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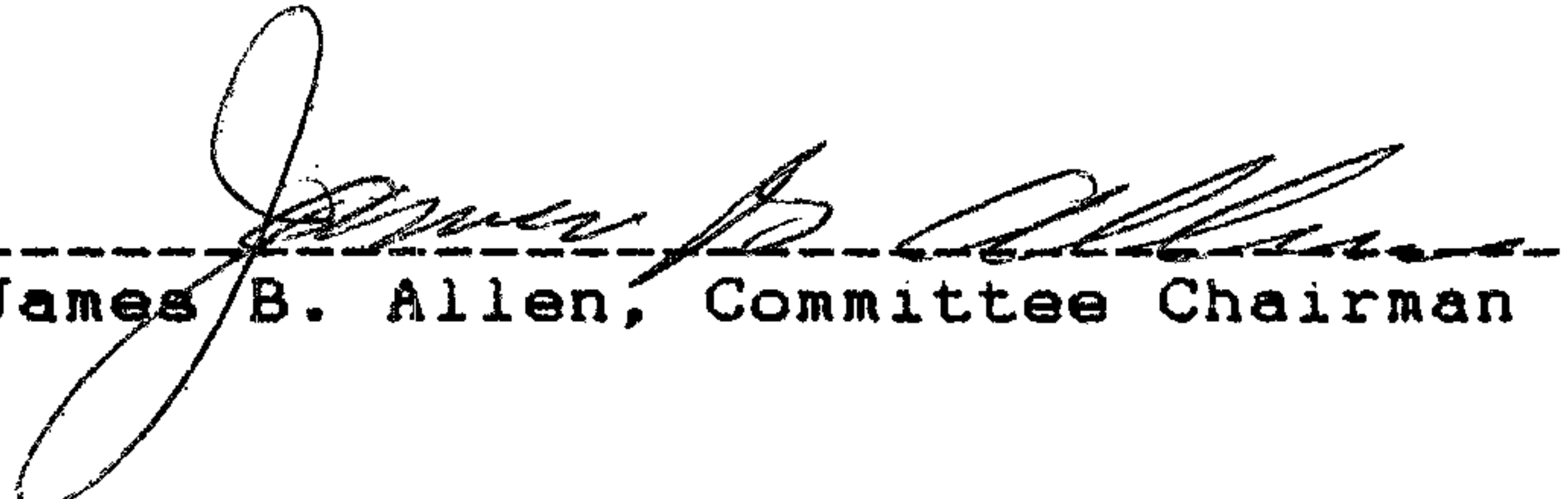
WARREN STONE SNOW, A MAN IN BETWEEN: THE BIOGRAPHY
OF A MORMON DEFENDER

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University


In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John A. Peterson
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This Thesis, by John A. Peterson, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.



James B. Allen, Committee Chairman



Frank W. Fox, Committee Member



R. Lanier Britsch,
Graduate Coordinator

20 NOV 1985
Date

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INTRODUCTION

The date was Sunday, December 27, 1857, and the weather was "fine" as the Saints assembled in the Salt Lake Tabernacle for the usual Sabbath meetings. In the morning session, Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff spoke, both referring to the twenty-five hundred United States troops then in winter quarters near Fort Bridger.¹ The army had come to put down the so-called Mormon rebellion.

For months previous to this quiet Sunday, hundreds of Mormons had been in the mountains and on the plains of eastern Utah and western Wyoming engaged in efforts to keep the army from entering their valleys. As a result, grass and wagons had been burned, cattle stolen, and vital supply trains disabled. Dependent upon these supplies, the army was substantially slowed in its march and was finally stalled by deepening snows some one hundred miles east of Salt Lake where it was spending a cold and hungry winter near Fort Bridger.

The Mormons had successfully frustrated the army's plans to enter their settlements, but only temporarily. All knew that with the coming of spring and warmer weather, they would have to face the infuriated

army. In his sermon that crisp December morning, Brigham Young spoke of the burden the dangers of the situation placed upon him. Among other things, he said, "God holds me responsible for the salvation and safety of this people. You hold me responsible, every one of you, as standing between you and God to guide you safely."²

As the afternoon session opened, Warren Stone Snow and Heber C. Kimball sat on the stand. Snow, the presiding bishop of Sanpete and Juab counties and the commander of the Sanpete Military District of the Nauvoo Legion, had recently returned from Wyoming where he had played an impressive role in the Mormon effort to harass the army. Snow took his place behind the Tabernacle's pulpit and reminded the assembly of the precarious situation the coming of the army had put them in. He alluded to Brigham's earlier reference to his "standing between" God and the Saints, and then suggested that church members had the similar responsibility of "standing between" their leaders and the threatening troops.

