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EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE
MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.

SECOND ARTICLE.

THE MORMONS EXPELLED FROM CARROLL COUNTY.

The lull of hostilities in Daviess county was followed by an outbreak in Carroll county at DeWitt from whence the following petition issued:

“DeWitt, Carroll County, State of Missouri,
September 22, 1838.

To His Excellency, Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of the State of Missouri:

“Your petitioners, citizens of the County of Carroll, do hereby petition your Excellency, praying for relief; That whereas, your petitioners have on the 20th inst. been sorely aggrieved by being beset by a lawless mob of certain inhabitants of this and other counties, to the injury of the good citizens of this and adjacent places; that on the aforesaid day came from one hundred to one hundred and fifty armed men, and threatened with force and violence to drive certain peaceable citizens from their homes in defiance of all law, and threatened then to drive said citizens out of the county, but on deliberation concluded to give them, said citizens, till the first of October next to leave said county; and threatened if not gone by that time, to exterminate them, without regard to age or sex, and destroy their chattels by throwing them in the river.

“We therefore pray you to take such steps as shall put a stop to all lawless proceeding, and we, your petitioners, will ever pray, etc.”

This petition was signed by Benj. Kendrick and forty-nine others, one of whom signed his name “D. Thomas” and then after his name wrote the words (no Mormon).

On October 2nd, General Parks sent the following letter to General Atchison:

"Dear Sir: I received this morning an affidavit from Carroll County the following is a copy:

'Henry Root on his oath states that on the night of the first of October there was collected in the vicinity of DeWitt an armed force, consisting of from thirty to fifty persons and on the morning of the second of October came into the town of DeWitt and fired on the civil inhabitants of that place. Thirteen of said individuals were seen by me in that place, and I believe there is actually an insurrection in that place.

HENRY ROOT.

Subscribed and sworn to this 3rd day of October, 1838.

WILLIAM B. MORTON, J. P.'

"In consequence of which information and belief of an attack being made on said place, I have ordered out the two companies raised by your order, to be held in readiness under the commands of Captains Bogart and Houston, to march for DeWitt, in Carroll County, by eight o'clock tomorrow morning, armed and equipped as the law directs, with six days' provisions and fifty rounds of powder and ball. I will proceed with these troops in person, leaving Colonel Thompson in command on Grand River. As soon as I reach DeWitt I will advise you of the state of affairs more fully. I will use all due precautions in the affair, and deeply regret the necessity of the recourse.

H. G. PARKS,

Brigadier General 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division."

General Lucas wrote a letter to Governor Boggs at this time as follows:

"Boonville, Missouri, October 4, 1838.

Dear Sir:

As we passed down the Missouri River on Monday last, we saw a large force of Mormons at DeWitt, in Carroll County, under arms. Their commander Colonel Hinkle, formerly of Carroll County, informed me that there were two hundred, and that they were hourly expecting an attack from the citizens of Carroll County, who, he said were then encamped only six miles from there, waiting for a reinforcement from Saline County. Hinkle said they had determined to fight. News had just been received at the place, through Dr. Scott, of Fayette, that a fight took place on yesterday, and that several persons were killed. Dr. Scott informed me that he got his information from a gentleman of respectability, who had heard the firing of their guns as he passed down. If a fight has actually taken place, of which I have no doubt, it will create excitement in the whole of upper Mis-

souri, and those base and degraded beings will be exterminated from the face of the earth. If one of the citizens of Carroll should be killed, before five days I believe that there will be from four to five thousand volunteers in the field against the Mormons, and nothing but their blood will satisfy them. It is an unpleasant state of affairs. The remedy I do not pretend to suggest to your Excellency. My troops of the fourth division were only dismissed, subject to further orders, and can be called into the field at an hour's warning.

SAMUAL D. LUCAS."

General Parks arrived at DeWitt on the 6th of October and immediately sent the following letter to General Atchison:

"Sir: Immediately after my express to you by Mr. Warder was sent, I proceeded to this place, which I reached yesterday, with two companies of mounted men from Ray. I ordered Colonel Jones to call out three companies, from this county to hold themselves in readiness to join me at Carrollton on the 5th instant, which order has not been carried into effect. None of Carroll regiment is with me.

"On arriving in the vicinity of DeWitt I found a body of armed men under command of Dr. Austin, encamped near DeWitt, besieging that place, to the number of two or three hundred, with a piece of artillery ready to attack the town of DeWitt. On the other side Hinkle has in that place three or four hundred Mormons to defend it, and says he will die before he is driven from thence.

"On the 4th instant they had a skirmish—fifteen or thirty guns fired on both sides, one man from Saline wounded in the hip.

"The Mormons are at this time too strong, and no attack is expected before Wednesday or Thursday next, at which time Dr. Austin hopes his forces will amount to five hundred men, when he will make a second attempt on the town of DeWitt, with small arms and cannon. In this posture of affairs, I can do nothing but negotiate between the parties until further aid is sent me.

"I received your friendly letter on the 5th inst., by Mr. Wardon, authorizing me to call on General Doniphan, which call I have made on him for five companies from Platte, Clay and Clinton, with two companies I ordered from Livingston, of which I doubt whether these last will come. If they do, I think I will have a force sufficient to manage these billigerents.

