravaging their crops and destroying their dwellings."

Now, if the Governor had reversed this statement it would have been true; the falsity of it I stand prepared to prove anywhere. Mr. Governor, it was your bull that gored our ox. We were robbed, pillaged and exiled, were you? Our men, women and children were murdered without redress; driven from their homes in an inclement season of the year, and died by hundreds, in the State of Illinois, in consequence of hardships and exposure.

The legislature of Missouri, to cover their infamy, appropriated the munificent sum of \$2000 to help the suffering "Mormons." Their agent took a few miserable traps, the sweepings of an old store; for the balance of the patrimony he sent into Davis County and killed our hogs, which we were then prevented from doing, and brought them to feed the poor "Mormons" as part of the legislative appropriation. This I saw. On this subject I could quote volumes. I will only say that when authenticated testimony was presented to Martin Van Buren, the President of the United States, he replied, "Your cause is just; but I can do nothing for you."

Mr. Colfax, in summing up, says, "There is nothing in this as to their religion." Read the following:

Tuesday, November 6th, 1838, General Clark made the following remarks to a number of men in Far West, Mo.:

"Gentlemen, you whose names are not attached to this list of names will now have the privilege of going to your fields and providing corn and wood for your families. Another article yet remains for you to comply with, that is, that you leave the State forthwith, and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence is nothing to me. The orders of the Governor to me were that you should be exterminated. I would advise you to scatter abroad and never again organize yourselves with bishops, presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people."

Is not this persecution for religion?

Mr. Colfax next takes us to Nauvoo and says, "In Nauvoo they remained until 1846; the disturbances which finally caused them to leave the city were not in consequence of their religious creed. Foster and Law, who had been Mormons, renounced the faith and established an anti-Mormon paper at Nauvoo, called the *Expositor*. In May, 1844, the prophet and a party of his followers, on the publication of his first number, attacked the office, tore it down and destroyed the press."

This is a mistake. The *Expositor* was an infamous sheet, containing vile and libelous attacks upon individuals, and the citizens generally, and would not have been allowed to exist in any other community a day. The people complained to the authorities about it and after mature deliberation the City Council passed an ordinance ordering its removal as a nuisance, and it was removed. In a conversation with Governor Ford, on this subject, afterwards, when informed of the circumstances, he said to me, "I cannot blame you for destroying it, but I wish it had been done by a mob." I told him that we preferred a legal course, and that Blackstone described a libelous press as a nuisance and liable to be removed; that our city charter gave us the power to remove nuisances; and that if it was supposed we had contravened the law, we were amenable for our acts and refused not an investigation. Mr. Colfax's history says, "The authorities thereupon called out the militia to enforce the law, and the Mormons armed themselves to resist it." The facts were that armed mobs were organized in the neighborhood of Carthage and Warsaw. The Governor came to Carthage and sent a deputation to Joseph Smith, requesting him to send another to him, with authentic documents in relation to the late difficulties. Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, our late delegate to Congress and myself, were deputed as a committee to wait upon the Governor. His Excellency thought it best (although we had had a hearing before) for us to have a rehearing on the press question. We called his attention to the unsettled state of the country, and the general mob spirit that prevailed; and asked if we must bring a guard; that we felt fully competent to protect ourselves, but were afraid it would create a collision. He said, "We had better come entirely unarmed," and pledged his faith and the faith of the State for our protection. We went unarmed to Carthage, trusting in the Governor's word. Owing to the unsettled state of affairs we entered into recognizances to appear at another time. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, for treason. They were remanded to jail, and while there were murdered. Not "by a party of mob," as Mr. Colfax's history states, "from Mis-

souri," but by men in Illinois, who, with blackened faces, perpetrated the hellish deed; they did not overpower the guard, as stated, the guard helped them in the performance of their fiendish act. I saw them for I was there at the time. I could a tale unfold that would implicate editors, officers, military and civil, ministers of the gospel, and other wolves in sheep's clothing.

