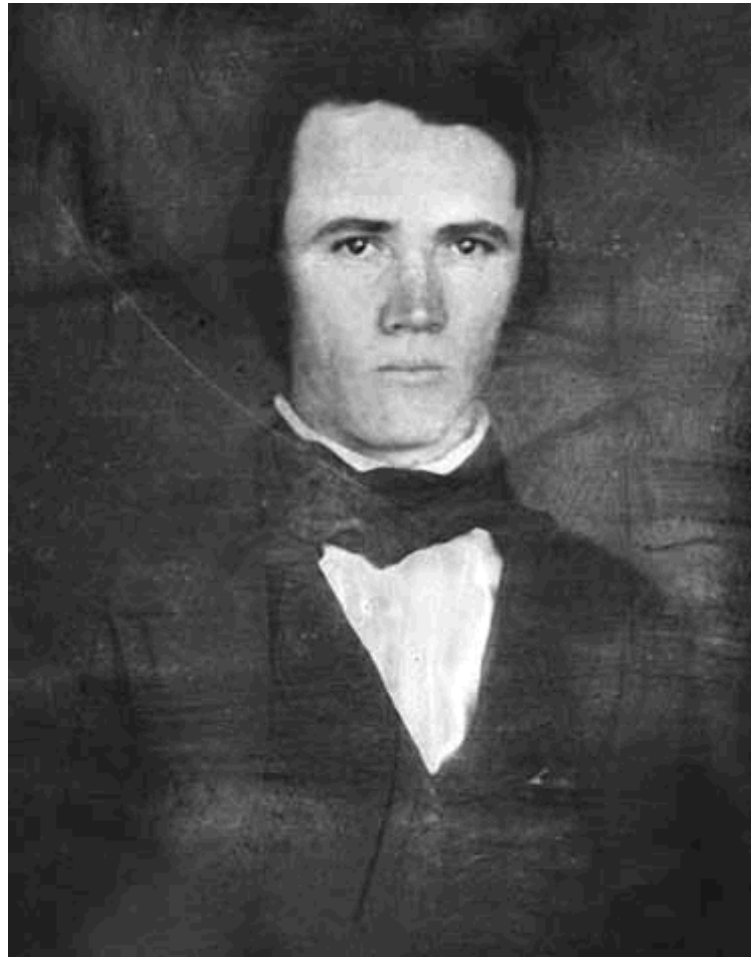


*The Coming Storm: The Murder of Jesse Thompson Hartley* was originally published as a Collector's Edition Keepsake for volume 13 of the KINGDOM IN THE WEST series, *Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West* edited by Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley. Published by THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY, *An imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press*, Norman, Oklahoma, 2011.

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JESSE THOMPSON HARTLEY, CIRCA 1853.  
*Courtesy International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers.*

[NOTE: Daguerreotype of Jesse Thompson Hartley, husband of Mary Bullock. Killed on a trip to the East. Donated to the Provo Pioneer Museum, Provo, Utah by Gladys R. Farrer Holden, Aug. 1971. Gladys Roberts Farrer (1893-1984) was a daughter of Mary Jane Roberts Farrer (1862-1930), and a granddaughter of Mary Ann Bullock Williams Hartley Roberts (1829-1901).]

This keepsake for volume 13 of the Kingdom in the West series represents a departure, for it is not a collection of documents prepared by a series editor (although it contains one very important document), but an original research publication by one of the most important historians of Mormon origins.

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Mr. Marquardt thanks Dan Williams, Michael W. Homer, and Polly Aird for their assistance and encouragement. Will Bagley edited the final text.

## THE COMING STORM THE MURDER OF JESSE THOMPSON HARTLEY

H. Michael Marquardt

Jesse Thompson Hartley lived in Utah Territory for only eight months before his murder on May 3, 1854, at East Canyon, where the Mormon and California trails wind through the Wasatch Mountains. William Adams “Bill” Hickman, the notorious Mormon gunman, later confessed to shooting Hartley off his horse as he crossed East Canyon Creek. Hickman claimed Brigham Young—the powerful federal governor of Utah Territory and ex-officio U.S. Indian superintendent, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, or Mormons), and commander of the Nauvoo Legion, the territorial militia—had ordered Hartley’s death, using Orson Hyde, president of the Twelve Apostles, to carry the fatal order to Hickman. Murder was not unusual on the western trails or in Utah Territory during the 1850s, but Hartley’s death, executed twenty-four days after Brigham Young publicly denounced and excommunicated him, stands out, for it involved Mormonism’s highest leaders.

J. T. Hartley was born on December 4, 1831, in Gallatin, Copiah County, Mississippi, to Joseph and Rachel Thompson Hartley. He had three siblings, Harvey, Catherine, and Susan, and studied law in Jackson, Mississippi, for eighteen months before he “went to California in 1849 and never returned.”<sup>1</sup> By his own account, Hartley had spent five years in the West when he arrived in Great Salt Lake City from Oregon Territory early in September 1853. He checked into the United States Hotel, run by 1847 Pioneer Camp veteran Jesse C. Little, former president of the Latter-day Saint New England Mission. Hartley aroused suspicion almost immediately, and within three weeks he was in trouble. David Hull, the California-bound son of a wealthy New Jersey merchant, hired Hartley to represent him in a larceny case before the Salt Lake Probate Court.<sup>2</sup> To Hartley’s surprise, the court insisted it

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<sup>1</sup> *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1891), 2:367. Virginia H. Zeigler supplied the Hartley family information and quotation from the research of Ralph F. Harvey, deceased. Zeigler to Marquardt, emails, September 14, 16, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to wills, estates, and guardianship cases, Utah’s probate courts claimed jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases. Successive federal judges agreed with Hartley that such cases should not be handled by probate courts. See Michael W. Homer, “The Judiciary and the Common Law in Utah Territory, 1850–61,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Spring 1988): 97–108.

retained the power to appoint the prisoner's defense attorney. On the second day of the trial, David Hull was poisoned. Hartley immediately wrote an appeal to the recently appointed Secretary of War, his fellow Mississippian Jefferson Davis.

J. T. HARTLEY TO JEFFERSON DAVIS,  
SEPTEMBER 26, 1853, BRIGHAM YOUNG COLLECTION,  
MS 1234, BOX 23, FOLDER 2, LDS CHURCH HISTORY LIBRARY.