"Should these troops arrive here in time, I hope to be able to prevent bloodshed. Nothing seems so much in demand here (to hear the Carrol County men talk) as Mormon scalps; as yet they are scarce. I believe Hinkle with the present force and position will beat Austin with five hundred of his troops. The Mormons

say they will die before they will be driven out, etc. As yet they have acted on the defensive as far as I can learn. It is my settled opinion the Mormons will have no rest until they leave; whether they will or not, time only can tell.

H. C. PARKS."

The besieging force was augmented by the arrival of bodies of armed men from Ray, Saline, Howard, Livingston, Clinton, Clay and Platte counties, and Congrieve Jackson from Howard county was chosen by them as commander in chief.

The Saints were forbidden to leave DeWitt under pain of death and were shot at whenever they were seen.

The supply of food in DeWitt was soon exhausted and in the meantime Henry Root and David Thomas worked out a settlement. Thomas advised the Mormons that they would be permitted to leave the town and not be hurt and that their property would be appraised and paid for.

Joseph Smith, Jr., had arrived in DeWitt prior to this, and he with the resident Mormons conceded this was the best settlement that could be made. Appraisers came in and appraised the real estate, but it is not probable that anything was every paid to the Mormons for any of their property. The most of the personal property of the Mormons, including much of their live stock, had already been taken possession of by the Missourians and they never returned any of it.

About seventy wagons were gathered together, and loaded with such remnants of their property as could be found, and the Mormons then started from DeWitt on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1838, bound for Caldwell county. They traveled about twelve miles that day and encamped in a grove of timber near the road. That night a woman, weakened by childbirth and exposure, died in their camp and was buried in the grove without a coffin. Far West was reached the next day.

At Far West on the morning of October 15, the Mormons assembled on the public square and formed a company of about one hundred men. This company was placed under the com-

mand of Lieutenant Colonel Hinkle, a Mormon, who held a commission in the Missouri State Militia, and who acted, we are told, under the order of General Doniphan.

MORMON TROUBLES IN DAVIESS COUNTY.

This company started at once for the protection of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and Joseph Smith, Jr., went along, and he states that many depredations, such as driving off horses, sheep, cattle and hogs belonging to his brethren took place at this time.

Major Joseph H. McGee tells us in his memoirs, "that on the morning of October 18, 1838, one hundred and fifty Mormons came to Gallatin and finding but seventeen men in the place they run them out and took possession of the town. They removed the goods out of Stolling's Store house and burned the house. They then took the goods to Di-Ammon. They burned my tailor shop after taking all there was in it, leaving me only the suit of clothes I had on my back. They took me prisoner and after keeping me about two hours they turned me loose and told me to 'get.' My father was living about three miles south of where Winston now is and the road we traveled then made it about fifteen miles from Gallatin. The snow on the ground was about six inches deep. When they turned me loose and told me to go, I made tracks for home, reaching there late in the evening. Not knowing at what time we would be visited by the Mormons, father boxed all our feather beds and table ware and hid them out in the woods. There they remained until the war was over. We could stand in our door yard and see houses burning every night for over two weeks. The Mormons completely gutted Daviess county. There was scarcely a Missourian's house left standing in the county. Nearly every one was burned. Their flight from the county had been so precipitate that they left all they had behind, taking only their families and teams. The Mormons secured all their property and took it to De Ammon and there placed it in what was termed the Lord's Store house, to be issued out to Saints as they might need."

It was during this period of trouble that General Parks arrived in Daviess county and went at once to the house of Lyman Wight in Adam-ondi-Ahman, arriving there on the 18th. On this date, Joseph Smith, Jr., tells us intelligence was brought in that the mob (he always designated the opposition as "the mob") was burning houses, and that the women and children were fleeing to town for safety, among these being Agnes M. Smith, wife of Don Carlos Smith (a brother of Joseph's), who was absent on a mission in Tennessee, her house having been plundered and burned by the mob, she having traveled three miles carrying her two helpless babes, and having had to wade Grand River.

Continuing in the language of Joseph Smith, Jr.:

"Colonel Wight, who held a commission in the 59th Regiment under his (General Parks) command, asked what was to be done. He told him that he must immediately call out his men and go and put them down. Accordingly a force was immediately raised for the purpose of quelling the mob, and in a short time was on its march with a determination to drive the mob or die in the attempt; as they could bear such treatment no longer.

"The mob having learned the order of General Parks, and likewise being aware of the determination of the oppressed, broke up their encampment and fled. The mob seeing that they could not succeed by force now resorted to stratagem; and after removing their property out of their houses, which were nothing but log cabins, they fired them, and then reported to the authorities of the State that the Mormons were burning and destroying all before them.

"On Wednesday, October 24, 1838, Captain Bogart with some thirty or forty men called on Brother Thoret Parsons, where he lived at the head of the East branch of Log Creek and warned him to be gone before next day at ten in the morning, declaring also that he would give Far West thunder and lightning before next day at noon if he had good luck in meeting Neil Gillium, who would camp about six miles west of Far West that night, and that he should camp on Crooked Creek, and departed towards Crooked Creek.