"It is for us to stand betwixt our leaders and danger," he said, "and I feel to be one of that number." Looking back on his experience with church leaders during his past twenty-four years as a Mormon, he reminisced: "While they have, for many years, watched over me with the spirit and power of the calling that is upon them, I have endeavored to stand betwixt them and those who would destroy them." "In this I want to increase," he

emphatically declared, as he urged others to join with him in protecting their leaders.

He bore testimony of "the Prophets" he had committed himself to defend and began to conclude with a prayer that God would preserve their lives. Then, echoing sentiments he had heard from his leaders, he stated, "as for our enemies, I have but one prayer for them, that they may be thwarted in all their designs and go to hell as fast as the Almighty sees fit to let them go."³

Warren Snow was representative of an elite set of nineteenth century Mormons who took the duty of "standing between" very seriously. Together they constituted a select task force of gutsy, frontier Mormon types who possessed the abilities and inclination to repeatedly place themselves as buffers between the Mormon "kingdom" and the forces that threatened it. While literally thousands of Mormons could claim some involvement in defending, Warren Snow and such men as Daniel H. Wells, Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, Porter Rockwell, Hosea Stout, Ephraim Hanks, Bill Hickman and William H. Kimball, often took leading roles in Mormon defensive efforts and seemed to specialize as protectors, playing extremely important roles that set them apart from the rank and file. They became leading officers in the Nauvoo Legion and served as sheriffs and marshals as well as in other protective capacities.

Perhaps no Mormon defender, with the possible exception of Porter Rockwell, was involved over a longer period of time or had more actual experience in protecting than did Warren Snow. Joining the Church as a boy after an extraordinarily charismatic group conversion in a rough and rocky frontier township in northern Vermont in 1832 and 1833, he combined his strong commitment to the Mormon Church with the rugged frontier personality he had developed in Vermont to become one of Zion's leading "men in between."

In 1837, at just eighteen years of age, he protected Joseph Smith from persecutors in Kirtland. Later he guarded Brigham Young and other church leaders, both in Nauvoo and on the plains of Iowa as they made their way West. But his defending expanded to include the general membership of the Mormon Church and it was as he protected this larger group that he made his greatest contributions.

He protected Saints in Illinois from houseburning mobs and as an officer in the Nauvoo Legion he played a leading role in holding back hostile forces during the Battle of Nauvoo. In Utah he became the commander of the Sanpete Military District of the Nauvoo Legion and in this position he was one of the top five or six figures in the defensive actions the Mormons waged against Johnston's Army during the Utah War. Finally, as brigadier general in the Nauvoo Legion, he played the

single most important role of any Mormon in Utah's Black Hawk Indian War, which was undoubtedly Mormonism's longest and most deadly defensive struggle. By the time he ended his protecting in 1867, at age forty-nine, he had been in the business of defending for over thirty years.

The Mormon message had great meaning for Warren Snow. The Latter-day Saint tenets that the Last Days had arrived and that God was establishing his Kingdom through a living prophet and gathering his Saints prior to the imminent advent of Jesus Christ and the beginning of the millennium for him were electrifying doctrines, and he believed them with all his heart. He felt that he lived in the best of all times and that he, with the rest of humanity, was standing on the very brink of eternity. But he also believed that Satan was doing all he could to thwart God's work and he viewed the persecutions and troubles Mormonism encountered on the American frontier to be expressions of the dastardly designs of the Devil.

Quite early in his life Warren developed a profound sense of mission. He felt that it was his God-given role to defend prophets, Saints, and the Kingdom itself from the continual onslaught of attacks he saw the Church receive, and he therefore developed an almost fanatical desire to put himself "between" the Church and all those that threatened it. His large size and his rugged and bombastic personality ideally suited him for

such work and he found that his protecting gave him opportunities to be near and develop friendships with his leaders. Protecting and pleasing them were dominant themes throughout his life, and he used his defensive abilities to open the doors to such leadership positions as presiding bishop of Sanpete and Juab Counties, bishop and mayor of Manti, territorial legislator, military district commander and brigadier general.

Warren Snow functioned best on the frontier, away from established institutions and the regiment and administrative order that tended to prevail at headquarters. Perhaps Brigham Young sensed this, for he left Warren free to spend his Utah years in Manti. It was this geographical separation from Church headquarters that made Warren unique and set him apart from other defenders. Daniel H. Wells, Porter Rockwell, Robert T. Burton, and even Lot Smith during his protecting years, lived in or near Salt Lake City and therefore their defending differed from Warren's. It was his living away from the center of Mormon activity that propelled him into the critical role he played during the Black Hawk War.

