

## Transcript of George D. Watt's Pitman Shorthand Recording of John Taylor's Sermon, June 27, 1854

Tabernacle afternoon June 27th 1854.

John Taylor

I am called upon to address the congregation a little this afternoon. I do so with pleasure, although at the same time the things we have heard this morning and the reflections that have revolved through my mind in relation to these matters produce rather painful feelings. For the things referred [to] by President Young this morning seemed as it were to be fresh before my mind—things of late and old circumstances and things of other nations would seem <as it were<sup>14</sup> and obliterated unless our minds were again refreshed by that.<sup>15</sup>

There is something very pleasing about these matters, pleasing to me and to my brethren. It is pleasing to know that we are the disciples of as good a man as Joseph Smith was; of a man that lived in the fear of God and taught his fear, who was faithful all his life long, and [remained faithful] unto the death.<sup>16</sup> It is pleasing to reflect upon our associations with men of this kind and also with Brother Hyrum—it is to me. And I am happy to be associated with the church and kingdom of God. I feel thankful to my Heavenly Father that I live in this day and age [of the] world when the light and truth of [the] everlasting gospel has shone forth. I consider it one of [the] greatest blessings and pr privileges that can be proffered upon me as an individual, next to the spirit of God so brooding upon my mind as to cause me to yield obedience to that gospel and to participate in blessings associated therewith.

I was blessed to be associated with Brother Joseph Smith and, as President Young said he knew him, so did I. I have been with him under all kinds of circumstances—when the thick clouds of darkness gathered around and

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14. This is the most likely reading, but the shorthand is awkwardly written.

15. Brigham Young had noted during the morning meeting the purpose of adjourning the April 6 general conference and reconvening it on June 27 was "more especially in consequence of bringing to mind, to our brains, to realize and to contemplate what the Lord has done for us in the last days."

16. Brigham Young stated that morning: "It is impossible for the natural man to understand the things of God. They are spiritually discerned. They are taught to man by the revelations of His Spirit. Now, when I seek it, I receive the light of [the] Holy Spirit in visions and revelations. And the Holy Ghost helped my natural understanding that I did know by all the knowledge that I have to testify by all the power that I am in possession of that Brother Joseph Smith was a true man of God, a true prophet of [the] Lord, a true apostle of Jesus Christ, as far as I have told you and did know that Jesus now lives and I am his apostle to testify of him. That is what I have got up here for this morning is to testify of Joseph."

the earthquakes seemed to bellow and threaten destruction; when the forces of [the] earth were rallied against him; and in times of prosperity. I have heard him, as many of you have, speak in public to advance the principles of eternal truth, plead with the people to observe the laws of God, and keep his commandments that they might be prepared for a celestial inheritance. I have also been with him in private council so that I have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with his feelings, ideas, views, with his morality, with his truthfulness, with his integrity. And I know that he was a good man; that he was an honest man; that he was a man of integrity; that he was a prophet of the Lord; that he lived in that capacity and died in that capacity and maintained his integrity to the end. I was not only with him living but with him dead dying and this is my testimony concerning Joseph Smith. I know before God and the holy angels. I do not think it; I know it.

I know that he was a servant of God and prophet of the Lord and lived and died in the faith. I not only know it by my natural sight but by the revelations of God. And I know by the same way<sup>17</sup> that he yet lives because I have seen him and I know he yet lives. And therefore I rejoice in the testimony that I can bear concerning him. And I know he will live and I know also that he is a friend of this people and watching over their interests. And I know also that he is a friend of President Young and watches over him and he is interested in the welfare, the happiness, and the exaltation of the saints of the Most High. And having a knowledge of these things, it is it sustains my mind and comforts my heart and strengthens me in the faith of the new and everlasting gospel and in the principles of truth that we continue to hear from day to day. And I rejoice myself exceedingly to be associated with brethren such as I am with at the present time, men that fear God, that keep his commandments, men whose first desire is to keep the law of God, to roll forth his purposes, and to benefit the human family in order that they may be prepared by and by to enter into [a] more extensive field and participate in blessings in wait for them.

I <view><sup>18</sup> esteem it one [of the] greatest blessings conferred upon me to anticipate<sup>19</sup> in this priesthood, that is the government of God in the heavens and upon the earth, that rules and regulates and controls all affairs in the eternal worlds, and when the will of God shall be done on earth as it is in heaven that it will rule and control and regulate all the forces of this earth.

17. Because of his later reference in the sentence to having "seen" Joseph, it appears that his use of "the same way" is a reference to "natural sight" and not "revelations of God" in the previous sentence.

18. This word may also be read as "have."

19. Taylor may have said or intended to say "participate" here, but the short-hand reads "anticipate."

I rejoice then to participate in the blessings of this gospel and priesthood, and I look upon everything else as short lived, as temporal; whether it is riches or poverty, ease or pain; whether it is prosperity or adversity; no matter what the circumstances may be in which I or which you may be placed. It is a matter of very little importance unto us if the circumstances that we are placed in have a tendency to lead us nearer to God, to make us more susceptible to his laws, to make us obedient to his command that we may fulfill our destiny on earth and be prepared to join with Joseph, Hyrum, and with those who have lived in the faith and died in the faith of the Son of God. For Hyrum was a good man and a servant of the living God and a man of integrity and truthfulness and I saw him fall when he fell in prison and heard the last words he spoke. And I know that the desire of Joseph and of Hyrum was to promote peace, whatever may have been the feelings of those that were around. Whatever views they well have had in relation to their conduct, in relation to their course, in relation to their views, their ideas, or their private and public feelings, was to promote the happiness and well being of the human family. That was the worst feeling I ever saw manifested by either of them. It was to procure the happiness and well being of the human family as far as God should give them ability to do it and these were their private and public feelings—the feelings they manifested before the public congregation, before the world, in private council, and under all circumstances. And although there are thousands of falsehoods in circulation concerning them, and although many of them are believed by the people, yet this was the bona fide feeling of these servants of God while they lived upon the earth; and I know it!

Did ever anybody hear them teach unrighteous principles? No. Did ever anybody see them practice unrighteous conduct? No. As President Young said, they were men and they were perhaps the best men that lived. They might have some little weaknesses and foibles like other men, but if they had been better than that they would not [have] been fit to associate with people.<sup>20</sup> But they were men of God and lived and died in faith of that

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20. Brigham Young said in the morning session, "You recollect, many of you, that the brethren would complain of Joseph that he was rude, wild; he was not as sober, gracious, so dead-long-faced, and religious as he ought to be. [A] great many used to complain of him because he was cheerful. Yet Joseph took his own course. You recollect what he used to tell the people once? "Why," says he, "brethren and sisters if I was as pure, as holy, and sanctified as you wish me to be (have you not got light enough in you to see?), I could not be in your society. The Lord would not let me stay here. If I was as pure and holy as you demand at my hands (do not you see?), I must be one with you. And, if you can produce a man or woman that has got more righteousness than I, that is [as] sanctified as you wish me to be, let me have that person here before you to show up his iniquity."

gospel. They preached and did it sincerely with honest hearts before God and men. And, therefore, I feel pleasure in testifying of these things. I have borne the same testimony I have done here in different nations and before large public congregations. I know some people don't like especially abroad to say it is, but these have been my feelings here and will be to the day of my death and through eternity.