"Brother Parsons dispatched a messenger with this news to Far West, and followed after Bogart to watch his movements. Brother Joseph Holbrook and _____ Judith, who went out this morning to watch the movements of the enemy, saw eight armed mobbers call at the house of Brother Pinkham, where they

took three prisoners (Nathan Pinkham, Brothers William Seely and Addison Green) and four horses, arms, etc., and departed threatening Father Pinkham if he did not leave the State immediately they would have his damned old scalp; and having learned of Bogart's movements returned to Far West near midnight and reported their proceedings and those of the mob.

"On hearing the report, Judge Higbee, the first Judge of the County, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Hinkle, the highest officer in command in Far West, to send out a company to disperse the mob and retake their prisoners, whom it was reported, they intended to murder that night. The trumpet sounded and the brethren were assembled on the public square about midnight, when the facts were stated and about seventy-five volunteered to obey the Judge's order, under command of David W. Patten, who immediately commenced their march on horseback, hoping to surprise and scatter the camp, retake the prisoners and prevent the attack threatened upon Far West without the loss of blood.

"Thursday, 25th, fifteen of the company were detached from the main body, while sixty continued their march until they arrived near the ford of Crooked River (or Creek) where they dismounted, tied their horses, and leaving four or five men to guard them, proceeded towards the ford not knowing the location of the encampment. It was just at the dawning of light in the East when they were marching quietly along the road, and near the top of the hill, which descends to the river, when the report of a gun was heard, and young O'Banion reeled out of the ranks and fell mortally wounded. Thus the work of death commenced, when Captain Patten ordered a charge and rushed down the hill on a fast trot, and when within about fifty yards of the camp formed a line. The mob formed a line under the bank of the river, below their tents. It was yet so dark that little could be seen by looking at the West, while the mob, looking towards the dawning light, could see Patten and his men, when they fired a broadside, and three or four of the brethren fell. Captain Patten ordered the fire returned, which was instantly obeyed, to great disadvantage in the darkness, which yet continued. The fire was repeated by the mob, and returned by Captain Patten's company, and gave the watchword, 'God and Liberty' when Captain Patten ordered a charge, which was instantly obeyed. The parties immediately came in contact with their swords, and the mob were soon put to flight, crossing the river at the ford and such places as they could get a chance. In the pursuit one of the mob fled behind a tree, wheeled, and shot Captain Patten, who instantly fell mortally wounded, having received a large ball in his bowels. The ground was soon cleared, and the brethren gathered up a wagon or two and making beds therein of tents, etc., took their wounded and

retreated towards Far West. Three brethren were wounded in the bowels, one in the neck, one in the shoulder, one through the hips, and one through both thighs, one the arms, all by musket shot. One had his arm broken by a sword.

"Brother Gideon Carter was shot in the head and left dead on the ground, so defaced that the brethren did not know him. Bogart reported that he had lost one man. The three prisoners were released and returned with the brethren to Far West. Captain Patten was carried some of the way in a litter, but it caused so much distress he begged to be left, and was carried into Brother Winchester's, three miles from the city, where he died that night. O'Banion died soon after, and Brother Carter's body was also brought from Crooked River, when it was discovered who he was.

"I went with my Brother Hyrum and Amasa Lyman to meet the brethren on their return, near Log Creek, where I saw Captain Patten in a most distressing condition. His wound was incurable.

"Brother David W. Patten was a very worthy man, beloved by all good men who knew him. He was one of the twelve Apostles, and died as he lived, a man of God and strong in the faith of a glorious resurrection in a world where mobs will have no power or place. One of his last expressions to his wife was, 'Whatever you do Else, O, do not deny the faith.'

"How different his faith from that of the Apostate, Thomas B. Marsh, who this day vented all the lying spleen and malice of his heart toward the work of God, in a letter to Brother and Sister Abbot, to which was annexed an addenda by Orson Hyde." (*Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 395, 405, 408.)

On October the 26th, 1838, the following order was issued by Governor Boggs:

"Friday, Headquarters of the Militia,
City of Jefferson. October 26, 1838.

General John B. Clark,
1st Division, Missouri Militia.

Sir:

Application has been made to the Commander in Chief, by the citizens of Daviess County, in this state, for protection, and to be restored to their homes and property, with intelligence that the Mormons with an armed force have expelled the inhabitants of that county from their homes, have pillaged and burn their dwellings, driven off their stock, and were destroying their crops; that they (the Mormons) have burnt to ashes the towns of Gallatin and Millport in said county; the former being the county seat of said county, and including the clerk's office and all the public records of the county, and that there is not now a civil officer within said

county. The Commander in Chief therefore orders, that there be raised, from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th Divisions of the Militia of this State, four hundred men each, to be mounted and armed as infantry or riflemen, each man to furnish himself with at least fifty rounds of ammunition and at least fifteen days' provisions. The troops from the 1st, 5th, 6th and 12th will rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, on Saturday, the 3rd day of next month (November), at which point they will receive further instructions as to their line of march.

You will therefore cause to be raised the quota of men required of your division (four hundred men) without delay, either by volunteer or drafts, and rendezvous, at Fayette, in Howard County on Saturday, the 3rd day of next month (November), and there join the troops from the 5th, 6th and 12th divisions. The troops from the 4th division will join you at Richmond, in Ray County. You will cause the troops raised in your division to be formed into companies, according to law, and proceed under officers already in commission. If volunteer companies are raised they shall elect their own officers. The preference should always be given to volunteer companies already organized and commissioned. You will also detail the necessary field and staff officers. For the convenience of transporting the camp equipage, provisions and hospital stores for the troops under your command you are authorized to employ two or three baggage wagons.