The same rough frontier qualities that made him an effective "man in between," made him a harsh and oppressive leader, and his head-on way of dealing with things caused him serious trouble and at one point contributed to his losing his leadership positions as

well as the good favor of Brigham Young and the Manti Saints. But his willingness to provide the defensive services that the Sanpete frontier demanded enabled him to recapture Brigham's friendship as well as the respect of his Manti associates. It is clear that there were some self-serving side-benefits that came from his protective roles.

Warren Snow was an exceptional member of a peculiar Mormon type. Perhaps he was even the most distinct example of the "man in between" motif in nineteenth century Mormonism. To know and understand his role and his motivations is therefore significant to the study of Mormon History because the portrait of early Mormondom can not be complete without a knowledge of the "standing between" function that is, perhaps, best exemplified in the life of Warren Stone Snow.

CHAPTER I

ST. JOHNSBURY, KIRTLAND, AND MORLEY SETTLEMENT

St. Johnsbury

Warren Stone Snow was born in Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire on June 15, 1818, the third son of Gardner and Sarah Sawyer Hastings Snow. Chesterfield township was made up of small farming and milling communities located near the junction of the Catsbane and Connecticut rivers on New Hampshire's western border. Both Warren's father and mother were Chesterfield natives. As descendants of some of the township's earliest settlers, they had roots at least four generations deep in Chesterfield's fertile soil, and as members of large extended family clans, they were surrounded by plenty of kin. But as Warren was born, Gardner and Sarah, who always went by her nickname Sally,¹ were preparing to leave New Hampshire.

Nearly two decades before Warren's birth, large numbers of his father's relatives had moved some 125 miles up the Connecticut River into the newly settled frontier areas of northeastern Vermont. Gardner Snow, the son of Jonathan and Abigail Farr Snow, had either been left as a nine year old boy with relatives in New

Hampshire when his family moved to St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County, Vermont in 1804, or he went with them and later returned to Chesterfield in his teens. In either case, he learned the carpentry and coopering trades from his Snow relatives who owned several large lumber mills and dominated Chesterfield's lumber-related industries. In 1814 he married Sally Hastings, a childhood acquaintance, and at Warren's birth four years later he was determined to take Sally and their three little boys to St. Johnsbury to settle with his parents and other relatives. Thus it was that in the fall of 1818, when Warren was just a few months old, his family² left the place of his birth.

Gardner settled his family in a small village in the northeast portion of the St. Johnsbury township that was affectionately named "Chesterfield" by his Snow and Farr relatives in memory of the town they had left in New Hampshire. In spite of moving from his ancestral home, Gardner raised his family living close to his parents and brothers and sisters and their families, as well as the families of some of his uncles and cousins and other³ kinfolk. The clan migration of the Snows and Farris from Chesterfield to St. Johnsbury is illustrative of the strong family ties which bound the group together, and Gardner and Sally passed on to young Warren a firm belief in the value of the extended family. Throughout his life

Warren was never very far from significant numbers of his kin.

When Gardner and Sally reached St. Johnsbury, they found it a wild, sparsely settled frontier township located about forty miles south of the Canadian border and a few miles west of the Connecticut River. It was situated in the Passumpsic River Valley near where the Passumpsic is joined by the Moose and Sleeper rivers. A number of mills had been constructed on the rivers, and settlers had cleared some land on the small hills and valleys that made up the township's landscape, but the vast majority of the area was overgrown with thick stands of firs, hemlock, maples, elms, and bass.

The country was rough, rocky and so cold that it was described as being "nine months winter and three months of damn poor sleddin."⁴ As Warren progressed through childhood, boyhood, and young manhood in northeastern Vermont, the country's more rugged elements embedded themselves deep in his personality, and the frontier life he experienced there constituted one of the most profound influences in his development.

Like the country itself, Warren was rough, jagged and unpolished, and like the men that tamed it, he was vigorous, strong, virile, and at times even violent. Hauling rocks and clearing acre after acre of hardwood forest to enlarge his father's farm made his large shoulders strong, his arms hard, and his big hands

calloused and powerful. For him there was little time for education. While he obviously spent a few winters on the rough-hewn log benches of the St. Johnsbury school house, for the most part his learning was at the handle of an axe, shovel or plow, or at the end of a whip as he urged huge teams of Vermont work horses to pull out stubborn stumps.⁵

The tough, unending work required to master the Passumpsic wilderness produced in Warren a hard-driving and forceful nature. His participation in the country's conquest gave him a strong and firm confidence that through brute force almost anything could be accomplished. These qualities later made him a propulsive and productive leader. But shallow as he was in social experience, he often gave those he led the same hard-fisted treatment he had given St. Johnsbury's maples, elms and hemlocks. Like the stubborn, hardwood trees, he chopped, pushed and pulled those he led until he got the results he desired.⁶ On Vermont's northern frontier, he became an excellent marksman and hunter, and dealing with the area's Indians he developed a strong resolve to put them down rather than be overrun by them.