Great Salt Lake City  
September 26th 53

Hon. Jefferson Davis

Dear Sir: It is with pride that every Mississippian hears of your appointment as one of the cabinet of President Pearce: as I have from my infancy been [con]versant with your cours[e] as a politician having been born and raised in Mississippi. I have been for five years in californa and oregon and on my return to my native state I concluded to spend the winter in salt Lake valley; and it is upon the subject of this People that I wish to speak to you as a united states officer:

I have for a number of years read column after column of newspapers accounts of those People[.] I have read in californa two or three pamphlets entitled mormonism exposed. I have <heard> persons relate how they were robbed and plundered of there property by those people and then incarcerated in prison for no cause other than that they had expressed themselves upon some subject adversely to the mormons[.] all of those things I did not believe until I came here and find that it is all true and the half have not been told; how can this be is the every day remark to be heard among what the mormons term jentiles [gentiles.] how can it be that the united states government will allow a faction of people to set themselves up within its domain[,] rob and plunder its citizens with impunity as they travil [travel] through the land on there way to californa or oregon [new page] setting at defiance the laws of the general Government and trampelling under there feet with impunity the most sacred rights of a free people: I E. the constitution of the union, as you are well aware the constitution garrentees [guarantees] to man charged with crime the right of trial by Jury and furthermore the right to be present and confront witnesses as they are examined against him, now there was a man charged here with a larceny it [is] upon this subject and about this man that I wish to speak at present his name is David Hull[;] his father is a wealthy merchant in new ark [Newark] New Jersey[;] he was on his way to californa with about four Thousand Dollars worth of property; when it was made known to the mormon authorities that he had stop[p]ed his property in the valley he was charged with the Larceny spoken of and for no other purpose other than to get hold of his property for the benefit of the church for they failed to prove any thing again[s]t him that would convict any man before any court of law in the world[.]

I have now been in the practice of law for more than five years[.] I have acted for a time as prosecuting Attorney both in californa and oregon: and all the Books that read in old chancellors Bucklins office in Jackson for eighteen months so far I know of no presdents [precedents] for this case. he was indicted by a grand Jury called by the probate court when not in [new page] session: there was two indictments couched in one none of the names of the grand Jurors were attached to the nefarious instrument none of the names of the prosecuting witnesses were attached yet this so called indictment held to be good and vallid [valid] by the court that ordered it into existence[.]

Now mark the prisinor asked his trial before the District court where his case properly belonged this was denied him and he forced to trial in the probate court[.] the prosecuting Attorney and an other Attorn[e]y Mormon were appointed to prosecute: the prisinor asked me as counsil [counsel.] I appeared in court shewed my licens[e] produced witness to testify in regard to moral character: the court decided that I could not appear as counsel that it reserved to itself the privilege [privilege] to say who the prisinor should employ and forced him to employ Mr [Seth] Blair a mormon and by the way United states District Attorney for the Territory so they proceeded with the trial[.]

On the second day of the trial the prisinor was pois[o]ned at his supper table by some unknown

hand it [is] said that he committed suicide by taking poison himself but this is all a budge[?] as all good citizens here will readily testify; not withstanding this they proceeded to trial without the prisinor convicted him and took possession of his property! comment is unnecessary pause and reflect for a moment and warn the heads of Departments [new page] at Washington City of the coming storm that is brewing in the Territory of the mountains:

The questions will readily be asked will this Government longer submit to this cours[e] of proceedings; will General Pearce administration see trampled under feet with impunity the flag of the union will it see scorned and spit upon the executors of the law sent here to administer the laws according to the letter and spirit thereof and that two [too] by a people under its own Jurisdiction; is there not men who can be sent here from the states to execute the laws men that will discharge there duties of there respective offices without fear or the expectation of reward: cannot Brig[h]am young be removed from office and a man who does not entertain antagonistic feelings towards the General Government be appointed as chief executive of the Territory: cannot the troops that are now in california and oregon rendering no service to any one be ordered here to aid efficient officers that may be sent from the states to execute the laws all Justice and humanity calles [calls] loud for speedy action on the part of this administration: will any thing be done by President Pearce & will those things be allowed to proceed farther more anon

Your obt. servt.  
J. T. Hartley

P.S. I am a nephew of J. H. Thompson of which Jesse Thompson of Hiends [?] I am a cousin of A. G. Browns have allways been a Democrat and will accept any office in the Territory if the other off[i]cers are sent from states<sup>3</sup>

Hartley's letter never reached Davis. How it came to rest in Brigham Young's papers at the LDS Church History Library is a mystery, but the attorney seemed unaware that Mormon officials had been systematically reading the territory's outgoing mail for years. "I know this is a grave charge, but I fear it is too true," wrote the Reverend Jotham Goodell when he reported in 1852 "that *no letters deposited in the post-office, by either gentiles or Mormons, ever left the valley without its contents being known!* If it contained nothing prejudicial to the Mormons, it was suffered to fulfil its mission, but if it did, it was destroyed." Goodell said Mormons told him this during the winter of 1850–51, after he arrived in the territory with his family, too late to finish his trek to Oregon. During his stay, Goodell wrote letters describing "the vile practices of that people" and others that "purposely avoided all allusion to them. The latter reached their destination in safety, the others my friends never received." Goodell told a wry story of a young man who mailed a letter at the Salt Lake post office. "A day or two after, he was passing in the rear of some out houses near to the post-office, and his attention was arrested by observing a large pile of waste paper, and actually fished from that pile, *pieces of the identical letter he had mailed*, one of which, if I mistake not contained his signature." Other federal officials and emigrants made similar charges, including Major William Singer, an army paymaster; David H. Burr, surveyor general of Utah; and overland guidebook author Nelson Slater.<sup>4</sup>

Hartley's letter posed a direct and immediate threat to Brigham Young and the theocratic government that controlled Utah Territory. The letter asked a powerful member of

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<sup>3</sup> A notation, "Letter Sept. 26/54 [sic], Hartley to Jefferson Davis," appears on the last page of the manuscript, along with a comment: "Lies about the Mormons."

<sup>4</sup> David L. Bigler, ed., *A Winter with the Mormons: The 1852 Letters of Jotham Goodell* (S.L.C: Tanner Trust Fund, 2001), 78–79.

President Franklin Pierce's cabinet to work to remove Young as governor, bring in federal men to run the territory and courts, and use U.S. troops already in the West to implement this change. If Pierce took Hartley's advice, church leaders would again face interference from civil authorities, which they saw as part and parcel of the persecution they thought they had left behind when they moved to Utah.