By order of the Commander in Chief,

B. M. LISLE, Adj. General."

—(*Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 445.)

THE EXTERMINATING ORDER.

On the following day the famous "Exterminating Order" was issued, which is as follows:

Headquarters Militia, City of Jefferson,

October 27, 1838.

Sir:

Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to cause four hundred mounted men to be raised within your division, I have received by Amos Reese, Esq., and Wiley E. Williams, Esq., one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The Mor-

mons must be treated as enemies, and *must be exterminated*, or driven from the State, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major General Wallock, of Monroe County, to raise five hundred men and to march them to the northern part of Daviess and there to unite with General Doniphan, of Clay, who has been ordered with five hundred men to proceed to the same point, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express. You can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding, as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier General Parks, of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred men of his brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command.

L. W. BOGGS,
Governor and Commander in Chief.

To General Clark.

—(*Millennial Sar*, Vol. 16, p. 446.)

The author of the *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (published by National Historical Co., St. Louis, 1886, p. 133), writes:

“General Doniphan states to the writer hereof that he also received an order and a letter from Governor Boggs. The order, General Doniphan says, commanded him to obey the orders of Gen. John B. Clark, when he should arrive and assume command, as he had been ordered to do, and the letter was very denunciatory of the Mormons and declared among other things, that they must all be driven from the state or exterminated.

“It is asserted that General Atchison’s orders or directions from the Governor were to the same purport as Doniphan’s letter from the Governor, and that thereupon General Atchison withdrew from the military force, declaring that he would be no party to the enforcement of such inhuman commands. On the other hand, it is asserted that the Governor’s orders to Atchison relieved him from command, directing him to turn over his command to General Lucas.

“At any rate, General Atchison left the militia at Log Creek on receipt of the Governor’s orders and returned to his house at Liberty, and General Lucas was left in sole command.”

FOUNDING OF THE DANITES.

The *History of the Church* declares that it was at this time that the organization known as the *Danites* was formed by one Doctor Sampson Avard, who formed his adherents into a secret organization composed of companies of tens and fiftens, appointing a captain over each company. To the captains, Avard is quoted as saying:

“My brethern, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here today to teach you and instruct you in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are and what they soon will be. Know ye not brethern, that it soon will be your privileges to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? For it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel: and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth.

“For this is the very way that God destined to build up his kingdom in the last days.

“If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and depend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. (The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued): Why do you startle at this brethern? As the Lord liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian, and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up his kingdom, and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of the Danite Society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him.’

“At this juncture all of the officers revolted and said it would not do, they should not go into any such measures, and it would not do to name any such things, such proceedings would be in open violation to the laws of our country, and would be robbing our fellow citizens of their rights and are not according to the language and doctrine of Christ of the Church of Latter Day Saints.”

"This modern Sampson replied and said there were no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, a dispensation of the fullness of times; in this dispensation I learn from the Scriptures that the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and he himself was to reign and his laws alone were the only laws that would exist.

"Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all, Avard then said that they had better drop the subject; although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdon the evening before.

"When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob."

THE HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE.

"The mob began to encamp at Richmond on the 26th and by this time amounted to about two thousand five hundred, all ready to join the standard of the Governor. They took up a line of March for Far West, traveling but part way where they encamped for the night.

"Tuesday, 30th, their advance guard were patrolling the country and taking many prisoners, among whom were Brother Winchester and Brother Carey, whose skull they laid open by a blow from a rifle barrel. In this mangled condition the mob laid him in their wagon and went on their way denying him every comfort and there he remained that afternoon and night.

"General Clark was in camp at Chariton under a forced march to Richmond, with about a thousand men and the Governor's exterminating order." (*Millennial Star*, Vol. 15, pp. 458, 560, 507.)

Just at this time occurred the worst battle of the war. It has always been denominated Haun's Mill Massacre.

Perhaps the best account of this massacre ever written came from the pen of Major Reburn S. Holcombe, one of the most prolific of Missouri historical writers, and the author of the best of Missouri county histories. He moved to St. Paul prior to 1890, where he died in November, 1916. He wrote over the name of "Burr Joyce," and his account of the massacre appeared in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for October 6, 1887, and is as follows:

“Breckenridge, Mo., Sept. 27, 1887.

“In the afternoon of Tuesday, October 30, 1838, during the Mormon War in Missouri, there occurred in Caldwell county a dreadful incident, generally termed ‘The Haun’s Mill Massacre.’ From official documents and other records, from affidavits of witnesses, and from statements made by actual participants, I have prepared the following account. If any newspaper publication of the affair has ever before been made, I am not aware of the fact. The Mormons made their first settlement in Missouri, in Jackson county, in the year 1832, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith. I have not the space here to describe their experiences in that county, their expulsion therefrom, their sojourn in Clay and Ray, their treaty by which they were given Caldwell county as a sort of reservation, their founding of the city of Far West, nor can I narrate the circumstances leading to the Mormon War (so called), and finally the banishment of these unhappy people from the state. All these incidents may form the subject of a future paper. I may state, however, that the massacre was perpetrated on the very day that the militia, under Generals Lucas and Doniphan arrived at Far West, with orders from Governor Boggs to expel the Mormons from the state or exterminate them.