His frontier experience in St. Johnsbury, however, had a softer side too. It taught him to have a deep appreciation for nature, and the Passumpsic's deep green and well-wooded hills and tempestuous and forceful weather patterns gave him a love and a respect for his

creator. For him there was a mystical union between God and nature, and when he was alone the landscape itself turned his mind to serious and perplexing thoughts about the meaning of his life.⁷ He liked to run St. Johnsbury's dark, rich soil through his fingers and to watch his family's crops mature. The township's development taught him to delight in progression. He loved a nice fence, an orderly barnyard and house. The carpentry and coopering skills he learned in his father's shop taught him to appreciate good wood and good tools.⁸ Raised with the developers of the Morgan horse, Warren also loved handsome stock, and, like most Vermonters, he experienced a special thrill in owning or riding a good horse.

But there were other profound influences that Warren encountered in St. Johnsbury, influences that permanently shaped and changed him, leaving indelible imprints upon his character that were still visible a lifetime later. In this backwoods area of northern Vermont, Warren was surrounded by rough frontiersmen who had fought in a number of American wars. As he cleared trees, built fences, hauled rocks and planted crops, he undoubtedly worked side-by-side with men, who, sweating from exertion, diverted their minds by telling the boys of their experiences in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Some may have even been with Ethan Allen and

his "Green Mountain Boys" as they fought the New Yorkers to protect the Vermonters' rights to the land.

After a hard days work as men gathered to smoke, drink and spin yarns in the cool evening shadows on St. Johnsbury's grassy "Plain," Warren and other boys likely listened with awe to even older men tell stories of the French and Indian War. On such evenings on the "Plain," Warren almost certainly heard St. Johnsbury's first settler, Jonathan Arnold, proudly tell how he had drafted the act that officially severed Rhode Island's ties with Great Britain. It was the first colony to declare its independence, Arnold boasted, and his Vermont was the
9
second.

Arnold, then a toothless, decrepit old soldier, may have pulled his pipe from his mouth and gazed wistfully over the heads of five or six boys seated on the grass around him. Perhaps he spoke of oppressors, rights and courage and told exciting stories of men who were brave enough to stand up against all odds and defend their rights and their families. No doubt young Warren listened with wonder to such talk, dreaming perhaps of pitched battles in which he defended his people's lives and rights.

Living in Vermont, Warren was surrounded by some of America's most independent people, and as an American, he was steeped in the relatively new and growing tradition of the American Revolution. It was a tradition

where defenders were respected and even idolized, and many were personally on hand to boastfully relate their adventures to boys such as Warren. Both the Snows and the Hastings had fought on the American side of the Revolution, and as he worked with his father and sat at his mother's table, he certainly heard tales of the roles his own family had played in American struggles for rights.¹⁰ He undoubtedly emerged from St. Johnsbury desirous and willing to carry on the tradition to stand and fight as others had done, and later in life he never passed up an opportunity to fight for his rights or to defend those that he loved from those he viewed as oppressors.

"The Mormon Invasion"

But the most profound influence exerted on Warren in St. Johnsbury came as the result of the preaching of two young Mormon missionaries in 1832 and 1833. A few weeks before Warren's fourteenth birthday, quite a stir was made among the Snows and the Farris of the Chesterfield district of St. Johnsbury regarding the miraculous healing of one of their kin. It seems that Olive Farr, the wife of Gardner Snow's double cousin and childhood friend Winslow Farr, had been confined to her bed for almost seven years with an ailment her doctors called "liver complaint." The family had gone to great expense to obtain medical help, but the physicians

finally told them that Olive had less than a year to
live.¹¹

Worn out from caring for his wife and scared by the prognosis, Winslow heard that two elders of the newly organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were in the area, preaching that the original church of Jesus Christ had been restored and that they had power to heal the sick. Willing to try anything, Winslow, a firm Bible believer, sent his sons to get the elders. The missionaries, Orson Pratt and Lyman E. Johnson,¹² both future apostles of the Church, had split up. Finding only Elder Pratt, the Farr boys led the elder to their home. Members of the family and a few curious neighbors were waiting to see what the missionary would do. Pratt wasted no time in formalities. He simply approached Olive's bed, took her by the hand, and asked her if she "believed in the Lord Jesus Christ." Too weak to speak, she nodded her head in the affirmative. Pratt then placed his hands on her head and promised her that she would soon be healed. Within twenty-four hours she had completely recovered.¹³