On September 25—the day after his deceased client's trial and the day before Hartley wrote to Jefferson Davis—Jesse C. Little, Salt Lake City's marshal as well as Hartley's landlord, filed an affidavit claiming Hartley had sold him a black mare with the brand "NO." Hartley claimed he had bought the animal from Nathan Olney for \$75 in Oregon, but Little believed the animal was stolen. Hartley owed him \$75 for board, stabling his horse, laundry, and some cash and "omnibus" fares, Little added.<sup>5</sup>

On the same day, Elisha P. Plummer filed a second affidavit against Hartley. Plummer said he was an agent for Nathan Olney of "Olney's Rancho" at The Dalles in Oregon, where Olney later served as an Indian agent.<sup>6</sup> Plummer told Probate Judge Elias Smith "that a person calling himself \_\_\_\_ Hartley, but whose real name is supposed to be \_\_\_\_ Bradley," embezzled a "Shawnee Mare, branded on the right thigh with NO," the brand being Nathan Olney's initials. He had reason to believe Hartley had also forged drafts and taken money from some citizens of Portland, Plummer added.<sup>7</sup>

Following Little and Plummer's charges, Judge Elias Smith, a nephew of Mormonism's founding prophet, issued two warrants for Hartley on September 25. Deputy Sheriff Andrew Cunningham arrested Hartley and took him into custody. On September 29, Hartley obtained a writ of habeas corpus that was served on Cunningham "to bring the prisoner before Judge Read [Lazarus H. Reed], Chief Justice in and for the Territory of Utah." The judge examined Hartley the next day and released him, presumably after finding insufficient cause to detain him.<sup>8</sup>

Judge Reed had arrived in Utah the previous June from New York and died later that year while on a visit home, but he was well liked in Utah. "Judges Reed and Shaver conduct them-selves very gentlemanly thus far, appear frank and friendly in their Department [department] and are universally liked and respected in their Offices by the people and I would prefer to have them remain if possible," Brigham Young wrote to John M. Bernhisel, Utah's delegate to Congress. Judge Reed also respected President Young: "I have made up

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<sup>5</sup> Salt Lake County (Utah) Probate Court, Civil and Criminal Case Files, Microfilm Series 373, Reel 2, Box 1, folder 112, *Little vs. Hartley*, Affidavit, September 25, 1853, Utah State Archives; original in Salt Lake County Archives.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886, 1888), 2:3, 360.

Except for this affidavit, the only known mention of Elisha Plummer is on lists of unclaimed letters published in the

*Deseret News* on January 5, March 30, and October 5, 1854, and April 4 and July 4, 1855.

<sup>7</sup> Salt Lake County (Utah) Probate Court, Civil and Criminal Case Files, Series 373, Reel 2, Box 1, folder 111, *Plummer vs. Hartley*, Affidavit, September 25, 1853, Utah State Archives; original in Salt Lake County Archives.

<sup>8</sup> "See above for release of Prisoner," a notation on the file for *Little vs. Hartley*. Salt Lake County [Utah] Probate Court, Civil and Criminal Case Docket Books, Microfilm Series 3944, Reel 3, Docket A-1, 1852–1860, p. 118, Utah State Archives; original in Salt Lake County Archives.

my mind that no man has been more grossly misrepresented than Governor Young, and that he is a man who will reciprocate kindness and good intentions as heartily and freely as anyone, but if abused or crowded hard, I think he may be found exceedingly hard to handle.”<sup>9</sup>

On October 1, the day after Hartley’s release, the *Deseret News* published a letter stating that “[a] person calling himself Hartley, but whose real name is supposed to be Bradley,” had obtained money and property on false pretenses in Oregon. This man also “hired a horse with a new saddle and furniture complete, under pretence of a short trip among the mountains. He has since been heard of on his way to the Salt Lake, having sold the saddle and gone on with the horse. . . . He is about 5 ft. 6 in. in height; dark hair, heavy forehead, and has the address and appearance of a gentleman. He left Oregon under the name of Hartley. [Signed] Nathan Olney, Dalles of the Columbia, Sept. 1, 1853.”<sup>10</sup>

Thus in eight days, Jesse Hartley was charged twice, arrested for the possession of a stolen horse and for fraud and debt, and released. It is difficult to know what to make of this. That Jesse Little and Elisha Plummer conferred on their affidavits seems evident. It appears more than a coincidence that the letter from Nathan Olney was published in the first edition of the *Deseret News* issued after Little and Plummer’s affidavits were filed. As Hartley was being charged, arrested, and then released, his letter to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis was intercepted, suggesting that this potentially troublemaking outsider was being targeted.

Since he identified himself as “a nephew of J. H. Thompson,” it appears likely that Hartley was who he said he was and was a victim of mistaken identity. The 1850 federal California census (actually taken 1851) shows three Hartleys—George, Henry, and Thomas, all miners—but the returns for three major counties, Contra Costa, San Francisco, and Santa Clara, are lost. As the state’s largest city, San Francisco was far and away the most likely place for a lawyer to practice.<sup>11</sup> The only known reference to J. T. Hartley during his years in the West appeared in the *Daily Alta California*, which listed his \$1,300 among the losses resulting from a May 1851 San Francisco fire, a reasonable value for a young attorney’s property. (Four lines later, the paper noted that the Golden State’s first millionaire and Mormonism’s most noted apostate, Samuel Brannan, had lost \$25,000).<sup>12</sup>

After being freed by Judge Reed, Jesse Hartley moved to Palmyra, a settlement near Spanish Fork in Utah County, where he taught school in the winter or early spring of 1853–54. Resident George A. Hicks wrote, “It was here in Palmyra that I became acquainted [with] one Mr. Hartley, a ‘gentile,’ the same one that Bill Hickman says he killed by ‘church orders.’ Mr. Hartley was a gentleman and schollar. He taught a school in Palmyra and gave general satisfaction”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Clifford L. Ashton, *The Federal Judiciary in Utah* (S.L.C: Utah Bar Foundation, 1988), 5–6.

<sup>10</sup> “Caution to the Public!” *Deseret News*, October 1, 1853, 2. Nathan Olney settled at The Dalles, Oregon Territory, in 1847.

<sup>11</sup> The 1850 Oregon territorial census shows no Hartleys and only one Bradley, but this man was a wagon-wright in Lewis County (now in Washington State), about 150 miles from The Dalles.