“At Jacob Haun’s mill on Shoal creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell county, about eight miles South of Breckenridge, there had collected about twenty Mormon families, Haun himself was a Mormon and had come to the site from Wisconsin a few years before. He had a very good mill, and clustered around it were a blacksmith shop and half a dozen small houses.

“The alarm that the troops were moving against them had driven nearly all the Mormon families in the county to Far West for safety. A dozen or more living in the vicinity repaired to Haun’s Mill, which was twenty miles to the eastward of Far West. As there were not enough houses to accommodate all of the fugitives, a number were living in tents and temporary shelters. A few families, perhaps four, had come in on the evening of the 29th, from Ohio, and were occupying their emigrant wagons. Not one member of the little community had ever been in arms against the Gentiles or taken any part whatever in the preceding disturbances. Word that the militia of the state had been ordered to expel them from the country had reached the Mormons of the Haun’s Mill settlement, and following this intelligence came a report that a considerable number of men in Livingston county, together with some from Daviess, had organized in the forks of Grand River, near Spring Hill in Livingston and were preparing to attack them. Whereupon, a company of about twenty-five men and boys indifferently armed with shotguns and squirrel rifles, were organized at the mill, and David Evans was chosen Captain.

"It was resolved to defend the place against the threatened assault. Some of the older men urged that no resistance should be made, but that all should retreat to Far West. The day after the skirmish on Crooked River (October 25), Haun himself, went to Far West to take Counsel of Joe Smith, 'move here by all means, if you wish to save your lives,' said the prophet. Haun replied that if the settlers should abandon their homes, the Gentiles would burn their houses and other buildings and destroy all of the property left behind. 'Better lose your property than your lives,' rejoined Smith. Haun represented that he and his neighbors were willing to defend themselves against what he called the mob, and Smith finally gave them permission to remain. Others at the mill opposed a retreat and when an old man named Myers reminded them how few they were and how many the Gentiles numbered, they declared that the Almighty would send his angels to their help when the day of battle should come. Some of the women, too, urged the men to stand firm and offered to mould bullets and prepare patching for the rifles if necessary. North of the mill was a timber half a mile in width, skirting Shoal Creek; beyond was a stretch of prairie. For a day or two Capt. Evans kept a picket post in the northern border of the timber, but on the 28th he entered into a sort of truce with Capt. Nehemiah Comstock, commanding a Company of Livingston "Gentiles" from the settlements near Mooresville and Utica, and the post was withdrawn. By the terms of this truce which was effected by a messenger who rode between Evans and Comstock, the Gentiles were to let the Mormons alone as long as the latter were peaceable and vice versa. Each party, too, was to disband its military organization. But on the morning of the 29th the Mormons learned that a company of Livingston militia, a few miles to the eastward, were menacing them, and so they maintained their organization and that night set watches. The latter company was commanded by Captain William Mann, and for some days had been operating at and in the vicinity of Whitney's mill, on the lower Shoal Creek (where the village of Dawn now stands), stopping Mormon emigrants on their way from the East to Caldwell county, turning them back in some instances, taking their arms from them in others, etc.

"On the 29th at Woolsey's, northeast of Breckenridge, an agreement was reached by the Gentiles for an attack upon Haun's mill. There companies numbering in the aggregate about two hundred men were organized. They were commanded by Captain Nehemiah Comstock, William O. Jennings and William Gee. The command of the battalion was given to Col. Thomas Jennings, an old militia officer, then living in the Forks, nearly all of the men were citizens of Livingston county. Perhaps twenty were from Daviess from whence they had been driven by the Mormons, and vowed

the direct vengeance on the entire sect. It did not matter whether or not the Mormons at the mill had taken any part in the disturbances which had occurred; it was enough they were Mormons. The Livingston men became thoroughly imbued with the same spirit, and all were eager for the raid.

"The Livingston men had no wrongs to complain of themselves, for the Mormons had never invaded their county, or injured them in any way; but they seemed to feel an extraordinary sympathy for the outrages suffered by their neighbors.

"Setting out from Woolsey's after noon on the 30th, Col. Jennings marched swiftly out of the timber northwest of the present village of Mooresville, and out on the prairie stretching down southwards towards the doomed hamlet at Haun's Mill. The word was passed along the column, 'Shoot at every thing wearing breeches, and shoot to kill.'

"All the Gentiles were mounted, and they had with them a wagon and two Mormon prisoners. Within two miles of the mill the wagon and prisoners were left in charge of a squad, and the remainder of the force passed rapidly on. Entering the timber north of the Mill, Colonel Jennings forced through it, unobserved right up to the borders of the settlement and speedily formed his line for the attack. Capt. W. O. Jennings' Company had the center, Capt. Comstock's the left, and Capt. Gee's the right. The Mormon leader had somehow become apprehensive of trouble. He communicated his fears to some of the men, and was about sending out scouts and pickets. It had been previously agreed that in case of attack the men should repair to the blacksmith shop and occupy it as a fort or blockhouse. This structure was built of logs, with wide cracks between them; was about eighteen feet square and had a large, wide door. The greater part of the Mormons were, however, unsuspecting of any imminent peril. Children were playing on the banks of the creek, women were engaged in their ordinary domestic duties, the newly arrived immigrants were resting under the trees, which were clad in the scarlet crimson and golden leaves of autumn. The scene was peaceful and Acadian. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon and the sun hung low and red in a beautiful Indian summer sky.