This dramatic healing was the beginning of a chain of conversions among Winslow's relatives that eventually included young Warren Snow. Understandably, among the first to be baptized were Winslow and Olive Farr, along with at least one of their children, as well as William and Zerubbabel Snow, who also witnessed the

miracle. These two brothers, cousins of both Winslow Farr and Gardner Snow, had been boarding with the Farris in Charleston, some twenty miles north of St. Johnsbury. Moved by the experience, they quickly returned to St. Johnsbury, spreading word of the miracle to their family and friends. They persuaded their father, Levi Snow, who lived only a short distance from Warren's home, to allow the missionaries to preach in his barn. Presumably most of the Snow clan gathered to hear the elders preach.¹⁴

The missionaries told the group that God had again opened the heavens by revealing himself to a young prophet by the name of Joseph Smith. The pure religion preached by Jesus in ancient times, they said, as well as the Church he organized and the priesthood power he gave his disciples, had been restored to the earth through the prophet preparatory to the second coming of the Messiah. They further explained that the Lord had shown Joseph Smith where an ancient record was buried which he had translated through the power of God and published as the Book of Mormon. The coming forth of the book was a signal that the millenium was near at hand and the world must quickly prepare. God himself and numerous heavenly messengers had appeared to Joseph and directed him in building the Kingdom of God on earth so that the righteous would be prepared to receive their King.

As a group, the Snow clan was deeply religious, and while they prided themselves on their keen knowledge

of the Bible, most had not joined any of St. Johnsbury's organized churches. They practiced the family-based Bible Christianity so typical of America in that day. Upon hearing the Mormons preach, the family group was immediately split in their feelings. Some were totally against the doctrines, while others instantly embraced them.¹⁵

Erastus Snow, for example, who was Gardner's cousin and yet the same age as Warren, remembered that already at fourteen years of age he had "sufficient knowledge of the scriptures to know" that the doctrines "corresponded with the gospel of the Ancients." He later testified that as he heard Pratt preach in his father's barn, relating the revelations that had come to Joseph Smith, he had a revelation of sorts himself. "The Holy Ghost descended upon me," he said, "bearing witness that it was true," and that the missionaries as well as Joseph Smith "were messengers of God."¹⁶

Unlike Erastus, however, most of the clan, including Warren and his nuclear family, were impressed with Olive Farr's healing but were not sure of the new doctrines and therefore they maintained a position of interested skepticism. Soon the missionaries, after a few more preaching sessions, moved on in search of more fruitful fields of labor.

The following year, Pratt and Johnson returned to St. Johnsbury and on June 15, 1833 (Warren's fifteenth

birthday), another impressive healing took place, this time right in Warren's neighborhood. Emily Harvey, a neighbor just his age, had been sick for about twelve weeks. Her exact illness is unknown, but one of the symptoms was that she "vomited much blood." The entire neighborhood was convinced that "she could not live many days."

Orson Pratt blessed her as he had Olive Farr and she was "immediately healed." This was enough to convince another batch of Snows to join the Church, and a day or two later Warren's father, along with four other members of his extended family, and a healthy Emily Harvey, were baptized.¹⁷

Pratt's miracles went on, and a month later Warren's mother went into the water, and while the missionaries then went their way, the chain of family conversions continued. In October, Warren's older brother James was baptized and on November 20, fifteen¹⁸ year-old Warren joined the Mormon Church. The process of his conversion had been a slow one, and the fact that the Snow's were baptized over a period of time is evidence that the decision was a personal one, for many of his relatives, including his oldest brother and his grandparents, did not join. But his choice to become a Mormon totally changed his life and completely altered his future. He was committed for life and later

displayed a dedication to the Church that was excelled by very few.

At age fifteen, filled with zeal and youthful energy, Warren set off with other family members on a series of intensive local proselyting missions and experienced for himself some of the same charismatic occurrences that had characterized the missionary work of Orson Pratt and Lyman E. Johnson. His brother James remembered that as the Snows preached, "diseases were rebuked," that "the work of God grew and multiplied," and "many souls were added to the Church from time to time." Warren and the others were swept up in a wave of charisma and excitement that bolstered and reinforced their commitment to the new religion.