In relation to some of these events, I can relate some of the outlines of these things. There was a time, some time, little time before these persecutions commenced; there was a time that was particularly trying to the people—new doctrine of what is called what used to be called then “spiritual wifery” (and the doctrine was first introduced of men having more wives than one). It was a thing new to the whole of us. Yet it was a thing that was substantiated by scripture and made manifest also by revelation, and it only needed men to have the spirit of God or women to know and to understand the principles that Joseph communicated unto them. I remember being with President Young and Kimball and I think one or two others with Brother Joseph soon after we had returned from England. He talked with us on these principles and laid them before us. It tried our minds and feelings. We saw it was something going to be heavy upon us. It was not that very nice, pleasing thing some people thought about it. It is something that harried up our feelings. Did we believe it? Yes, we did. I did. The whole rest of the brethren did. But still we should have been glad to push it off a little further. We [would have] been glad if it hadn't come in our day; but that somebody else had something to do with it instead of us. But then at the same time, if we was called upon we felt to do what God required of us. I know what my feelings were and thought<sup>21</sup> thought I understand what some of the rest of the brethren's feelings were.

About this time John C. Bennett<sup>22</sup> commenced some of his operations. He made use of some of those principles to corrupt to destroy not only himself but others. And as it was impossible almost together to come out and teach correct principles before the public in those days, some of those men got an inkling of these things and corrupted themselves—were full of <lasciviousness><sup>23</sup> and abomination, and corrupted their own bodies—and sought to destroy others. And they succeeded in great measure with many.

21. The placement of the shorthand character (above, on, or across the line of the page) often indicates a vowel. Watt wrote the symbol for “thought” on the line in the wrong position for the vowel, crossed it out, and wrote it in the correct position, above the line.

22. John Cook Bennett (1804–67) served as an Assistant President in the Church during 1841–42 and played a prominent role in Nauvoo's history.

23. This is the most likely reading, but the transcription is uncertain.

I could name the names of many: John C. Bennett, the two Higbees,<sup>24</sup> and some others I could name [but] do not feel disposed [to do so]. But they had to be handled and brought before the high council and the council had to sit with closed doors because of the corruptions there manifested. It was pretty generally known the course that was pursued. Joseph came out strongly against John C. Bennett. He was naturally a corrupt man and given to it.<sup>25</sup> The first trouble that ever we met with was in the city council. I was present [in] the city council of Nauvoo and Joseph wished an *ordinances* ordinance to be introduced there upon adulterous practices. This militated so much against John C. Bennett, he began to go away from that time and to be Joseph's enemy. and He then began to publish and circulate.<sup>26</sup> And finally those other men associated with them—there were [a] number of them, and some perhaps who didn't know the iniquity of the parties. They asserted, "We believe Bennett's stories about the ladies, that white veil, black veil story."<sup>27</sup> They joined with him and purchased a press; called it the *Nauvoo Expositor*.<sup>28</sup>

24. The two sons of Judge Elias Higbee, Chauncy Lawson Higbee (1821–84) and Francis (Frank) Marion Higbee (1819–56), were residents of Nauvoo and later helped establish the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

25. This may be a reference to Bennett's activities before he joined the Mormons. See Andrew F. Smith, "Introduction," John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), xxii.

26. After Bennett left Mormonism, he published a series of newspaper articles and an exposé, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), that attacked the Latter-day Saints. Parley P. Pratt, like Taylor, believed Bennett's motive was vengeance for embarrassment over his activities, although Pratt does not mention the attempt to make adultery illegal. He observed in a letter to his cousin shortly after Bennett was excommunicated and began to attack Nauvoo's citizens in print: "His object was vengeance on those who exposed his iniquity." Parley P. Pratt to John Van Cott, May 7, 1843, holograph, Church History Library. Shortly after the book appeared, Pratt wrote: "As to Bennett or his book I consider it a little stooping to mention it. It is beneath contempt. . . . There is not such a thing named among the saints here as he represents. & his book or name is scarcely mentioned. & never except with a perfect disgust." Pratt may have had reference to Bennett's story of the veils as addressed by Taylor in his sermon.

27. Taylor references here an account that appears in Bennett's *History of the Saints*, 220–25, which described how women of different moral character wore different-colored veils in Mormonism, where those women condemned for immoral behavior were forced to wear white veils, those who "indulge[d] their sensual propensities, without restraint" were applauded and wore green veils, and those set apart as "secret, spiritual wives" wore black veils as the special favorites of heaven.

28. There is no evidence that John C. Bennett helped purchase and operate the *Nauvoo Expositor* press. He was not in Nauvoo at the time.

This press went to work to defame the character of the sisters of Nauvoo and of the brethren. And there were some of the most scandalous things published in it that was ever published in any paper, having a tendency to abominably defame, and destroy the character of the females of [the] City of Nauvoo.<sup>29</sup> And at the same time there was not a more Zion, pure, and honorable community in the world, with some few exceptions, of course. There were some exceptions, but those were not the exceptions they made; they were the things they called honorable, that is, they loved corruption and hated correct principles. And that when they found they could not carry out their design, which was tending to destroy and contaminate society, then they went to work with all the power and venom of the devil to suffocate and berate and destroy and truly to obliterate, if possible, the Latter-day Saints. The thing was brought before the a city council. Some people thought that that council acted improperly, that they did that which they had no right to do, namely, to pass a law to destroy the press—that is this *Expositor*. It may be well here perhaps for me to give an explanation of some matters in relation to that matter. It may be of use to elders abroad, as I was on that council and I believe made perhaps the first move towards the destruction of it.<sup>30</sup> It may be well to give [the] reasons why here.

But as it regards the legality of things is a question some people may not fully understand. We possessed in the city of Nauvoo a city charter, and there was embedded in it an article like this—it gave us power to declare what is a nuisance and to remove that nuisance.<sup>31</sup> I don't profess to be much

29. The *Nauvoo Expositor* promised to reveal information in future issues but did not publish the “scandalous” details in its first issue, as Taylor suggests here. It appears that this accusation is an outgrowth of Taylor’s connection in this account of Bennett’s earlier publishing activities in 1842 with those of the later *Expositor* press. Bennett did publish numerous scandalous accounts, including his details about the colored veils worn by the women of Nauvoo. Much of this information was repeated in his exposé *The History of the Saints*.

30. Taylor later noted, “I think, but am not certain, that I made a motion for the removal of that press as a nuisance,” Taylor, “Appendix III,” 520.