"Suddenly, from out the timber north and west of the mill, the Gentiles burst upon the hamlet. The air was filled with shouts and shots, and the fight was on. It cannot be fairly called a fight. Taken wholly by surprise, the Mormons were thrown into extreme confusion. The women and children cried and screamed in excitement and terror, and the greater number, directed by some of the men, ran across the mill dam to the south bank of the creek and sought shelter in the woods.

"Perhaps twenty men, Captain Evans among them, ran with their guns to the blacksmith shop and began to return the fire. Some were shot down in their attempts to reach the shop.

"The fire of the Mormons was wild and ineffective; that of the militia was accurate and deadly. The cracks between the logs of the shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet which entered the shop killed or wounded a man. Firing was kept up all the while on the fleeing fugitives, and many were shot down as they ran.

"Realizing very soon that he was placed at a decided disadvantage, Captain Evans gave orders to rereat, directing every man to take care of himself. The door of the shop was thrown open and all of the able bodied survivors ran out, endeavoring to reach the woods. Some were shot before reaching shelter. Captain Evans was much excited and ran all the way to Mud Creek, seven miles south, with his gun loaded, not having discharged it during the fight. The Gentiles advanced, and began to use their rough, home-made swords, or corn knives, with which some of them were armed. The fugitives were fired on until they were out of range, but not pursued, as the few who escaped scattered in almost every direction.

"Coming upon the field after it had been abandoned, the Gentiles perpetrated some terrible deeds. At least three of the wounded were hacked to death with the corn knives or finished with a rifle bullet. William Reynolds, a Livingston County man, entered the blacksmith shop and found a little boy, only ten years of age, named Sardnis Smith, hiding under the bellows. Without even demanding his surrender the cruel wretch drew up his rifle and shot the little fellow as he lay cowering and trembling. Reynolds afterward boasted of his exploit to persons yet living. He described with fiendish glee how the poor child kicked and squealed in his dying agonies, and justified his inhuman act by the old Indian aphorism, 'Nits will make lice.'

"Charley Merrick, another little boy only nine years old, had hid under the bellows. He ran out but did not get very far until he received a load of buckshot and a rifle ball, in all three wounds. He did not die, however, for nearly five weeks. Esquire Thomas McBride was seventy-eight years of age and had been a soldier under Gates and Washington in the Revolution. He had started for the blacksmith shop, but was shot down on the way, and lay wounded and helpless, but still alive. A Daviess County man named Rogers, who kept a ferry across Grand River, near Gallatin, came upon him and demanded his gun. 'Take it,' said McBride. Rogers picked up the weapon and finding that it was loaded deliberately discharged it into the old veteran's breast. He then

cut and hacked the body with his corn knife until it was frightfully gashed and mangled.

"After the Mormons had all been either killed, wounded or driven away, the Gentiles began to loot the place. Considerable property was taken, much of the spoil consisting of household articles and personal effects. At least three wagons and perhaps ten horses were taken. Two emigrant wagons were driven off with all their contents. The Mormons claim that there was a general pillage, and that even the bodies of the slain were robbed. The Gentiles deny this and say that the wagons were needed to haul off their three wounded men, and the bedding was taken to make them comfortable, while the articles taken did not amount to much. Two of the survivors have stated to me that the place was pretty well cleaned out.

"Colonel Jennings did not remain at the mill more than two hours. Twilight approaching, he set out on his return to his former encampment. He feared a rally and return of the Mormons with a large reinforcement, and doubtless he desired to reflect leisurely on his course of future operations. Reaching Woolsey's, he halted his battalion and prepared to pass the night. But a few hours later he imagined he heard cannon and a great tumult in the direction of Haun's Mill; betokening, as he thought, the advance of a large Mormon force upon him. Rousing his men from their sweet dreams of the victory, he broke camp, moved rapidly eastward, and never halted until he had put the West Fork of Grand River between him and his annoying pursuers. He and his men had won glory enough for one day and how! They had not lost a man killed and only three wounded. John Renfrow had his thumb shot off. Allen England was shot in the thigh, and —— Hart in the arm. The Mormon killed and mortally wounded numbered seventeen. Here are the names:

Thomas McBride	Augustine Harmer
Levi N. Merrick	Simon Cox
Elias Benner	Hiram Abbott
Josiah Fuller	John York
Benjamin Lewis	John Lee
Alexander Campbell	John Byers
George S. Richards	Warren Smith
William Napier	Charles Merrick, aged 9
	Sardnis Smith, aged 10.

"The severely wounded numbered eleven men, one boy (Alma Smith, aged 7), and one woman, a Miss Mary Stedwell. The latter was shot through the hand and arm as she was running to the woods. Dies irae! Bloody work and woeful. What a scene did Colonel Jennings and his men turn their backs upon as they rode

away in the gloaming from the little valley once all green and peaceful! The wounded men had been given no attention and the bodies of the slain had been left to fester and putrefy in the Indian Summer temperature, warm and mellowing. A large red moon rose, and a fog came up from the streams and lay like a face cloth upon the pallid countenances of the dead.