Soon they had converted quite a number in the township, and in 1834 a branch of the Church was organized at St. Johnsbury, with Warren's father as its president. Preaching meetings were held in Levi Snow's barn, and converted Snows worked hard to interest their families and neighbors in Mormonism, and they were successful in keeping the excitement level concerning the new movement high.

The "Mormon barn" as Levi's barn came to be called, stood in a large meadow near a brook which was dammed to provide a suitable place for baptisms. The repeated performances of the ordinance always seemed to generate a friendly but somewhat festive crowd. So many

townspeople came to watch the occasional baptisms that children were often forced to climb trees in order to be able to see. At one such gathering a boy slipped and fell off his perch on a tree limb that spanned the brook, and the crowd laughed and hooted that he had received an "involuntary baptism."²⁰

In 1835, the newly organized Quorum of the Twelve Apostles visited St. Johnsbury and held a three-day conference. This created such excitement that over a thousand people attended; more than half the population of the township. Well over half-a-century later, a St. Johnsbury historian quoted what could be a description of the conference:

In after years the memory of the Mormon Invasion was vividly recalled by some who were youngsters at the time. A man in his eighty-third year told about the Sunday meetings at the barn. "There was a big crowd that gathered at the Snow barn. The Mormon Elders sat along the high beams. They let the women folks in lower down like, and gave them seats in the hay. The other men and we boys were packed in helter-skelter all around as best we could. It was Sunday but a regular holiday for everybody.²¹

This statement seems to capture the active spirit of Mormon conversion in St. Johnsbury. Warren, like the rest of his converted relatives, felt that he was part of a dynamic and exciting movement. He was convinced that God had spoken to a modern prophet and had begun his latter-day work and that there was a place in the plan for him. This gave new meaning to his life and put his existence in context, providing what to him was an electrifying destiny. While the details of his early

church experience in Vermont are largely unknown, it is certain that his family conversion, as well as his participation in the Snow's subsequent missionizing and branch-building experiences had a great impact on him.

His close connection with those who experienced and witnessed the healings of Olive Farr, Emily Harvey and others, as well as the similar occurrences he witnessed himself while spreading the gospel, no doubt provided the basis for his deep conviction of the truthfulness of the Church. Ever after he was totally committed to Mormonism, even to the extent that he often endangered his life while defending the Church, as well as its leaders and members, from danger.

It was his conviction of the truth of the Church, or his "testimony," as he called it, that provided the foundation upon which he developed a willingness to risk his life as a Mormon defender. Years later, recognizing this fact himself, Warren urged other Mormons to join him in providing a physical buffer between the Church and its enemies. He declared that members "had to realize" that their leaders "were prophets" and that the Church was "the work of God." Only then, he told them, could they meet "coming tryals" as defenders "with fortitude."²²

For Warren Snow, the deep feelings that stired his soul in St. Johnsbury would last for life, providing him with the necessary motivation and fortitude to "stand between" the Church and danger.

But his kinship ties also had great impact on his dedication to the Church. The St. Johnsbury branch, presided over by Gardner Snow and centered at the Levi Snow barn, was dominated by the Snow family, and while over half the clan did not become Mormons, those that did maintained close ties throughout their lives. Their family conversion experience and group acceptance of the latter-day gospel caused Mormonism to somehow become deeply woven into the family fabric that held them together. Mormonism simply became the basis of the value system of the converted Snows.

This fact, combined with their profoundly charismatic St. Johnsbury background, helped them turn out to be an extraordinarily devoted set of Mormons. As a family, the Snows emerged from Vermont to play important leadership roles in the Church that were surpassed by few families.²³ Their influence in the nineteenth century was such that U. S. Congressman Charles B. Landis, in a speech made in 1900, remarked that they "were the most consistent Mormons in the whole bunch."²⁴ While obviously overstated, Landis' comment was illustrative of the contribution the family made to the Church. And among the Snows contributions, Warren's was not the least.

Kirtland

As early as 1831, Kirtland, Ohio was a gathering place for Mormons, and from the beginning the Snows

desired to move there to be with their prophet and other Latter-day Saints. While some of the Snows left St. Johnsbury for Kirtland as early as 1834, Warren's immediate family, perhaps tied to St. Johnsbury by Gardner's responsibilities as branch president, did not get away until the summer of 1836. At that time, the remaining Snow converts and "quite a number" of other St. Johnsbury Mormons sold their farms, loaded their possessions into large "canvas-covered wagons," and started for Ohio.²⁵

Once in Kirtland, the charismatic kinds of events Warren had experienced in Vermont seemed to continue. For him, seeing Joseph Smith for the first time was a deep spiritual experience and he later described the "joy" he felt "in having the privilege of looking upon a man that had saw angels [sic], also the Son of God." My soul," he reminisced, "was filled with rapture."²⁶

About this time he had another experience he never forgot. As he received his "endowments" in the Kirtland Temple, he said that he heard the voice of God as plainly as he had ever heard any voice.²⁷ Both of these experiences were strong evidence for him that the Prophet was what he claimed to be. And with that conviction went his total commitment to follow, support and protect Joseph Smith.