31. The specific reference to nuisance in the ordinance Taylor references is found in section 7 of the regulation of the city council. That section authorizes the council “to make regulations to secure the general health of the inhabitants, to declare what shall be a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same in the streets for the extinguishment of fires, and convenience of the inhabitants.” This appears to be primarily intended as an ordinance to protect the safety of inhabitants rather than protect them from something that may “injure” feelings, but Taylor considered that Blackstone included a scandalous newspaper in this classification. Section 16 of the city charter also designated the mayor and aldermen “conservators of the peace” with all the powers of justices of the peace. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 4:239–49 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

of a legal mind myself; but Blackstone<sup>32</sup> one of great, one all our lawyers refer to, he states in his writing that a scandalous newspaper may be considered as [a] nuisance.<sup>33</sup> The city charter of Nauvoo gave unto us power to declare what was a nuisance and remove it. We did so. We considered that was a nuisance and that it was calculated to injure, destroy [the] community. We passed a law accordingly and ordered the City Marshal<sup>34</sup> to remove<sup>35</sup> it, which was done, as most of you know. It was removed, destroyed, and the type scattered to the four winds. And if had the things to do over again ten thousand times I would do it ten thousand times under the same circumstances ~~the circumstances~~. My mind never altered about it in life or death staring me in my face. My feelings, views in that matter never charged changed. We acted strictly according to law and in that thing, and laws are made for the punishment of wrong and protection of right.

I know what the feelings of many men are in these days. It is a thing got by zeal handled by men that were not men of understanding. They thought we were attacking the great bulwark of America—the freedom of press—in destroying these few types and destroying their office. That we were attacking one of the great bulwarks of American freedom, that was the idea entertained by many. But there is a difference between freedom and abuse of it. Freedom, as I understand it, don't go any further in any country

32. William Blackstone's four-volume work, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the first volume of which was originally published in 1766, influenced America's Constitution, its reliance on the British Common Law, and its whole legal system. Lawyers throughout the nation in 1844 considered it one of the legal standards by which they argued law, and book 3, "Private Wrongs," included an entire chapter (13) devoted to nuisance. It did not address newspapers but primarily discussed offensive trades such as that of a tanner or tallowchandler and discussed how these could be considered a nuisance and abated. John Taylor seems to suggest the city council broadened these arguments to include a newspaper.

33. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Utah Law Review* 9 (Winter 1965): 890–91. The author argues that even though there was "considerable basis in the law of their day for their action in characterizing the published issues of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance . . . there was no legal justification in 1844 for the destruction of the *Expositor* press."

34. The city marshal was John Portineus Greene (1793–1844), a Latter-day Saint who had been ordained a high priest in Kirtland, Ohio. John Lytle later related that he was the one who opened the door of the *Expositor* office "using the sledge hammer for a key." John Lytle, statement about June 10, 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

35. In his 1861 account, John Taylor wrote, "The press was removed or broken, I don't remember which, by the marshal, and the types scattered in the street." Taylor, "Appendix III," 521.

than people being free to do right. There is no country, no place under the heavens that freedom will extend further than that. <—> Many people do wrong, of course, all the time; but there is no freedom that will allow me to interfere with the rights of my brethren. There is no country I can go to that will allow me to interfere with the rights of citizens in that country. If I was attacked individually by a press, I have a right to punish him as editor as libel[ous]. We stood in municipal capacity at that time and had a right to put an end to the <engine><sup>36</sup> that caused it. I must tell you what Governor Ford's<sup>37</sup> views was upon this thing. I talked with [him] about it. Says he, "Mr. Taylor, I was sorry you destroyed that;" "yet," says I, "it was legal." "That is nothing but it comes in contact with the prejudice of people." "Do you know the law about that? Yet, what were we to do then? Were we to be trampled upon? Is there a city in the union that ever did?" "No." "What were we to do then?" "I would have got up a mob to destroy it and that would have cleared the city council."

We had honest integrity enough to maintain the truthfulness of law but the governor of state so afraid of the what the people say but let us get up a mob to destroy the damned thing. We knew we were right and did it. That was the belief we acted upon. In that case what was the result of it? The whole country was aroused and there was Thomas C. Sharp,<sup>38</sup> the editor of [a] newspaper in Warsaw, and the anti-Mormon body of men combined together [to] seek to destroy the Latter-day Saints. These parties with their newspapers circulated every story that human ingenuity or malice of [the] devil could invent. [They] fabricated every kind of falsehood in order to inflame and irritate the public mind, and they succeeded in great measure in doing it. "But," say some, "how is it possible?" (I have been spoken to abroad by men of intelligence), "how is it possible that circumstance of that kind could be brought about and that such things could be raised against you? So many thousand people in his armies and full in of integrity. How is it possible if you had done no wrong?" I tell you how it was. I told them there were two or three reasons. In the first place, our religion [was] not popular religion. It was opposed to their religion.<sup>39</sup> And theirs to ours. We had met them in argument but they could not withstand them. It was

36. This word may be "engine," but the shorthand is not clear. It appears to be either *ntine* or *njine*.

37. Thomas Ford (1800–50) served as governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846.

38. Thomas Coke Sharp (1818–94) became the owner, editor, and publisher of the newspaper *Warsaw Signal* from 1841 to 1842 and regained ownership of the newspaper in February 1844, shortly before the events described here occurred.

39. Brigham Young spent much of his sermon earlier in the day addressing this issue. He argued, "Christ and Baal can't be good friends."

not possible for them to maintain their position as religion under those circumstances. Consequently, some other plan must be adopted [with a] feeling of right, naturally <inside><sup>40</sup>—just the same as has been the case under all circumstances where religion has been at stake and where there has been [a] difference of sentiment. When sk argument failed, persecution stepped in. But did this religion believe those things? No.

There was another party, which was a political party. We possessed the power of the votes in that county, and we got control in a great measure by going into one of the schools at the time. But, [as has] been mentioned, we could put it down either way. As American citizens, we had to vote. If we voted for the Whigs, the Democrats were our enemies; if for the Democrats, the Whigs were our enemies. Now it was the policy of Joseph Smith to take a middle ways and consolidate as far as possible the feelings of people. Hence, we could have voted in all the officers in the county having the power to do so through our votes. We didn't do it. We had voted them on city council in Nauvoo in order to do away with prejudice. There was several persons in it not in the church—Squire Wells,<sup>41</sup> Barnett,<sup>42</sup> Warrington<sup>43</sup> and those were.<sup>44</sup> I speak of these things in order to show the conciliatory spirit Joseph Smith made use of in order to calm the troubled feelings of people and do away with the strong antipathy that generally privileged prevailed in relation to <—> politics, where every body knows<sup>45</sup> with regard to American politics how strong the feelings of each party [is] against [the other].

I remember an anecdote, reading it in [a] French paper: each party set the other down as [the] most infamous, scandalous in existence—setting the the president person down as being who was putting up for [another] person.<sup>46</sup> The <frchn> French editor says, “bet they could find an honest man in

40. This is the most likely reading.

41. Daniel Hamner Wells (1814–91) was baptized into the Church on August 9, 1846, and later became an Apostle.

42. John Tipton Barnett (1809–1905) moved to Knox County, Illinois, shortly after Joseph Smith was killed, where he remained for the rest of his life.