<sup>12</sup> “Losses,” *Daily Alta California*, May 7, 1851, 2/4; see also *Sacramento Daily Union*, “By This Morning’s Boat,” May 8, 1851, 2/5.

<sup>13</sup> Hicks, “A Life among the Poor of Utah,” in *Playing with Shadows*, 130.

On January 7, 1854, Hartley joined the LDS church, being baptized and confirmed by Bishop Stephen Markham, an early friend of Joseph Smith and one of the last visitors to the Prophet on the day he was killed.<sup>14</sup> Markham had also been an officer in Brigham Young's 1847 Pioneer Company. Sometime that winter Hartley met Mary Ann "Polly" Bullock Williams, a young widow and a sister of both Isaac Bullock (soon to be elected to the territorial legislature) and Benjamin Kimball Bullock (soon to become mayor of Provo). Bishop William Faucett of Provo's Fourth Ward married Hartley and Polly soon after Hartley's baptism.<sup>15</sup> Hartley "married a young woman at Provo, Polly Bulloch by name," Hicks wrote. "I was acquainted with [her] in Iowa."<sup>16</sup> Now a church member, Hartley began advertising his practice as "Attorney and Counsellor at law and Solicitor in chancery" in the *Deseret News* in January 1854. He planned to practice in the district courts of Salt Lake and Utah counties, "the U.S. districts throughout the Territory; and the U. S. Supreme court for the Territory. Office in G. S. L. City, during the emigration season, at all other times in Provo city."<sup>17</sup>

Probably in response to these advertisements, Hartley was hired in four court cases, two in Utah County and two in Salt Lake County in January and February 1854. On February 18, 1854, in Salt Lake City, Hartley won a case regarding debt in which he argued against Hosea Stout, a well-known Mormon police captain and lawyer. Stout described Hartley in his journal as "a gentile stranger for the plaintiff," probably not realizing that he had joined the church.<sup>18</sup> Three days later Hartley requested an arrest warrant in Salt Lake City for three individuals on behalf of Seth M. Blair and a man named Tibbits.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "Early History and Records of Provo, Utah 1849–1872," pp. 50–51, microfilm 26,321, LDS Family History Library; Stephen Markham Account books, 1834–1855, 41, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>15</sup> Polly Bullock's first husband was Amos K. Williams. Polly was twenty-one and Amos was in his late fifties when they married in 1851 in Council Bluffs. Polly went to Utah with her family the next year. Her husband planned to follow if the Bullocks liked the area, but a few months after she reached Utah, her stepson told her Amos had died. Her marriages to Williams and Hartley are described in a deposition in her application for survivor's benefits after the death of her third husband, Mormon Battalion veteran Benjamin M. Roberts. See "Selected Pension Application Files for Members of the Mormon Battalion, Mexican War, 1846–48," Claim of Mary B[ullock]. Roberts, No. 10349, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.; Deposition of Mary B[ullock]. Roberts, May 14, 1892, microfilm 480,144, LDS Family History Library, cited hereinafter as Pension Application Files.

<sup>16</sup> Hicks, *Family Record and History*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> *Deseret News*, January 19, 1854, 3, and January 26, 1854, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Hosea Stout Journal, entry of February 18, 1854, holograph, Utah State Historical Society. The name "Hartley" was added to the journal later. Also see Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. (S.L.C: University of Utah Press, Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 2:507.

<sup>19</sup> Salt Lake County (Utah) Probate Court, Civil and Criminal Case Files, Series 373, Reel 2, Box 1, folder 153, *S. M. Blair and one Tibbits vs. Hosea Raphael Remisa and others*, Affidavit, February 21, 1854; Salt Lake County Archives.

On April 8, 1854, Hartley was in Salt Lake City for the general conference of the LDS church. On the first day, he was called to serve a mission to Texas.<sup>20</sup> The next day, in the after-noon session, President Brigham Young arose and exclaimed, “If that Jesse T. Hartley that I voted for yesterday to go on a mission, is the Lawyer that came from oregon last fall—I re[s]cind my vote—for that man is a vagrant—a thief, & a robber. He ought to be baptised in Salt Lake with stones tied to him & hold him under 24 hou[rs] to wash away one hundredth part of his sins: He ought to be Sent to hell across lots on a missio[n] to preach to the damned. If that hartley appointed on a mission is not this one that I speak of, this will not hurt him—but if he is the man, what I have said is right! If the man is here he may come to the Stand and Speak for himself.”<sup>21</sup>

Hartley stood up, went to the podium, and “boldly” said, “I am the man Hartl[e]y I am the very man the Gov. spoke of. I have studied law—been admitted to the bar—I have practiced 5 years in cal.—That Hartley that Gov. Young spoke of, was hung in cal. he was a bad man—many have mistook me for him. The reports about me are false.” Jesse C. Little, a high priest and the man who had charged Hartley with selling a stolen horse, countered, “The charges against Hartley are true & just & can be proven.” Then Orson Hyde, president of the Twelve Apostles, spoke: “A lawyer cant cram everything down us—he cant make us believe, after a man has been hung in Cal. he can be here walking about & pleading innocence Neither do we believe that because a ma[n] was hung in cal. there are no more Villains.” President Young capped these angry outbursts with, “If J. T. Hartley was ever baptized I motion that he be now cut off from the church.”<sup>22</sup>

According to Lorenzo Brown, President Young said Hartley was “associated with a gang of thieves &c in this city,” noting he “had joined the church & married a Mormon girl.” After Young finished speaking, Orson Hyde “made some remarks respective thieves & the fate they might expect.”<sup>23</sup> Hosea Stout missed much of the afternoon session, but, he wrote, “lectures were delivered against girls marrying gentiles & winter saints & one Mr Hartley cut off from the Church who had been appointed a mission to Texas. He is said to be a runaway horse thief from oregon came here & married Joined the church & had sent up his name to get his endowment.”<sup>24</sup> The conference minutes in the *Deseret News* noted: “On motion, Jesse Thompson Hartley was cut off from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day

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<sup>20</sup> Hosea Stout Journal, April 9, 1854; Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:512. New members were often asked to do missionary work shortly after their baptism.