The Prophet was at the center of all that was important to young Warren, and, like other Mormons, he

undoubtedly sought every opportunity to be close to and associate with the man he considered to be God's mouthpiece. Family tradition holds that he became a bodyguard for Joseph Smith in Kirtland, and while substantial evidence for this assertion is lacking, a few of Warren's own statements indicate that he was indeed "standing between" the Prophet and danger even before he was twenty.

Warren was in Kirtland during a time characterized by acute persecution against the Church as well as internal dissention so serious that even some of the Twelve Apostles apostatized. The situation became so intense that Joseph, having good reason to fear for his life, surrounded himself with strong and committed young men whom he felt he could trust to protect him.²⁸

Large for his day, standing just over six feet tall, Warren moved in with the Smiths for a time in 1837 in a protecting capacity.²⁹ "I was brought in close connection to the many troubles that he had to pass through by false brethren and wicked men," he later wrote as he poignantly recalled the persecution he saw Joseph Smith endure. "I traced the blood-trodden road of that great man that has fallen," he continued, adding that "notwithstanding my being young, he had all confidence in me and others, and thus he was preserved for months and years from those who sought his life."³⁰

While the details of the defensive roles he played for Joseph Smith are unknown, it is certain that the experience was very important to him, for he referred to it time and time again in his sermons and writings. It put him in a position where he could closely associate with the Prophet, and the two became quite close and their relationship was meaningful to him throughout his life. Raised as he was in an American tradition where defenders were looked upon with honor, Warren was proud of his protective role and often mentioned it in an almost boastful manner, as if to say he was important because he had defended the Prophet.

As much as he made reference to his defending, we can be sure that it became part of the superstructure upon which Warren built his concept of self-worth and by which he defined his place in the Church. He liked his niche as a defender, and as time went on he looked for opportunities to enlarge it. In one way or another defensive duties played a dominant role in the next thirty years of his life.

Preserving Joseph's life in Kirtland was the beginning of a significant career as a man "in between." His role as a protector always carried a special focus on defending prophets and apostles, but it more often extended to protecting the Church and its membership from physical threats. From this small beginning in Kirtland, Warren Snow rose to become one of the most important

members of a corps of fiercely committed men who literally "held their lives in their hands" as they put themselves between the Church and mortal danger.³¹

Morley Settlement

In 1838, Joseph Smith's problems were such that he and most of Kirtland's faithful Mormons left Ohio for the Church's other center of gathering in Missouri. Warren, however, became seriously ill about this time and spent the next two years in Ohio, separated from his family who followed Joseph. The Church's problems only became worse, and early in 1839 Joseph Smith was jailed and the Saints were expelled from Missouri. Apostle and future church president Brigham Young, led the Mormons to western Illinois where they were later joined by the Prophet, who had been allowed to escape.³²

While most of the Saints settled with Joseph at a place he named Nauvoo on the banks of the Mississippi River in Hancock County, Warren's parents and married brothers and sisters settled with their families about twenty-five miles to the south in a small Mormon community called Morley Settlement. The town was named after its founder, Isaac Morley, and was also called "Yelrome" (Morley spelled backwards) and "Morley Town." It was located on the Hancock side of the border between Hancock and Adams counties.³³

By the time Warren joined his family in Morley Settlement in 1840, his father had been called as the

settlement's bishop and his brother James as clerk to Isaac Morley, president of the four hundred member branch. Upon arriving in the community, Warren met and courted Mary Ann Vorhees, and in 1841, at twenty-three years of age, he married her and built a log house to be their home.

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The following year, Warren became an officer in the Nauvoo Legion, a branch of the Illinois state militia. While theoretically subject to the governor, the Legion was under the direct control of the mayor of Nauvoo, who, by the time Warren joined, happened to be Joseph Smith. For all intents and purposes the military organization was totally under the control of church leaders. The Prophet felt the organization was necessary to protect the Saints from persecutions such as those they had encountered in Ohio and Missouri.

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As captain of a company of Morley Settlement legionnaires, Warren's experience was not extraordinary. But for him it was significant for it provided him with the chance to play a minor role in the defense of Joseph Smith and the city of Nauvoo at the time anti-Mormons threatened to destroy the city and kill the Prophet as a result of Joseph's ordering the dismantling of an anti-Church press in Nauvoo on June 10, 1844.