43. Benjamin Franklin Warrington (1810–50) was elected to the Nauvoo city council on February 6, 1843, and was also a member of the Nauvoo Legion. Warrington, along with non-Mormons Daniel H. Wells and Hiram Kimball, had also developed property and sold lots in Nauvoo.

44. The crossed-out material could also be read “and this way.” Hugh McFall (1799–after 1860) was another non-Mormon elected to the city council, who also served as adjutant general of the Nauvoo Legion. Hiram S. Kimball (1806–63) was elected as a non-Mormon but was baptized on July 20, 1843.

45. Written “noise”; the obvious intent is “knows.”

46. In other words, condemning a person who supported someone else.

America." Of course we must have a strong<sup>47</sup> party of that kind opposed to us; put the religion in and <that in>.<sup>48</sup>

Then there was another set of rabble—pickpockets, cutthroats, black-legs—which would go [to] any length to accomplish his purpose who could be <hired> hired to kill a man for [a] small sum and perjure himself any day for [a] glass of grog. Some of these politicians gave a lot of such men as these a little grog; says they should damn all Mormons; let's go and destroy them; and the <illegible> party would wink at it, saying they were opposed to our religion. If we could get up a posse, get them out of [the] way—them we would not like to be among us. Yes, we put them on a litter. Thus, their influence with the devil at their head was the great cause of this animosity and trouble excited in that place. It was not any Joseph Smith or any Hyrum, not any one of the elders or authorities that lived in Nauvoo, for there never was a city of men in this world that were more desirous to seek peace and promote it than the authorities and politicians of that city. Here the plan, <—> the <blame><sup>49</sup> commenced. The spirit of persecution began to rage. A road was cut out against the city council, against the mayor and city council—Joseph Smith was mayor—for destroying this press. The excitement ran very high. Mobs got up in different parts of the county and they commenced to burn houses in the neighborhood that Brother Morley<sup>50</sup> lived [in] out at Lima.<sup>51</sup> And around in that district they began to bear away

47. "Strong" is written over illegible shorthand.

48. "That in" could also be read "hold on."

49. This is the most likely reading. This word could also be read "flame."

50. Isaac Morley (1786–1865) was president of the stake centered in Lima, Illinois.

51. Matthew Caldwell confirms Taylor's account. He recalled many individuals settling in his neighborhood after they were driven from Nauvoo. "Most of my neighbors by this time were Mormons. . . . I well remember these burnings. . . . One morning I counted fourteen Mormon homes burning at the same time. . . . After these burnings there was not a house left standing within seven miles from my home. On June 24, 1844, the sheriff, Levi Williams, rode up to my place early in the morning while I was doing my chores and said, 'I have a "Fortwith" for you.' 'What does that mean?', said I. 'It means for you to be in Warsaw by ten o'clock today.' . . . On the evening of June 26, 1844, the old Mob leader, Col. Levi Williams, with Tom Sharp, the editor of the Warsaw Sentinel, had a few new wagons rolled out from under a shed and placed a two inch plank on the box of one of the wagons. Col. Williams then climbed on the box and gave orders for the captains of the militia to form their companies facing the wagon.

"As soon as the orders were obeyed, Col. Levi Williams said, 'Boys, the governor is not going to do anything for us. All that is in favor of going to Carthage in the morning step out three paces in front. Those contrary stand fast.' At the word, 'March,' all but six men stepped out. The names of the six were: Matthew Caldwell, George Walker, William Guymon, Platt Fairbanks, Eldred Hailey, and

and<sup>52</sup> destroy the property of the brethren. When they did so, rumors kept coming in every day to Joseph Smith. He wrote to the governor and wanted to know what he was to do. He received word back he was to maintain the peace as lieutenant general of [the] Nauvoo Legion. He did so. And in order that the governor might not be misinformed in relation to the matter, when the excitement began to rage in great extent, he sent messengers for a number of days in succession with affidavits and testimony concerning the events taking place all around, asking his counsel and laying before him the position of things and of the people—among other things requesting him to come down. Brother Hunter<sup>53</sup> went on one of these expeditions [with a] number of others whose names I have forgot. It was s[pring] time; heavy rain. Set<sup>54</sup> out as parties here or there were<sup>55</sup> [on the] way to meet the governor. He on has<sup>56</sup> his way, they missed each other.

In [the] midst of this burning, the sheriff called upon Backenstos.<sup>57</sup> He called out a posse of men to put down the men who was stirring up this commotion and take out the company. And as soon [as] they came in their neighborhood they made tracks and cried for more. I rather think, perhaps in this skirmish, there may be some few persons killed. I do not remember the detail of these circumstances but merely the outlines. The governor by and by made his appearance at Carthage, and he sent a deputation down to Joseph Smith requesting him to send out a deputation to him to wait upon him in Carthage to acquaint him with [the] state of affairs in Nauvoo.

Joseph Smith appointed Doctor Bernhisel,<sup>58</sup> who is now in Washington, and myself to go with the deputies of the governor and meet him in Carthage and to take with us the papers. We had the documents, affidavits, testimonies, etc., that had been presented before Joseph Smith of acts of

an old English gentlemen by the name of Zilburn." Caldwell later talked his two brothers out of participating in the action. Matthew Caldwell, Autobiographical sketch, holograph, Church History Library. See also Matthew Caldwell, Testimony of Matthew Caldwell, January 15, 1908, holograph, Church History Library; punctuation standardized for clarity.

52. "Bear away and" inserted above line.

53. This was probably Edward Hunter (1793–1883), who was a bishop in Nauvoo.

54. Likely reading for this word.

55. Could also be read "that were."

56. Probably an attempt to write "his." The symbols are the same, but "his" is placed above the line and "has" is placed on the line.

57. Jacob B. Backenstos (1811–57) was clerk of the Hancock County, Illinois, Circuit Court and was elected to the Illinois legislature in 1844. He was elected sheriff of Hancock County in 1845.

58. John Milton Bernhisel (1799–1881) was Joseph Smith's personal physician and friend.

violence that had been sworn to by different individual[s] as they came and made their cases known to him. I believe Squire Wells took a good many of them. We went to the governor and found everything there in [the] greatest state of excitement. All the blacklegs, murderers (though some of them I was acquainted with and believe them to be such from our testimony), apostates, and greatest enemies that Joseph Smith and Mormonism had in the country were there; and as it is said about Brutus having his right hand men, many of them seemed to me to be the right hand men of the governor. We did not obtain an interview with him immediately, but perhaps it might be well here to relate a little incident occurred about the time we arrived there about 11 at night.