<sup>21</sup> To send someone “to hell across lots”—on a shortcut to hell—was a euphemism for murder. “A Scrap-book Containing Some of the Phraseology and Selected Instruction—& Abbridged Speeches of Inspired Men. Observed & Recorded By J. Pulsipher”; and Pulsipher family meetings, 15–17, remarks made on April 9, 1854, in Pulsipher Family Papers, photocopy of handwritten document [March 1854–December 1883], L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

<sup>22</sup> Pulsipher Scrap-book, original reading. Later the word “not” was added above the line twice and the word “very” was crossed out. The final reading was: “I am <not> the man Hartly I am <not> the very man the Gov. spoke of.”

<sup>23</sup> Lorenzo Brown, *Diary and Autobiography*, holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

<sup>24</sup> Hosea Stout Journal, entry of April 9, 1854; Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier* 2:512.



Saints.”<sup>25</sup> Bill Hickman recalled: “Brigham Young, before the congregation, gave him [Hartley] a tremendous blowing up, calling him all sorts of bad names, and saying he ought to have his throat cut, which made him feel very bad. He declared he was not guilty of the charges.”<sup>26</sup>

Why were the church leaders reacting with such vehemence against a man who had been examined six months earlier on charges of stealing and been released for lack of evidence? Why was Young’s reaction—claiming that it would take drowning Hartley in the Great Salt Lake to wash away one hundredth part of his sins—so out of proportion to the “crimes”? It appears that the stolen horse and other charges were simply an excuse to condemn Hartley for his letter to Jefferson Davis, an extremely dangerous document in the eyes of Mormon leaders.

On May 1, 1854, less than a month after President Young denounced Hartley, a party left Great Salt Lake City bound for Fort Supply and Green River. The previous fall the Mormons had established Fort Supply, twelve miles south of Fort Bridger, as a base for missionary work among the Shoshone Nation. The men now traveling together included Apostle Orson Hyde, who had condemned Hartley before the general conference and who was now in charge of the mission; Probate Judge William I. Appleby, who was to organize the newly created Green River County; and Hosea Stout, who was going for the summer to act as prosecuting attorney for the county. Bill Hickman recalled that President Young sent him that summer to protect Mormon interests on the Green River, after a Mormon posse had seized Fort Bridger and taken control of the profitable ferry business from mountain men in 1853. Now the angry mountaineers were threatening the Mormons.<sup>27</sup>

In a brief trail journal, Hosea Stout reported leaving for Green River on May 1. The next day, he “started early passed over Big Mountn at 12 snow deep 2 teams bog. put my traps with Hickman broke tounge & camped. train went on.”<sup>28</sup> Stout’s full journal clarified his notes. After crossing Big Mountain, he wrote, “we had much difficulty in decending down the East side” through very deep and wet snow. “[O]ur animals ‘Bogged’ as well as waggons and with much labor & difficulty to both man and beast we at last succeeded in decending so far down the mountain as to be out of the snow.” Deep mud, gulches, and a bad road replaced the snow, “and to cap the climax Hickman’s waggon tounge was carelessly broken about half way down the mountain and we compelled to camp while the rest of the train passed on some three miles down East Cañnon. Being now left to our sober reflections we

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<sup>25</sup> “Minutes of the General Conference,” *Deseret News*, April 13, 1854, 2; reprinted in *Latter-Day Saints’ Millennial Star* 16 (July 22, 1854): 462. See also General Church Minutes, April 9, 1854, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>26</sup> William A. Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel: Being the Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief of Utah. Written by Himself, with Explanatory Notes by J. H. Beadle, Esq., of Salt Lake City* (New York: Geo. A. Crofutt, 1872), 97.

<sup>27</sup> Green River County is now part of Wyoming. Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Supply: Brigham Young’s Green River Experiment* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1976), 9–35. On the organization of Green River County, see Fred R. Gowans, “Fort Bridger and the Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1974), 60–61.

<sup>28</sup> Hosea Stout Journal Notebook Supplement, entries of May 1–2, 1854, holograph, Utah State Historical Society. Stout used these brief notes to fill in his journal. In 1854 East Canyon was also known as Willows Canyon and Spring Creek Canyon.

set about making a new tounge.”<sup>29</sup>

Bill Hickman, one of frontier Mormonism’s most notorious henchmen, spies, and enforcers, had threatened to kill individuals as early as 1840; by 1854, at age thirty-nine, he had killed many American Indians and at least a few white men.<sup>30</sup> While in prison in 1871, awaiting trial on criminal charges, Hickman wrote his “confessions”—*Brigham’s Destroying Angel*—with journalist John Hanson Beadle. The book presents several challenges, the primary one being how to distinguish fact from fancy. Complicating his tale is the role his editor played. Beadle despised Brigham Young and wanted to produce a sensational book that would sell.<sup>31</sup> Contemporary sources, however, support the credibility of Hickman’s account of the murder. The daily events, the wagon breakdown, the camp in East Canyon, and the people Hickman described correspond closely to Hosea Stout’s journal entries, as well as a deposition James A. Ivie gave years later. As John Hyde wrote after abandoning Mormonism in 1856, Hickman was “publicly known as an ‘avenger of blood’” and as “one of Brigham’s most particular intimates.” The territory’s legislative assembly, firmly under Governor Young’s control, even recommended Hickman as a backup candidate for U.S. attorney for the territory in 1857. “It is no secret at Salt Lake that several men have disappeared after being last in the company of this man,” Hyde observed, “and no question is raised as to the matter there.”<sup>32</sup>

“I set out with Judge Appleby and Rev. Orson Hyde, who had charge of the new settlement, Fort Supply,” Hickman wrote. Fifteen men set out “about the first of May, ’54, as soon as we could get across the mountains for snow.” Shortly after the party crossed Big Mountain and camped in East Canyon, Jesse Hartley joined them. “Hartley traveled in my wagon from Provo to East Canon Creek,” recalled James A. Ivie, a resident of Provo and missionary called to Fort Supply. Hickman described Hartley as “a fine-looking, intelligent young man” who said he “was going to Fort Bridger or Green River to see if he could not

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<sup>29</sup> Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, May 2, 1854; 2:514.