The following will show in part what our position was:

"A proclamation to the citizens of Hancock County:—Whereas, a mob of from one to two hundred men, under arms, have gathered themselves together in the southwest part of Hancock county, and are at this time destroying the dwellings, and other buildings, stacks of grain and other property, of a portion of our citizens in the most inhuman manner, compelling defenceless women and children to leave their sick beds and exposing them to the rays of the parching sun, there to lie and suffer without aid or assistance of a friendly hand, to minister to their wants, in their suffering condition. The rioters spare not the widow nor orphan, and while I am writing this proclamation, the smoke is arising to the clouds, and the flame is devouring four buildings which have just been set on fire, by the rioters. Thousands of dollars worth of property has already been consumed, an entire settlement of about sixty or seventy families laid waste, the inhabitants thereof are fired upon, narrowly escaping with their lives, and forced to flee before the ravages of the mob. Therefore I—command said rioters and other peace breakers to desist, forthwith, and I hereby call upon the law-abiding citizens, as a posse comitatus of Hancock county, to give their united aid in suppressing the rioters and maintaining the supremacy of the law."

J. B. BACKENSTOS,

Sheriff of Hancock County, Ills."

Mr. Backenstos was not a Mormon.

We set out in search of an asylum, in some far off wilderness, where we hoped we could enjoy religious liberty. Previous to our departure a committee composed of Stephen A. Douglas, Gen. John J. Harding, both members of Congress, the Attorney General of Illinois, Major Warren and others, met in my house, in Nauvoo, in conference with the Twelve, to consult about our departure. They were then presented the picture of devastation that would follow our exodus, and felt ashamed to have to acknowledge that State and United States authorities had to ask a persecuted and outraged people to leave their property, homes, and firesides for their oppressors to enjoy; not because we had not a good Constitution and liberal government, but because there was not virtue and power in the State and United States authorities to protect them in their rights. We made a treaty with them to leave; after this treaty, when the strong men and the majority of the people had left, and there was nothing but old and infirm men, boys, women and children to battle with, like ravenous wolves, impatient for their prey, they violated their treaty by making war upon them, and driving them houseless, homeless, and destitute across the Mississippi river.

The archaeologist, the antiquarian, and traveler need not then have gone to Hericulanum, to Pompeii, to Egypt or Yucatan, in search of ruins, or deserted cities, they could have found a deserted temple, forsaken family altars, desolate hearth stones and homes, a deserted city much easier: the time, the nineteenth century—the place, the United States of America—the State, Illinois, and the city, Nauvoo.

While fleeing, as fugitives, from the United States, and in Indian territory, a requisition was made by the Government for 500 men to assist in conquering Mexico, the very nation to whose territory we were fleeing in our exile; we supplied the demand and though despoiled and expatriated, were the principal agents in planting the United States flag in Upper California.

I again quote:

"In September, 1850, Congress organized Utah Territory, and President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young (who at Smith's death, had become President of the church) as Governor. The next year the Federal Judges were compelled by Brigham Young's threats of violence to flee from the Territory, and the laws of the United States were openly defied. Col. Steptoe was commissioned Governor in place of Young, but after wintering with a battalion of soldiers at Salt Lake, he resigned, not deeming it safe, or prudent to accept." So far from this being the case, Col. Steptoe was on the best of terms with our community, and previous to his appointment as Governor, a number of our prominent gentle citizens, judges, Col. Steptoe and some of his officers signed a petition to the President praying for the continuance of President Young in office. He continues: "In February, 1853, a mob of armed Mormons instigated by sermons from the heads of the church, broke into the United States court room and at the point of the bowie knife compelled Judge Drummond to adjourn his court *sine die*;" (this is a sheer fabrication, there never was such an occurrence in Utah) "and very soon all the United States officers, except the Indian Agent, were compelled to flee from the Territory." Now this same amiable and persecuted Judge Drummond brought with him a courtesan from Wash-

ington, whom he introduced as his wife, and had her with him on the bench. The following will show the mistake in regard to Col. Steptoe and others:

"To His Excellency Franklin Pierce, President of the United States."