We went right to the hotel the governor stayed at and took up our quarters there. We had not been in there ten minutes when there was a soldier came in and he knew that one of our brethren, Brother Carns<sup>59</sup> of German descent, as good [a] man [as] anywhere, <knew><sup>60</sup> he had been committing some great misdemeanor, he [the soldier] said. And naturally that it was necessary he [Carns] should be imprisoned. But they felt bowels<sup>61</sup> of compassion towards him, being [the] man held, and they wanted one of us to go and give bail for them. It struck me to be [a] rather curious kind of night to take up prisoners to give bail, and we knew our documents to be laid before the governor. I said, "I don't believe your statement about Carns, but if bail is necessary, tomorrow morning <we><sup>62</sup> [will] go and see him and it will all be right." We passed along and went to our lodging, and as we were going into our room we passed through another room and we saw laying in that room a man by the name of Jackson,<sup>63</sup> a repeat murderer. Our bed was placed beside<sup>64</sup> his, just two board posts between. We had with us arms.

59. Daniel Carn (1802–72) was American born but raised in the German communities of Pennsylvania.

60. This word could also be read "owned."

61. This is the most likely reading. It may also be "balance."

62. This word could possibly be read "I."

63. This is probably Joseph H. Jackson, whose name Willard Richards included first on his list of individuals involved in the murder of the martyrs. See Willard Richards, List, ca. 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60. In April 1854, shortly before Taylor's sermon, Thomas Bullock went through the list and made notations about the current whereabouts of these individuals. Joseph L. Heywood noted that on May 12, 1844, Joseph Smith received an anonymous threat letter that he suspected had been written by Joseph H. Jackson, calling on Joseph "to make his peace with God—he would soon have to die." Heywood believed it was because Jackson had been refused the privilege of marrying the daughter of Hyrum Smith. Joseph L. Heywood, Statement, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

64. This word could also be read "opposite."

I had a good six shooter. I did not sleep any that night. Thought I would be on the alert as nobody else was. So we had just got into bed when [a] rap came to ~~to~~ [the] door and Chauncey Higbee came [in].

Many of you know him, a notorious scamp, as black [an] apostate and full of [the] devil as anybody. He came there and knocked at our door and of course he thought it would be of no use speaking to me after what has taken place now. ~~Doctrine~~ "Doctor, it is a pity Carns should be in."<sup>65</sup> Believe him to be a good sort of fellow. Sorry to see him lying in jail. Would it not be better to go and liberate him?" Talked with the doctor and he thought he would go. Chauncey went out of [the] room until he got his clothes on. Says I, "You ~~may~~ better stay where you are. Don't you know, we have papers and documents? [Their] very purpose [is to] part us to destroy ~~us~~ either one of us." We stayed together that night. Towards the next night we had an interview with the ~~governor~~ ~~he~~ when we went into the room he was surrounded with just such characters [as] I had mentioned. And if it had not been [that] I was going on public business, if I had been on private instead of public, I should have turned around and said, "Governor Ford, if you choose to [be] with such characters as these, I shall withdraw." But it was necessary we should do our business in [a] public capacity.

I said we had been sent by General Smith, that we had with us documents to inform him of [the] position of the country and all what was going on generally. He took our documents and commenced reading them, but while he was reading ~~another~~ one [would] say, "That is a lie," another, "That is a damned lie," another, "That is a God damned lie." But his Excellency did not hear it. Perhaps he thought it very polite. It passed off comfortably with him. The result of it was he told us he would prepare a letter for us. He did so sometime late on in the evening. We got a letter and went back to Nauvoo with it.

When Joseph Smith read the letter, he believed there was mischief intended by the governor and the parties. And we talked over the matter for [a] length of time in the Nauvoo Mansion. And finally there was some gentlemen came in, some relation of the late president, and wished to see Joseph Smith and have some little conversation with him.<sup>66</sup> As it was very late, and we had been up for one or two nights before, I went ~~out~~ off and left

65. This is the most likely reading. This word may also be "not."

66. Charles Francis Adams, the son of President John Quincy Adams, and his cousin Josiah Quincy Jr. visited with Joseph Smith on May 15, 1844, a little more than a month before the other events Taylor describes. See Jed Woodworth, "Josiah Quincy's 1844 Visit with Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 71–87. This may well have been the relation to the "late president" Taylor referenced.

him that that evening. In the morning I heard Hyrum and Joseph [and] one or two others crossed the river and thought it [the] best thing to go.

I crossed but did not see him until sometime [the] next day when I got word from him. Brother Elias Smith went to search [for] Joseph [and] brought me word that Joseph and Hyrum had concluded to go to Carthage and requested me to come and go along. I had peculiar feelings at the time. I had not seen them, but I had been arranging my business to leave in half an hour. I should have been started east except if I did not find them over the river I should meet them by there.

There was peculiar feelings among many of the brethren in relation to it.<sup>67</sup> I was not there during the whole of those deliberations. As I said, I was preparing to arrange my business for the east. Hyrum extended a strong wish to return and stated his feelings precisely, and Joseph gave way to his brother's feelings. Joseph had told them in [a] public speech before, says he, "brethren I will stand by you to the death." Some of <'em><sup>68</sup> went and

67. Jason R. Luce recalled the conversation between a man named Powers and a Mr. Davis when a group met on June 11, 1844, to discuss the men returning over the river and going to Carthage. "Powers said they would attempt to kill Joseph—Mr. Davis replied No I think not,—Yes say Powers they will by God & you know it by—God." Willard Richards, Minutes, ca. 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60, Church History Library; punctuation as in original. This is reminiscent of Jonathan Wright's recollection of a conversation between him and Colonel Enoch C. March between the Mansion House and Richard Brersier's Ferry Landing on Water Street in Nauvoo on June 26, 1844, at about 5 p.m., after he met with George T. M. Davis, editor of the *Alton Telegraph*, when March's soldiers had come looking for Joseph and were unable to find him. After Wright bore witness to March that he had a testimony of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling, "Col. March Replied. Mr. Wright—you are mistaken—& I know it—you do not know what I know. I tell you—they will kill Jo Smith before he leaves Carthage & I know it—& you never will see him alive again—said I Enoch, I do not believe it. he is in the hands of God—& God will deliver him—says he I know better—when you hear of him again—you will hear he is dead & I know it—& I will tell you why I know it—The people at Carthage wanted permission from the Gov. to kill you all—& burn up your city—& Ford (the Gov.) asked me if I thought it was best to suffer it—I replied—No no—for Gods sake Ford—don't suffer it—that will never do—no never—Just see for a moment Ford what that would do—it would be the means of murdering 1000s of Innocent men women & children—& destroying. Thousands of Dollars worth of property—& that never would do. it would not be sanctioned—it would disgrace the nation—you have now got the Principal men—here under your control—they are all you want, What more do you want When they are out of the way, the thing is settled & the people will be satisfied & that is the easiest way you can dispose of it & Gov Ford thought upon the whole that was the best policy & I know it will be done." Jonathan Calkins Wright, Affidavit, January 13, 1855, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

68. Shorthand reads only "m," but this is an apparent abbreviation for "them."

asked him if he was going to leave them now, so I heard. I do not know the particulars of course. Then he turned around and said, "Die? Yes, I am a man of honor and integrity. I stand up to my post if the devil stand in the way." There was nothing of cowardice in him. Rest Lots of brethren others here say no one<sup>69</sup> sought to destroy the brethren. He went out with <100><sup>70</sup> men to meet in the prairie to meet 2500—no, nothing of cowardice. But he thought it would be better to ward off the blow a little while and trust to pardon to regulate things when the storm should be [a] little abated. These, I believe, were his feelings in going over the river. We had been . . . I believe . . . Before that, I must mention a circumstance here.