<sup>30</sup> Hope A. Hilton, “*Wild Bill*” *Hickman and the Mormon Frontier* (S.L.C: Signature Books, 1988); Hope A. Hilton Collection, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

<sup>31</sup> In 1979 Leonard J. Arrington and Hope A. Hilton wrote a paper, “William A. (‘Bill’) Hickman: Setting the Record Straight.” “The published draft of *Brigham’s Destroying Angel* was not written by Hickman,” they claimed. “The style is different, and the editorializing and sensationalizing are alien to Bill’s spirit.” They claimed “the editorializing, the facile attempts to connect Brigham Young with nefarious doings, are part of the editing by John Beadle.” See Task Paper No. 28, LDS Archives, i–ii. Hilton changed her view in the preface to her biography of her great-grandfather: “I do not question whether Hickman actually wrote *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*. It is too accurate in its details to have been written by anyone else.” She acknowledged that the “avowedly anti-Mormon editor, J. H. Beadle,” wrote the preface, the first chapter, and “the bitter diatribe against Young and the Mormons on pages 137–39 [all bylined “By the editor”], probably the first paragraph on page 192, and several other brief inserts, sometimes adding only a single word. Except for these additions, Hickman’s mind and hand are the book’s undisputed source. Beadle did not have access to Brigham Young’s daily office journal or to other sources available today which confirm many of the book’s first-hand statements.” See Hilton, “*Wild Bill*” *Hickman*, x–xi.

<sup>32</sup> John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: Fettridge, 1857), 104.

get a job of clerking, or something that he could do.”<sup>33</sup> Hickman noticed Orson Hyde “looking very sour at [Hartley], and after he had been in camp an hour or two, Hyde told me that he had orders from Brigham Young, if he came to Fort Supply to have him used up.” Hickman did not hesitate to take on the assignment: “Orson Hyde being the head of The Twelve [Apostles], obedience was required to his commands, in the absence of Brigham Young, in all things, whether spiritual or temporal.” The broken wagon was still three miles behind, and Hyde sent Hickman to check on it. Hartley volunteered to accompany Hickman, and the two set out. Hartley mounted a horse belonging to mail courier George Boyd, who had stopped at the camp to rest. Hyde whispered to him, “Now is your time; don’t let him come back.” “We started,” Hickman continued, “and about half a mile on had to cross the cañon stream, which was midsides to our horses. While crossing Hartley got a shot and fell dead in the creek. His horse took fright and ran back to camp.”<sup>34</sup>

Hickman went on to meet Stout, who did not mention it in his notebook, writing only, “Went on broke tounge in East Canyon High water got down to leave it at 12 over took train & went to weber H[artley] deserted.” The finished journal reads: “After completing our repairs we traveled on quite cherily to East Kayon Creek where a new misfortune befel us by our careless driver John Flack ran the off wheels of the waggon into the bank while crossing the creek and in the deep water and in endeavoring to draw out the end of the unwieldy fur tounge brok off leaving [us] in a new difficulty which was however soon patched up & we were again under way. and again at the second crossing had another job of waggon tounge patch work after which we got along with out any more trouble notwithstanding the water was high arriving at noon at leaving of East Canyon and Baited & went overtaking the train in a short time.”<sup>35</sup>

As Hickman and Stout returned to the East Canyon camp, Hickman wrote, “Stout asked me if I had seen that fellow, meaning Hartley. I told him he had come to our camp, and he said from what he had heard he ought to be killed. I then told him all that had happened, and he said that was good.” When he returned to camp, Hickman recalled, “Boyd told me that his horse came into camp with blood on the saddle, and he and some of the boys took it to the creek and washed it off. Orson Hyde told me that was well done; that he and some others had gone on the side of the mountain, and seen the whole performance.” James A. Ivie later testified that he “saw that Hickman[']s pistol had had one chamber discharged since they left in the morning.” He added, “Hickman himself told me that he had shot Hartley in the stream and the body floated down a ways and he pushed it ashore and hid in in [sic] a willow thicket.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, 96–97; Deposition of James A. Ivie, May 23, 1892, Claim of Mary B[ullock]. Roberts, No. 10349, Pension Application Files. Gowans and Campbell, *Fort Supply*, 80.

<sup>34</sup> Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, 97–98. To “use up” was a euphemism for killing. That Hartley, having had his life threatened by Brigham Young, would volunteer to accompany the notorious Hickman seems incomprehensible.

<sup>35</sup> Stout Journal Notebook Supplement, entry for May 3, 1854; Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:514.

<sup>36</sup> Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, 98; Deposition of James A. Ivie, May 23, 1892, Pension Application Files.

George Boyd recalled the blood on the saddle. “I asked how that came there and I was informed that the fellow had killed a deer. I went on and when I came back to Fort Bridger 17 days afterwards I was told that Hartley had ridden my horse that morning and that Bill Hickman had shot and killed him off of it.”<sup>37</sup> The party moved on and camped at the Weber River. “This evening Elder Hyde informed the company,” Stout wrote, “that Mr. J\_\_\_\_ Hartley who did not make his appearance to day with us had most likely had some dishonest intentions by his leaving & wished the guard to renew their diligence lest the horses might be stolen.”<sup>38</sup> In Hickman’s version, after supper Hyde told the camp to keep “a strong guard on that night, for that fellow that had come to us in the forenoon had left the company; he was a bad man, and it was his opinion that he intended stealing horses that night.” Hickman said this was nonsense but that “every one that did not know what had happened believed it.”<sup>39</sup> Hickman’s version also indicates that Hyde realized he needed to hide such criminal activities from decent Mormons who might object to such lawlessness.

The company arrived at Fort Supply on May 7. Two days later, less than a week after Hartley’s murder, Judge Appleby organized Green River County and appointed Bill Hickman as sheriff, assessor, tax collector, and prosecuting attorney. Orson Hyde headed back to Salt Lake City on May 10.<sup>40</sup>

Hickman apparently came to believe that Hartley did not deserve to be killed. According to his editor, this was the murder that seemed “to rest most heavy on his conscience. In conversation he strove to avoid it, and at this point his manuscript is heavily blurred and blotted, with frequent erasures.”<sup>41</sup>

Jesse Hartley’s wife, Polly, was in Provo pregnant with her first child when he was killed. “I lived with him (Hartley) three month[s] when he was killed by a man named Hickman,” she later recalled. “My husband went to Green River and on the way there this Hickman killed him.—I never knew how my husband (Hartley) died til[l] I read this history of Hickman.”<sup>42</sup> Their son was born on November 27, 1854, and Polly named him Jesse Thompson Hartley after his father. Young Jesse died nine months later in August 1855.<sup>43</sup> Sometime after his death, Polly joined her brother Isaac Bullock, who was running the ferry at Green River, having been called to the Green River Mission at the April 1855 conference.<sup>44</sup>

Mary Ettie (Marietta) Coray Smith gave another account of Hartley’s death in her book,

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<sup>37</sup> Deposition of George W. Boyd, May 19, 1892, Pension Application Files.