"Your petitioners would respectfully represent that, Whereas Governor Brigham Young possesses the entire confidence of the people of this Territory, without distinction of party or sect, and from personal acquaintance and social intercourse, we find him to be a firm supporter of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and a tried pillar of Republican institutions; and having repeatedly listened to his remarks, in private as well as in public assemblies, do know he is the warm friend and able supporter of Constitutional liberty, the rumors published in the States, to the contrary, notwithstanding; and having canvassed to our satisfaction, his doings as Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs, and also the distribution of appropriations for public buildings for the Territory, we do most cordially and cheerfully represent that the same has been expended to the best interest of the nation, and, whereas, his appointment would better subserve the Territorial interest than the appointment of any other man."

"We therefore take great pleasure in recommending him to your favorable consideration, and do earnestly request his appointment as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for this Territory."

"Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, December 30th, 1854. J. F. Kinney, Chief Justice Supreme Court, Leonidas Shaver, Assistant Justice, E. J. Steptoe, Lt. Col. U. S. army, John F. Reynolds, Bvt. Maj., Rufus Ingales, Capt., Sylvester Mowry, La Chett, L. Livingston, Jno. C. Chandler, Robert O. Tyler, Benj. Allston, Lieutenants; Chas. A. Perry, Wm. G. Rankin, Horace R. Kirby, Medical Staff, U. S. A. Henry, C. Branch, C. C. Branham, C. J. Bipne, Lucian L. Bedell, Wm. Mac, J. M. Hockaday, and other strangers."

There was really no more cause for an army then than there is now, and there is no more reason now, in reality, than there was then, and the bills of Messrs. Cragin and Cullom are only a series of the same infamies that we have before experienced, and are designed, as all unbiassed men know, to create a difficulty and collision, aided by the clamor of speculators and contractors, who have of course, a very disinterested desire to relieve their venerated uncle by thrusting their patriotic hands into his pockets.

I am sorry to be under the painful necessity of repudiating Mr. Colfax's history. It is said that "corporations have no souls," and nations are not proverbially conscientious about their nomenclature or records. Diplomacy generally finds language suited to its objects. When the British nation granted to the East India Company their stupendous monopoly, that Company subjugated and brought really into serfdom about one hundred millions of human beings; and compelled many to raise poison (opium) instead of bread. History calls that "trade and commerce." After the Chinese had passed a law making the introduction of opium contraband, in defiance of this law, they sent cargoes of the taboed article and illicitly introduced their poison. The Chinese, unwilling to be poisoned, confiscated and destroyed these contraband goods. History calls it a *casus belli*, and when the Chinese, unwilling to be coerced, resisted the British force, that nation slaughtered vast hordes of them, because they had the power; history calls it war. When they forced them to pay millions of dollars for the trouble they had in killing them, history calls it *indemnification for the expenses of the war*. When President Polk wanted to possess himself of the then Mexican territory of Upper California, he sent Gen. Taylor, with an army of occupation, into disputed Mexican Territory, well knowing that an honorable nation would be obliged to resent it as an insult, and that would be considered a *casus belli* and afford a pretext for making war upon the weak nation, and possessing ourselves of the coveted territory; history calls it *conquest and reprisals*. It is true that we acted more honorably than Great Britain, in awarding some compensation. President Buchanan, goaded by the Republicans, wished to show them that in regard to the Mormons he dared out-Herod Herod, by fitting up an army to make war upon the Mormons; but it was necessary to have a pretext. It would not have been popular to destroy a whole community in cold blood, so he sent out a few miserable minions and renegades for the purpose of provoking a collision. These men not only acted infamously here but published false statements throughout the United States, and every kind of infamy, as is now being done by just such characters, was laid at the door of the Mormons. They said among other things, that we had burned the U. S. records. These statements were afterwards denied by Governor Cummings. Mr. Buchanan had another object in view, and Mr. J. B. Floyd, Secretary of War, had also his ax to grind, and the whole combined was considered a *grand coup d'etat*. It is hardly necessary to inform Mr. Colfax that this army, under pretence of subjugating the Mormons, was intended to coerce the people of Kansas to his views, and that they were not detained, as stated by Mr. Colfax's history which said "the troops necessarily moving slowly

were overtaken by the snows in November and wintered at Bridger." I need not inform Mr. Colfax that another part of this grand tableau originated in the desire of Secretary Floyd to scatter the U. S. forces and arms, preparatory to the Confederate rebellion. Such is history and such are facts.