That the city charter of Nauvoo possessed the right of a writ of habeas corpus, which gave the parties the privilege of being taken from before an officer, if they considered there was injustice going to be done them, and receive a trial in another place. Before this mob came—before [the] governor came—Brother Joseph, Brother Hyrum, and all of the city council appeared before Squire Wells, who was then one of the magistrate[s] to answer to this charge brought them against them. The municipal [court] issued a writ of habeas corpus, and the city marshal took us out of [the] hands of [an] officer sent from Carthage, and we was brought before Squire Wells. Why? Because he was not in the Church at that time and they could not have any reasonable objections for us to be tried before him in order to conciliate the people.<sup>71</sup> We were acquitted, but we<sup>72</sup> were not satisfied.

Now I return to where I left off. We agreed to go to Carthage. Joseph said very little when we went, but he did talk [of] feelings on leaving home. I remember a remark that President Young made down at North Ogden [one] day a while ago in speaking about Brother Joseph. He said at that time, he believed the spirit of God was withdrawn from it at the time and he was left to grapple with the powers of darkness. I believe it. I believe it from the statement he made. Somebody asked him as we were journeying to Carthage, says they: "Joseph what will be the upshot of this matter?" "Well," says he, "I do not know anything about it. Do not talk to me about matters now. I have given up my office and calling for the time being." Made some remark like that. "I do not profess to guide this people now while I am in [the] hands of officers. Somebody else must do it." This is [the] body of meaning, [the] spirit of [the] words, if not the exact words.

69. Shorthand for "one" is awkwardly written.

70. "1" is written over "2"; the number originally read "200."

71. This word could also be read "plea."

72. This word is written "we," but context suggests Taylor may have meant to say "they." The symbol for "they" is almost the same as that for "we" but much larger.

He went to Carthage, and it was not Joseph and Hyrum alone [that were] implicated in that matter but all the city council. I was one of them. we went to Our brother the governor sent for Joseph Smith. He pledged to us his honor and the honor of the state that these men should be protected and should not be injured. He gave it to us as delegates that had been sent out by Joseph to convey this message to him. We spoke about the position of [the] country. We told him we were abundantly able to defend ourselves. We neither asked his help nor any other. We had at that time 5000 men in arms, and we could have taken one fourth of it and whipped out the governor's posse and his mobocrats. Consequently, it was not because we could not defend ourselves but to be subject to the law of the land and conciliate the feelings of people. "Shall we go forward and bring posse?" "No," says the governor, "don't bring any." "What shall be the situation of Joseph and Hyrum and those with them?" "I pledge my honor and honor of [the] state they shall be protected and no harm shall come to them." I deviate [a] little in detail—perhaps because [of] things that occur to me which I have passed over.

When we got there we had a hearing in the hotel. We stayed at the same place the governor stayed in. [The] man's name that kept it was Hamilton.<sup>73</sup> However, as there was so much excitement at that time abroad, it was thought best we should go early [and] have our appearance another time. That was thought the best course to pursue by the lawyers and all parties concerned. And as that was legal, we thought we would give our bail, have [an] appearance another time, and go at another time not in that excitement. We went bail for one another and that thing was cleared for the time being.

In speaking of this bail, I must refer back to the bail that was required of me and Brother Bernhisel in relation to Carns. It is a little disconnected, but I wish to put the thing in as it was and show you why I came to such opinions about their proceeding. Next morning we went and waited [upon] Squire Smith.<sup>74</sup> When we waited upon him, we spoke about this case of

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73. Artois Hamilton (1795–1875) operated a hotel in Carthage, east of the county jail.

74. Robert F. Smith, captain of the Carthage Greys, was also the local judge and was so busy during this period that he did not have time to sleep during the night leading up to the martyrdom. His wife left the following account of that last day. "That day [June 27, 1844] I was unusually depressed and out of sorts. [I] had been living in almost constant dread-terror of the Mormons for years and never known from day to day and hardly from one hour to another, what dreadful catastrophe would happen and when the rumor reached me about half past two P.M. that a mob had collected on the prairie some a few miles out and were on the road to Carthage.

Carns and told him we had come to give bail for him. Says he, "I do not know whether I should be authorized to receive bail from any inhabitants from [the] City of Nauvoo, seeing things [are] in such a troublesome state." Before either one of us would have done it. This time both were there. He did not think they he would be justified. "We have both got property in the county," says I. "Search the records." "Well, says he, "I do not think, finally, [it is] best for me to take bail. But it would have done if one night before."

Now I go back to where I left. We gave bail to for one another and it was not opposed and could not be rejected. The next thing was there was two ruthless characters. I don't suppose anybody would have trusted them in death. I shall not mention any names about these. One of them I have forgot. The other matter [is] of little moment, let it pass. Suffice it to say they were men in whom could be placed no confidence. They went and made affidavit to the same Smith. All referred to that Joseph Smith and Hyrum were guilty of treason against the United States. They had been put up to this by one of the lawyers. They did this because treason was not a bailable case and they thought they would get them into prison where they could accomplish their designs upon them. As soon as I heard of this, a constable, a ruffian came into the room and was for bearing them off first.

After<sup>75</sup> I told him to hold on and asked him what he was after, Brother Phelps and others was present, I went to the governor's room [and] says, "Governor Ford, are you aware that [a] writ has been issued against Joseph and Hyrum Smith accusing them of treason and [there is a] constable

Some thought they were Mormons comeing to liberate the Smiths from jail and [sic] would destroy the town and every thing in it. My neighbors began to make preperations to leave their homes with their families and the part of town where I lived was soon entirely deserted but myself. . . . [My husband] had not been home a single night for two weeks. He with his men had been keeping gard of the town day and night all that time. . . . [She dressed and sent her six children to friends' houses one block away and about an hour later she heard gunfire.] [I] was powerless to move for a minute or so. When I became conscious there was a Mormon girl, who lived in the neighborhood, standing in the door. I was holding on to the bench of my chair and she was ringing her hands and saying 'Oh my God! Mrs. Smith they are shooting the men down at the jail and throwing them out of the window. . . . All brought word of what terrible revenge the Mormons were going to take on the Carthage people for killing the Smiths. They were frightened and beleaved all the stories they heard." Mrs. Robert F. Smith, "A Short Sketch of the Trials of Mrs. R. F. Smith at the Killing of the Smiths, The Mormons Prophet," holograph, SC 1434, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois. (Misspellings in title and numerous transpositions of letters and misspellings in narrative retained as in original.)