<sup>38</sup> Hosea Stout Journal, May 3, 1854; Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:514.

<sup>39</sup> Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, 96–98.

<sup>40</sup> Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 2:516; Green River Company Journal, November 1853–July 1854, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>41</sup> Hickman, *Brigham’s Destroying Angel*, appendix C.

<sup>42</sup> Deposition of Mary B[ullock]. Roberts, May 14, 1892, Pension Application Files.

<sup>43</sup> Family Group Record, Family History Library; Family Record of Benjamin Morgan Roberts, copy in possession of author.

<sup>44</sup> Shoshone Mission Journal, May 1855–October 1857, kept by John Pulsipher, p. 37, LDS Church History Library; Diary of John Pulsipher, typed copy, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Gowans and Campbell, *Fort Supply*, 81; and Gowans, “Fort Bridger and the Mormons,” 64.

*Fifteen Years Among the Mormons*. The book is riddled with problems, but her description of Hartley, whom she claimed she had met around 1854; her account of meeting his wife, Polly, in 1856 at the Green River ferry; and the story the widow told her agree with the other accounts, including Hickman's, even though Smith's appeared fourteen years earlier. "Jesse T. Hartl[e]y," Marietta wrote, "was a man of education and intelligence, and a lawyer by profession. I never knew where he was from, but he was a Gentile when he came, and soon after married a Mormon girl by the name of Bullock, which involved a *profession*, at least, of Mormonism." Mrs. Smith met Polly at Green River: "I think she was the most heart-broken human being I have ever seen. She was living with her brother, who kept the ferry there, and he was also a Mormon. We were waiting to be taken over, when I saw a woman, with a pale, sad face, dressed in the deepest black, sitting upon the bank, alone." Marietta and her sister went to the widow, and after "the assurance, that although we were Mormons, we were yet *women*, she told us her brief story, without a tear; yet with an expression of hopeless sorrow which I can never forget."<sup>45</sup> Polly Hartley said she married Jesse Hartley

because he was a noble man, and sought only the right. By being my husband, he was brought into closer contact with the members of the Church, and was thus soon enabled to learn many things about us, and about the Heads of the Church, that he did not approve, and of which I was ignorant, although I had been brought up among the Saints; and which, if known among the Gentiles, would have greatly damaged us. I do not understand all he discovered, or all he did; but they found he had written against the Church, and he was cut off, and the Prophet required as an atonement for his sins, that he should lay down his life. . . . But my husband refused to be sacrificed, and so set out alone for the United States: thinking there might be at least a hope of success. I told him when he left me, and left his child, that he would be killed, and so he was. William Hickman and another Danite, shot him in the cañons; and I have often since been obliged to cook for this man [Hickman], when he passed this way, knowing all the while, he had killed my husband. My child soon followed after its father, and I hope to die also; for why should I live?<sup>46</sup>

The 1856 Utah census shows a Jesse T. Hartley living in Green River County, presumably Polly's son, even though he had been dead for some six months when the census was taken in February. The discrepancy is probably due to the falsified nature of the 1856 census, which was notoriously padded in an effort to qualify the territory for statehood and so listed the names of numerous people, fictitious and real, including some who died crossing the plains. The census also listed Isaac Bullock and "Mary" Bullock, who was

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<sup>45</sup> Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1858), 308–10 (emphasis in the original).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 310–11. "Danite" was the name given to a semiofficial group of zealots organized in Missouri in 1838, intent on avenging Mormon wrongs. A popular belief was that it functioned in Utah and was responsible only to Brigham Young. In the omitted text, Coray Smith charged that Hartley "should be sacrificed in the endowment rooms; where human sacrifices are sometimes made in this way"—a claim unsupported in other anti-Mormon works and an example of why her narrative is considered problematic.

undoubtedly Mary Ann “Polly” Bullock Hartley.<sup>47</sup>

On August 3, 1856, Isaac and Polly moved to Fort Supply, where he became mission president. Only a month after his first blessing, Presiding Patriarch John Smith, son of Hyrum Smith, gave Polly a patriarchal blessing.<sup>48</sup> “John Smith the Patriarch came & attended meeting as he was on the way to meet the Sts [Saints] on the plains We gave him Some potatoes &c to car[r]y along & he pronounced a blessing on us,” John Pulsipher wrote in the Shoshone Mission Journal. Polly’s blessing promised “a measure with the spirit of the Lord to direct & assist you, in times when you may be aff[f]licted or Bowed down & Troubled. Thou hast seen sorrow; but Better days are Comming [sic].”<sup>49</sup>

While living at Fort Supply, Polly met Benjamin Morgan Roberts, who had been a private in the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican-American War and who had received a mission call at the same time as her brother. Polly and Benjamin were married at Fort Supply on November 23, 1856.<sup>50</sup> Their first child was born at the fort on August 12, 1857, and was named Benjamin Morgan after his father.<sup>51</sup> In late September 1857, when their son was six weeks old, President Young, with the U.S. Army’s Utah Expedition approaching, ordered the missionaries to abandon and destroy Fort Supply.

Thereafter the young Roberts family settled in Provo, and Isaac Bullock, now married, moved his wife and young son to Springville and then to Provo, where he purchased the Redfield Hotel from Harlow Redfield in 1858. The hotel, known variously as the Bullock House, Bullock Hotel, Provo House, and Provo Hotel, was the city’s leading hotel for thirty years. Among those who fled Fort Supply in late September 1857 was James A. Ivie, the missionary who had transported Hartley from Provo just before he was killed. Ivie recalled that he had been fixing breastworks in East Canyon when “the bugle sounded the recall and myself and another man thought we would take a short cut” to their camp. Among some

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<sup>47</sup> Bryan Lee Dilts, *1856 Utah Census Index: An Every-Name Index* (S.L.C: Index Publishing, 1983), 621, 627, 631. For the various types of padding in the 1856 census, see Dilts, “Historical Background,” in *ibid.*, iii.

<sup>48</sup> Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 127. John Smith gave his first patriarchal blessing on August 17, 1856.