We were well informed as to the object of the coming of the army, we had men in all of the camps, and knew what was intended. There was a continual boast among the men and officers, even before they left the Missouri river, of what they would do with the Mormons. The houses were picked out that certain persons were to inhabit; farms, property and women were to be distributed. "Beauty and booty," were their watchword. We were to have another grand Norman conquest, and our houses, gardens, orchards, vineyards, fields, wives and daughters were to be the spoils. Instead of this Mr. Buchanan kept them too long about Kansas; the Lord put a hook in their jaws, and instead of revelling in sacked towns and cities and glutting their libidinous and riotous desires in ravishing, destroying and laying waste, they knawed dead mules' legs at Bridger, rendered palatable by the ice, frost and snow of a mountain winter, seasoned by the pestiferous exhalations of hecatombs of dead animals, the debris of a ruined army, at a cost to the nation of about forty millions. We had reason to say then "The Lord reigns, let the earth be glad." Oh, how wicked it was for President Young to resist an army like the above, prostituted by the guardians of a free and enlightened Republic to the capacity of buccaneers and brigands!

In the spring rumors prevailed of an intended advance of the army. Preferring compromise to conflict, we left Salt Lake City and the northern part of the Territory *en masse* and prepared ourselves, for what we then considered, a coming conflict. After first preparing combustible materials and leaving a sufficient number of men in every settlement to destroy everything; had we been driven to it we should have made such a conflagration as never was witnessed in the U. S. Every house would have been burned and leveled to the ground, every barn, grain and hay stack, every meeting house, court house and store demolished; every fruit tree and shrub would have been cut down; every fence burned and the country would have been left a howling wilderness as we found it. We were determined that if we could not enjoy our homes in peace, that never again should our enemies revel in our possessions.

I now come to Mr. Colfax's next heading

"THEIR POLYGAMY."

As this is simply a rehash of his former arguments, without answering mine, I beg to be excused inserting his very lengthy quotation as this article is already long. In regard to our toleration of all religions," Mr. C. entertains very singular ideas. We do invite men of almost all persuasions to preach to us in our tabernacles, but we are not so latitudinarian in our principles as to furnish meetinghouses for all; we never considered this a part of the programme. Meeting houses are generally closed against us everywhere, and men are advised not to go and hear us; we open ours, and say to our congregations go and hear them, but we do not engage to furnish all. Neither is the following statement correct. "About the same time he (Mr. Taylor) was writing it, Godbe and others were being expelled from the church for disbelieving the infallibility of Brigham Young." No person, as I before stated, was ever expelled from the church for doubting the infallibility of President Young; it is but just to say that President Young, himself disclaims it. Mr. C. again repeats his argument in relation to the suttee, or burning of widows in India, and after giving a very elaborate and correct account of its suppression by English authority says:—

"Wherever English power is recognized there this so-called religious rite is now sternly forbidden and prevented. England with united voice said 'stop' and India obeyed."

To present Mr. Colfax's argument fairly, it stands thus: The burning of Hindoo widows was considered a religious rite, by the Hindoos. The British were horrified at the practice, and suppressed it. The Mormons believe polygamy to be a religious rite. The American nation consider it a scandal and that they ought to put it down. Without entering into all the details, I think the above a fair statement of the question. He says "the claim that religious faith commanded it was powerless, and it went down, as a relic of barbarism. He says: "History tells us what a civilized nation, akin to ours, actually did, where they had the power." I wish to treat this argument with candor, although I do not look upon the British nation as a fit example for us; it was not so thought in the time of the Revolution. I hope we would not follow them in charging their cannon with Sepoys, and shooting them off, in this same India. I am glad, also, to find that our Administration views and acts upon the question of neutrality more honorably than our trans-atlantic cousins. But to the point. The British suppressed the suttee in India, and therefore we must be equally moral and suppress polygamy in the United States. Hold! not so fast; let us state facts as they are and remove the dust. The British suppressed the suttee, but tolerated eighty-three millions of polygamists