75. Shorthand is ambiguous for this word.

now wishing to put them into prison? I call upon you to use your official authority and liberate them." "I am sorry," says he, "that the thing should occur. But," says he, "it is a thing [that] belongs to the judiciary, and the executive [has] nothing to do with it." Says I, "Did not you pledge me your word of honor and faith of [the] state [that] you [would] see these men protected?" "So I will," says he. "Are you going [to] allow them to be thrust into prison at the insistence of felons like these?" "It is a thing [that] belongs to the judiciary; it would not hurt them for one night. Gentlemen, I expect different things from you."

I went. Outran <mocking> and saw some of our party readying to <mock> them back.<sup>76</sup> To a soldier I say, "Will you go and tell your captain I wish to see him immediately, and if not see him bring the first captain"? He came and brought me his captain. "I believe there is a design to murder these men, and here is a ruffian wanting to <illegible><sup>77</sup> them among the people. I wish you [to] bring your company to protect them." "I will do so," says he. And just as quick as the constable got them to the door, the company arrived to escort them to the jail. Everything was excited at time. Another circumstance about this I mention. I do not know who he was. I suppose he was in the militia—perhaps a friend to the Mormons. He came and whispered to my ear. Says he, "Remember me." But I never saw him from that time to this. I should like to come across him. He did all he could to save them.

A whole lot of us went with Joseph, most of [the] city council and one or two strange gentlemen that went into prison at [the] same time. They considered abuse and outrage. There was a room full of us that night. In inquiring into the matter it was found they had <come><sup>78</sup> acted illegally in this matter. The officers had . . . They had committed them to prison under what is called a mittimus, as though they had been before them tried and proven guilty and they committed them to prison without a hearing. After having commenced [and] committed them to prison, the officer had no right to take them out of it unless they came to [a] county court and [were] brought out by right of habeas corpus. This was about the position of things. Well, they refused to go out. They appeared to before a court called the next day [by] this same officer Smith. He was captain of [a] company. He went

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76. The words "mocking" and "mock" are written in the vowel position for "making" and "make," but the difference is less than  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch higher on the line, and since Watt wrote rapidly he was not always careful about his placement. The sentence reads awkwardly either way but "mocking" is the preferred reading.

77. This word is illegible but probably "push." Bullock wrote, in longhand, "Ruffian was for pushing them."

78. This word is awkwardly written in shorthand.

to the governor. Says he, "Joseph and Hyrum refused to go out of prison." "Have you not got a posse?" says he. "Do not you know what to do?" He could not interfere before in any capacity whatever to protect them, but he could tell the officer what he could do to take them out by force on the principle of mobbing <—><sup>79</sup> he spoke about before. Consequently, they were brought out as [a] company of men came and we all went out. There was no charges against any but Joseph and Hyrum. As witnesses could not be brought, they were remanded back to prison for two days until witnesses could be gathered and [a] proper hearing had.

The next day the governor, Governor Ford, went to Nauvoo and he took away all of the military, I believe, with the exception of a company which was under the command of Captain Smith. This same Smith, captain of Carthage Grays, the most blood thirsty men [that] could be found anywhere, and these were the guards of Governor Ford, as he said, to protect the lives of Joseph and Hyrum Smith when we were in jail remanded a second time. There was only one or two allowed to go into jail besides myself and Brother Willard Richards. We obtained liberty from the governor, Richards being Joseph's private secretary and myself as his friend. There was one or two others [who] were permitted to go in, and different people came to see us. And we were left alone pretty much with the exception of two or three individual that came now and again. One was Captain Jones,<sup>80</sup> as he is called, from Wales. Another was Brother Wheelock,<sup>81</sup> Brother Markham,<sup>82</sup> and some two 3 others.<sup>83</sup> There was a strong feeling manifested by individuals of the brethren who would have been glad to have been with Joseph.\*<sup>84</sup>

79. This appears to be an aborted attempt to write "principle."

80. Dan Jones (1810–62) left the prison to request legal assistance from Orville H. Browning in Quincy, Illinois. He published an account of the martyrdom in Welsh in July 1847 titled "Merthyrdod Joseph Smith At Frawd Hyrum!" See Dan Jones, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum," intro. by Ronald D. Dennis, *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 79–109.

81. Cyrus Hubbard Wheelock (1813–94) left the jail "on some errand" and was not allowed to return.

82. Stephen Markham (1800–78).

83. Others who were in the jail for part of the time included John Solomon Fullmer (1807–83), John Milton Bernhisel (1799–1881), John Smith (1781–1854), Hiram S. Kimball (1806–63), and several lawyers.

84. "\*" indicates the sermon was continued elsewhere, as noted in the introduction.

## Transcript of Thomas Bullock's Longhand Summary of John Taylor's Sermon, June 27, 1854 (concluding paragraphs only)

*[Staker's note: The surviving portion of George D. Watt's shorthand recording of the Taylor sermon ends here, and the remainder is filled in with Thomas Bullock's recording, with italics indicating where Pitman was used, as noted above.]*

We ad [had]<sup>85</sup> various conversations *on the curious spirit there*. *The* mob had prevented all *to come*. *The* last one was sent out for *a little wine*. *He* was not allowed *to come back*. Bro W<sup>d</sup> [Willard] says, bro Jos[eph] if *there is* any scuffing *to be done* let me [get it] done *and* let you go *and I s<sup>d</sup>*. [said] if you *will* let me go[.]<sup>86</sup> *in a few hours I will have* enough men *to liberate* you even if *we tear down the prison*. *He* objected preferring peace. I rem[em]ber bro Hy[rum] requested me *to sing a poor wa[y] faring man of grief which I done*. *He* requested it *the 2<sup>nd</sup> time*. I then saw *a crowd of men*<sup>87</sup> *with disfigured faces and came up to the door up stairs*. I made a rush *to the door*. bro H[yrum] *and* bro R[ichards] got *there first*. They leaned ags<sup>n</sup>. [against] *the door*. some one fired *a gun* thro *the key hole*. *He* then walked *a little distance*. *a ball* came thro *the door and struck him in his face*. another thro *the windows* fired by *the Carthage Greys*. *He* fell on his back *and s<sup>d</sup>* [said] I am *a dd [dead] man*. Jos<sup>h</sup> [Joseph] came and s<sup>d</sup> [said] Oh my poor bro Hy.[rum.] Bro Wheelock gave *the pistol to bro Jos[eph]* [—]<sup>88</sup>

*He* pulled *the pistol* deliberately 6 times. 3 times whent [sic] of[f] *and 3 didn't*. *I seized a thick hickory stick and bro Jos[eph] [was] behind me*. I parried *off the guns* firing *and the last I heard bro Jos[eph] sa[y] parry them off[f] as well as you can*. *In a few moments the door was full of bayonets*. *The window was open*. I made an attempt *to jump out of the windo*.