<sup>49</sup> Shoshone Mission Journal, September 7, 1856, kept by John Pulsipher, LDS Church History Library, 41. Patriarchal Blessing of Mary Hartley by Patriarch John Smith, September 7, 1856, copy in possession of author. Polly had had more than her share of sorrow: her father, Benjamin Bullock III, died in July 1852; her mother died in September 1853; her first husband, Amos Williams, probably died in 1852; her second husband, Jesse Hartley, was murdered in May 1854; and her first child died in August 1855. Better days did come for Polly. She married Benjamin Roberts and eventually had five sons and five daughters. On November 20, 1890, they adopted Jesse Thompson Hartley, Jr., who was sealed to them in the Manti Temple. Family Record of Benjamin Morgan Roberts, copy in possession of author. “Death of a Pioneer Woman,” *Deseret Evening News*, August 19, 1901, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Benjamin Roberts joined the LDS church in 1840 and was set apart as a Seventy on April 22, 1855, by Orson Pratt for a mission among the Shoshones. Copy of the Blessing and Ordination of Benjamin M. Roberts in the possession of the author.

<sup>51</sup> “Record of Members 1867–1876,” Provo 1st Ward, microfilm 2,055; “Record of Members Early to 1889 Provo 1st Ward,” microfilm 26,347; and Family Group Record, Family History Library.

willows, he found Hartley's body, which he recognized because of a twisted front tooth in the skull and two shoes near the decomposed body, which Hartley had worn when he was killed. After the shooting, Hartley's body had floated downstream, and Hickman said he had pushed it ashore and hid it in some willows, Ivie recalled.<sup>52</sup>

Ohio lawyer Robert N. Baskin arrived in Utah Territory in 1865. Baskin, who later served as assistant U.S. attorney and was elected mayor of Salt Lake City and chief justice of Utah's state supreme court, frequently attended court in Provo and often stayed at the Bullock Hotel. He asked Isaac Bullock whether the stories he had heard about Hartley were true. "Hartley had incurred the displeasure of Brigham Young, who at a public meeting had used strong language against Hartley, and had ordered him to leave the speakers stand; that on account of the charges made by Brigham, which Bullock said were not true, Hartley was put under the ban of the church, and decided to change his residence," Bullock told Baskin. "He joined the company of Judge Appleby, and while leaving the Territory was murdered by Hickman." It was "generally known that Hickman had committed the crime." When asked why no proceedings against Hickman had been instituted, Bullock "shook his head significantly and replied, 'Don't press me for an answer to that question.'"<sup>53</sup>

Baskin heard Hickman reveal "most of the numerous crimes contained in his published confession, but in more minute detail," before the outlaw's arrest. He met with Hickman "to test the truth of his confession, because if not true, his several statements would in all probability be inconsistent." With all his considerable cross-examination skills, Baskin "failed to detect any contradictory statements," while other witnesses "tended to corroborate his confessions." Convinced Hickman was telling the truth, Baskin persuaded the repentant gunman to "go before the grand jury and tell what he had revealed to me." Baskin gave his summary of the evidence to U.S. Attorney Charles H. Hempstead, who told him that the recent murders of men who challenged Mormon authorities made it "hazardous to indict Brigham Young and the other persons implicated by Hickman."<sup>54</sup>

With so many accounts, there is little doubt about *who* murdered J. T. Hartley. Knowing who killed him leaves the question of *why* Hartley was killed. In the end, it appears Hartley's intercepted letter to Jefferson Davis was the cause of Brigham Young's alarm and anger. From the governor's perspective, Hartley was conspiring to interfere with Mormon rule in Utah, and his "crimes" served as a convenient way to condemn him. A discourse by Orson Hyde dated April 9, 1853, provides insight into the church leaders' thinking. "Suppose the shepherd should discover a wolf approaching the flock, what would he be likely to do?" Hyde asked. "Why, we should suppose, if the wolf was within proper distance, that he would kill him at once with the weapons of defence [*sic*] which he carries; in short, that he would shoot him down, kill him on the spot." Hyde continued, "If you say that the

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<sup>52</sup> Gowans and Campbell, *Fort Supply*, 63, 82; Isaac Bullock Family Papers (1854–1952), Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah; J[ohn]. E[dge]. Booth, "A History of the Provo Fourth Ward," typed copy, 75, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University; Deposition of James A. Ivie, May 23, 1892, Pension Application Files.

<sup>53</sup> R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, an Ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah (Salt Lake City: Tribune-Reporter Printer Co., 1914), 152–53.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–37. Hempstead replaced Hosea Stout, who served from 1862 to 1867 as U.S. attorney for Utah. Stout never sought to indict anyone for Hartley's murder or for the 1857 massacre at Mountain Meadows.

Priesthood or authorities of the Church here are the shepherd, and the Church is the flock, you can make your own application of this figure. It is not at all necessary for me to do it.”<sup>55</sup> Presidents Young and Hyde considered Jesse Hartley the wolf that threatened the flock: they had no choice but to eliminate him.

Faithful Mormon historians may well object that the chain of evidence connecting the second prophet of their faith to the murder of a troublesome outsider in 1854 is circumstantial—and reliable historians can and often do differ on how to interpret such evidence. The weight of evidence, however, is shifting to support the conclusion that Brigham Young was ready to take whatever steps he felt necessary to defend Mormonism.<sup>56</sup> When the problematic sources—Hickman, Beadle, and Coray Smith—are combined with the reliable evidence—from Baskin, Stout, LDS general conference minutes and notes, and the depositions of James A. Ivie, George W. Boyd, and Polly Bullock Roberts—a consistent picture emerges. The charges that Hartley was a horse thief operating under an alias were fabricated and dismissed by a judge the Mormons respected. Hartley’s mistake was to write to Jefferson Davis and trust that his letter would be sent. The Mormon leaders reacted quickly, and when Hartley’s name came up in the general conference, they saw him as one who wished to see Brigham Young replaced and renewed persecution brought on the Mormons, with the army to enforce federal authority in the territory. Hartley’s fate was sealed. Three years later, these same threats would arise again as the U. S. Army marched west at the beginning of the Utah War.

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<sup>55</sup> *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854), 1:72–73.

<sup>56</sup> For two balanced examinations of Mormon frontier violence, see “The Bandits of the Plains,” in Roger Robin Ekins, ed., *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars of 1856–1857* (Spokane : Arthur H. Clark, 2002), 141–68; and William P. MacKinnon, “‘Lonely Bones’: Leadership and Utah War Violence,” *Journal of Mormon History* (Spring 2007), 121–78.