"Timidly and warily came forth the widows and orphans from their hiding places, and as they recognized one a husband and one a father, another a son, and another a brother among the slain, the wailings of grief and terror were most pitiful. All that night were they alone with their dead and wounded. There were no physicians, but if there had been, many of the wounded were past all surgery. Dreadful sights in the moonlight, and dreadful sounds on the night winds. In the hamlet the groans of the wounded, the moans and sobs of the grief stricken, the bellowing of cattle, and the howling of dogs, and from the black woods the dismal hooting of owls.

"By and by, when the wounded had been made as comfortable as possible, the few men who had returned gathered the women and children together, and all sought consolation in prayer. Then they sang from the Mormon hymn book a selection entitled "Moroni's Lamentation," a dirge-like composition lacking in poesy and deficient in rhythm, but giving something of comfort, let us hope, to the Choristers. And so in prayer and song and ministration the remainder of the night was passed.

"The next morning the corpses had changed, and were changing fast. They must be buried. There were not enough men left to make coffins or even dig graves. It could not be determined when relief would come or when the Gentiles would return. There was a large unfinished well near the mill, which it was decided should be used as a common sepulcher. Four men, one of whom was Joseph W. Young, a brother of Brigham Young, gathered up the bodies, the women assisting, and bore them, one at a time, on a large plank to the well, and slid them in. Some hay was strewn upon the gastly pile and then a thin layer of dirt thrown upon the hay.

"The next day Captain Comstock's company returned to the Mill, as they said, to bury the dead. Finding that duty had been attended to, they expressed considerable satisfaction at having been relieved of the job, and, after notifying the people that they must leave the state or they would all be killed, they rode away. The pit was subsequently filled by Mr. C. R. Ross, now a resident of Black Oak, Cladwell County.

"A day or two after the massacre, Colonel Jennings started with his battalion to join the state forces at Far West. He had not

proceeded far when he met a messenger who informed him that the Mormons at Far West had surrendered, and gave him an order to move to Daviess County and join the forces under General Robert Wilson, then operating against the Mormons at Adam-ondi-Ahman. The battalion was present at the surrender at Diamon as it is generally called, and a day or two thereafter Captain Comstock's company was ordered to Haun's Mill, where it remained in camp for some weeks. Herewith I give an extract from an affidavit made by Mrs. Amanda Smith, whose husband and little son were killed in the massacre, and who resided at the Mill during the stay of Comstock's company:

'The next day the mob came back. They told us we must leave the state forthwith or be killed. It was bad weather, and they had taken our teams and clothes; our men were all dead or wounded. I told them they might kill me and my children and welcome. They said to us, from time to time, if we did not leave the state they would come and kill us. We could not leave then. We had little prayer meetings; they said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman and child. We had spelling schools for our little children; they pretended they were "Mormon Meetings" and said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. * * * * I started the 1st of February, very cold weather, for Illinois, with five small children and no money. It was mob all the way. I drove the team, and we slept out of doors. We suffered greatly from hunger, cold and fatigue; and for what? For our religion. In this boasted land of liberty. "Deny your faith or die" was the cry.'

"While in camp at the Mill, according to statements to me of two of its members, Comstock's company lived off the country, as did the state troops at Far West. The Mormon cattle and hogs had been turned into the fields and were fine and fat. The mill furnished flour and meal, and other articles of provision were to be had for the taking. The Mormon men were either prisoners or had been driven from the country. By the 1st of April following all had left the state. Many of them had been killed, their houses burned, their property taken, their fields laid waste, and the result was called peace.—*Burr Joyce.*"

SURRENDER OF THE MORMONS AT FAR WEST.

The state militia ordered out by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs under Generals Lucas, Wilson and Doniphan arrived in the vicinity of Far West on the afternoon of October 30, 1838. This army, with the reinforcements that arrived on the following day, constituted a force of perhaps twenty-two hundred to three thousand men. This army went into camp about a mile from Far West on the night of October 30. The Mormons designated their own armed men as the militia of Far West and this local force was busy all that night, building temporary fortifications, while the women busied themselves getting their valuables together. A battle was expected in the morning. Colonel Lyman Wight was at Adam-ondi-Ahman and he was sent for. He arrived with one hundred and twenty men on the morning of October 31. A flag of truce was either sent from the militia camp to Far West or else was sent under the advice of Colonel Wight from Far West to the militia camp, it is not very clear as to which thing really happened. But it is clear that under a flag of truce at some point outside the city of Far West at about eight o'clock on that morning Colonel George M. Hinkle and John Corrill, representing the Mormons, met certain officers of the militia forces and Colonel Hinkle, who was presumed to be in command of the Mormon armed force, secretly entered into an agreement to surrender under stipulations as follows:

1st. To give up the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to be tried and punished.

2nd. To make an appropriation of the property of all who had taken up arms, for the payment of their debts and to indemnify for damages done by them.

3rd. That the rest of the membership of the church should leave the state under the protection of the militia, but should be permitted to remain under protection until further orders were received from the commander in chief.