85. Thomas Bullock, who was British, as was John Taylor, frequently dropped the initial "h" in words as he wrote; he also commonly wrote "and" as "ad." To keep bracketed information to a minimum, these instances have all been silently corrected to "had" or "and."

86. Bullock leaves a space here to indicate a period.

87. Debra Jo Marsh, who has developed the most comprehensive and detailed list of individuals who participated in the attack to date, has argued that over two hundred individuals attacked the prisoners in jail. Debra Jo Marsh, "Respectable Assassins: A Collective Biography and Socio-Economic Study of the Carthage Mob" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 2009).

88. An illegible word was wiped out here.

I fell on the windo sill and fell inside. I recovered my feeling and crawled under the bed. I had given Dr. Richards my watch and money.<sup>89</sup> my watch was all broken up. the wa[y] I fell in was a par[ty] outside shot me as I was falling and the force of the gun threw me back. I was shot once or twice under the bed. The next I noticed was bro R[ichards] going from the windo to the door towards some cells. I s<sup>d</sup>. [said] Dr<sup>r</sup> come and take me along. He opened the door and dragged me along the two balls in<sup>90</sup>

I was in excruciating pain. He put me in a cell and threw me under the matress. He

they ma[y] kill me<sup>91</sup>

s<sup>d</sup>.[said] is it possible Jos<sup>h</sup> is dd [dead] <illegible> pray you may live and tell the story. they ret<sup>d</sup> [returned] and found no one in the room and they absconded. the coroner's jury was called in the room. I bel[ieve] Hy[rum] never moved. I heard Frank<sup>92</sup> Higby at mart<sup>d</sup>. [martyrdom] I s<sup>d</sup>. [said] Cap Smith I want you to have F H arrested for I swear my life ags<sup>t</sup> [against] him. And he left and another of men wanted me to go to the tavern. but I wo [would] not. the D<sup>r</sup>. was attending to the bodies. I s<sup>d</sup>. [said] this jail ma[y] protect me. . . .<sup>93</sup> I co<sup>d</sup> [could] not believe them. In ½ an hour the whole place was left. when Dr<sup>r</sup>. R[ichards] came along I consented and went.

these r [are] the outlines and mor[e] as I know them at the present time. I la[y] in the tavern till the next, mor[n]<ing>. when my wounds were dressed. we co<sup>d</sup> [could] only whisper no. I went to Nauvoo. we rd <cost><sup>94</sup> our P. O I suppose but was <illegible> and I suppose they r [are] better off and can act in that position and I expect we shall meet them and strike hands. it was a barbarous thing and a real stain upon them and they can't

89. Taylor makes the point in his later account that he gave his watch and money to Willard Richards after the attack was over while the surgeon was working on his hand. He probably mentioned this detail here to explain his notice of damage to the watch. Taylor concluded his watch had been damaged by a bullet, but the evidence suggests it was likely damaged when he fell against the window sill. Joseph L. Lyon and David W. Lyon, "Physical Evidence at Carthage Jail and What It Reveals about the Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 4 (2008): 36–37.

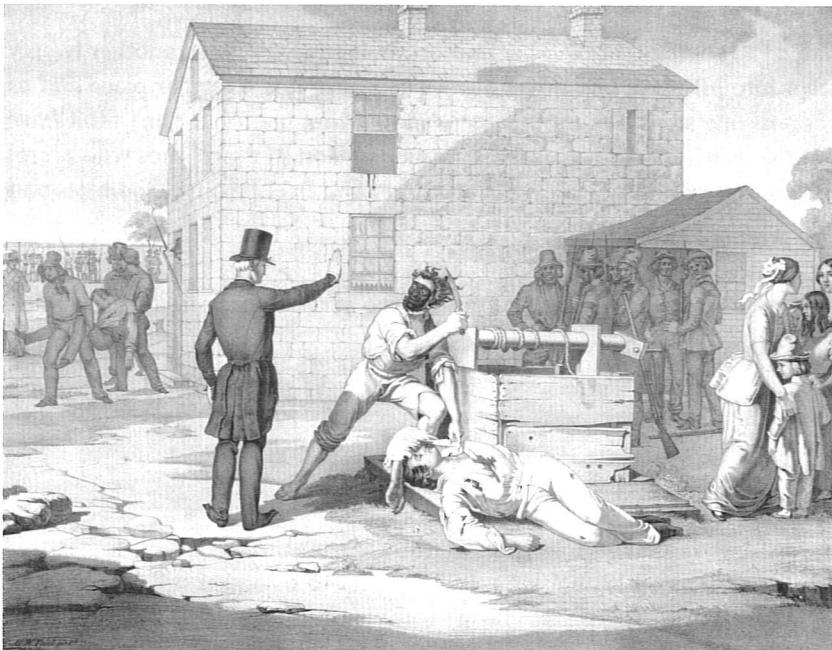
90. There is a long space here in the manuscript indicating Bullock could not keep up with the narrative and jumped forward in the sermon in an attempt to catch up with John Taylor's speaking.

91. Phrase is above the line without an insertion mark.

92. Frank was a nickname for Francis Higby.

93. Bullock leaves a long space here, indicating missing material.

94. This word is difficult to read, and the transcription is uncertain.



*Martyrdom of Joseph and Hiram Smith in Carthage Jail, June 27, 1844.* Tinted lithograph by C. G. Crehen based on an image by G. W. Fasel, for Nagel & Weingartner, and dedicated to Orson Hyde, New York, 1851. Courtesy Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. This lithograph was made in September 1851 based on an image printed by William Daniels in 1845. Even though Daniels acknowledged during the subsequent trial of the murderers that his initial image and the scene it depicted was largely inaccurate, some details are consistent with John Taylor's account. Daniels's image was likely based on a now lost 1844 painting by an unidentified artist used in Daniels's presentations sharing what he observed outside the jail during the martyrdom.

get rid of it in time and et<sup>r</sup>. [eternity] and they will be dd<sup>95</sup> and they are dd and we shall see it. they have not hurt Jos[eph] or Hy[um] but they have hurt themselves. There r [are] 100<sup>s</sup> in this cong<sup>r</sup> [congregation] who would have been glad to have been where we were. I know they lived and dd [died] men of God and will live for evermore and many of my bren [brethren] round about here

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95. The letters “dd” are sometimes used as a short form of “dead” but in this context may have been a shortening of “damned.”

if they r [are] gone *there is others* in their places. I rem[em]ber Xerxes<sup>96</sup> had a C<sup>o</sup> [company] called *the Immortals*. if any *were* killed another twenty stept into *his* place *and* it was always kept full. it *is a* regular place *and as* soon *as* one steps out another steps *in and* that man that don't fill it *have* not *the sp[irit]* of God. *as those were men of God so r [are] thos who r [are] with us.* from<sup>97</sup> it *is all ri<sup>t</sup> [right] in t[ime] and in et.[ernity]* God bless you all ever *and ever Amen*

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96. Xerxes was leader of the Persians who attacked the Spartans at the Battle of Thermopylae.

97. This word appears to have been wiped out.