4th. To give up the arms of every description, the same to be receipted for.

Colonel Hinkle then returned to Far West and reported

that the chief officers of the enemy army desired an interview with Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, George W. Robinson and Lyman Wight, all of whom accompanied Colonel Hinkle back to the militia camp, where they were met by Generals Lucas, Wilson and Doniphan, to whom Colonel Hinkle delivered the aforesaid leaders of the church as prisoners of war, much to their surprise. These prisoners were placed under a strong guard and taken into camp where they found a number of prisoners already, including Stephen Winchester and the Brother Carey, whose skull had been crushed. Winchester, with eleven other prisoners volunteered, with permission of the officers, to take Carey to his home in Far West. This was granted and Carey died shortly after reaching his family.

On Thursday, November 1, Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought into the militia camp as additional Mormon prisoners, and placed under the guard with the other church leaders. On this morning General Lucas ordered Colonel Hinkle to march out his Mormon troops and cause them to deliver up their arms. This was done at once. The arms thus surrendered were the private property of the men who marched out under Colonel Hinkle's orders. After which the militia troops marched into Far West and took possession of the town—made a thorough search for fire arms, tore up floors, overturned haystacks, carried away some valuable property and compelled the real estate owners to sign deeds of trust to cover the expenses of the so-called war, as provided for in the second stipulation of the treaty made for the church by Col. Hinkle.

About eighty additional men were made prisoners. All the remaining Mormons were ordered to leave the state of Missouri.

While this was going on, a court martial was convened at the militia camp and all of the aforesaid church leaders were given some sort of a hearing before it, despite the fact that none of them except Lyman Wight, was in any sense connected with the military, and that military court sentenced every man of them to be shot.

General Doniphan was selected as the officer to execute the findings of the court, and the following order was delivered to him:

“Brigadier General Doniphan: Sir: You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at nine o’clock tomorrow morning.

SAMUEL D. LUCAS,
Major General Commanding.”

To this command General Doniphan made immediate reply as per the following communication:

“It is cold-blooded murder, I will not obey your order. My brigade will march for Liberty tomorrow morning at eight o’clock; and if you execute those men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God!

A. W. DONIPHAN,
Brigadier General.”

None of the prisoners was executed nor was General Doniphan ever called to account for his insubordination.

On Friday, November 2, Dr. Sampson Avard was found by the militia, hidden in some hazel brush, and brought into camp. Later he offered much testimony against his brethren in the church. On this day the church leaders were taken into Far West, and were permitted under a strong guard to see their respective families. Much feeling had become manifest in the church by this time against Colonel George M. Hinkle, because of his action in delivering his brethren into the hands of the enemy. He was expelled from the church and was ever after held in contempt by his brethren, who have always looked upon him as a traitor. He removed to Iowa where he afterward died afar from any members of his former church. Though his action no doubt saved many lives, for the militia forces outnumbered his little army perhaps five to one, his conduct in telling the designated Mormon leaders that General Lucas wanted to confer with them, whereas he had agreed to surrender them up for punishment, was never forgotten by the Church membership, nor did the Church membership ever approve of article 2 of the contract between Hinkle and Lucas,

which was afterward interpreted to hold the Church membership liable for the payment of the debts of the war waged against them, and which stripped them of their property. That treaty put the Mormons in the light of being a foreign nation, or of being a people in rebellion with belligerent rights and therefore with power to contract a treaty whereas they were certainly citizens of Missouri, subject to the laws of the state, and if they violated the law should have been tried in civil courts. They were expelled from the state, however, without a hearing.

At this time General John B. Clark was on his way to assume supreme command at Far West. He was armed with a letter from Governor Boggs, that in part said:

“The case is now a very plain one. The Mormons must be subdued and peace restored to the community. You will therefore proceed without delay to execute the former orders. Full confidence is reposed in your ability to do so. Your force will be amply sufficient to accomplish the object. Should you need the aid of artillery, I would suggest that an application be made to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth for such as you may need. You are authorized to request the loan of it in the name of the State of Missouri.

“The ringleaders of this rebellion should be made an example of, and if it should become necessary for the public peace, the Mormons should be exterminated or expelled from the state.”

On November the 4th General Clark arrived in Far West and assumed command. On the 6th he gathered the people of Far West on the public square and said to them:

“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, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken, will go from this to prison, be tried and receive the due merit of their crimes. But you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against) are now at liberty as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the place, which I shall cause to be done immediately. It now devolves upon you to fulfill the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you:

“The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law; this you have already complied with.

"The second is that you deliver up your arms; this has been attended to.

"The third stipulation is, that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war; this you have also done.

"Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the state forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you. I approve of it. I should have done the same, had I been here, I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this state has suffered almost beyond redemption from the character, conduct, and influence that you have exerted; and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the states, by every proper means.

"The orders of the Governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the state; and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes. There is a discretionary power vested in my hands which I shall exercise in your favor for a season! For this lenity you are indebted to my clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season; or of putting in crops, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again, in case of a non-compliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall act any more as I have done—you need not expect any mercy but extermination, for I am determined that the Governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for their fate is fixed, their die is cast—their doom is sealed!

"I am sorry gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that Great Spirit, the Unknown God, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound—that you no longer worship a man.

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule—and my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."—(*Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 555.)