The day following the press's destruction, the Church's antagonists, already incensed by what they considered to be un-American acts perpetrated by a "mad

prophet," sent runners in all directions to raise a mob to go against Joseph Smith, who in their view had flagrantly abused the right of free press. Warren and dozens of other Nauvoo Legion leaders of similar rank led their men to Nauvoo to assist in fortifying the city, spending a tense week preparing to fight as an attack from the mob forces was expected at any moment.

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But sensing that an open conflagration was inevitable, Joseph Smith, in order to save his people, agreed to be tried for his actions. Therefore, on June 24, he delivered himself up to state officials in Carthage even though he feared he would lose his life as a result. That same day he disbanded the Nauvoo Legion forces, and Warren and his men returned to Morley Settlement. Three days later, on June 27, an armed mob stormed the Carthage Jail and Joseph and his brother Hyrum were murdered.

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"Mangled as I saw Joseph"

Joseph Smith had predicted his own death on numerous occasions to various individuals, one of whom was Warren Snow. Late in his life, Warren recounted that sometime before Joseph's martyrdom, he and the Prophet were walking alone together in the woods outside Nauvoo. Joseph suddenly stopped short, and looking at the younger man, he said, "Warren, you are going West, and in case I should be slain, what will you do?" The query caused a wave of emotion to surge through Warren,

and he could not prevent his "tears to flow like a river."

In response to the question, he exclaimed with determination, "I will avenge your blood to the latest generation." He then asked Joseph if he meant what he said regarding his being "slain," and the Prophet simply answered, "Yes, son I do." Warren then described that Joseph embraced him and said, "This is an everlasting covenant between you and I." "Those words," Warren recalled, "was written upon my heart as with an iron . . . never to be obliterated." Warren walked away from the experience convinced that the Prophet would be killed and feeling that he had received a personal commission to

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avenge his friend's blood.

In spite of the prophetic overtones of this conversation, when word of Joseph's death reached him, Warren, like others at Morley Settlement, refused to believe it. Deciding to find out for himself, Warren

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saddled his horse and rode off to Nauvoo. When he arrived, his worst fears were realized. But he also experienced one of the most memorable and poignant highlights of his life when the Prophet's wife, Emma, invited him into her home. "Come with me to see my husband," she said, "for you are one of the family." "I went in with the family to look upon those I loved," he reminisced, "and [was] the only one outside of the family to go in" at that time. "It is too true," he reported to

Isaac Morley when he got back to the settlement at midnight, "for I have both seen and handled the ⁴⁰corpse."

This experience had a profound and lasting effect on Warren Snow. He would write and preach about it throughout his life, and always as part of his solemn testimony of the authenticity of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling. "Let me here say," he declared to some Saints in England in 1864, "as one who knew him in life and was with him in death, that I stand as a living witness that I do know him to be a Prophet of the the Most High ⁴¹God."

In 1863 he wrote to Brigham Young. He was convinced that the United States was trying to destroy the leaders of the Church, and he urged Brigham not to "go into their hands," because, he said:

I never want to see you and others that I love mangled as I saw the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum I had rather fly to arms and grasp the sword and face the foes of the servants of God and let my bosom meet the deadly weapons before those that I love and esteem above all earthly joy. . . . but let the saints rally around . . . [and] protect the servants of God from the hands of wicked men and despots.⁴²

He had seen what his "enemies" could do, and the need for defenders was impressed upon him in a way he could never forget. Joseph was gone, but Warren's experiences in defending his prophet in life and witnessing his mangled body in death seemed to persuade him that one of life's callings for him would always be to "stand between" prophets and Saints and danger. And

he did not have to wait long before the next opportunity to defend them presented itself.

CHAPTER II

THE BURNING OF MORLEY SETTLEMENT

"The Mantle of Joseph"

Like other Mormons, Warren was stunned to realize that the man he had revered as the Lord's prophet was dead. In the period of confusion that followed the martyrdom, Mormons, like a flock deprived of its shepherd, looked for leadership. During this time, a "very vivid" memory of one of Joseph's sermons loomed large in Warren's mind. He remembered that Joseph had stated that the Saints "walked by light" while he lived, but that the day would come when they would "have to walk by faith." For Warren, the days and weeks that followed the Prophet's death fulfilled these words to "the fullest extent." Joseph was a light snuffed out, and the resulting darkness created a serious void in Warren's¹ life that could not easily be filled.

He listened with perplexed and concerned interest to the Saints' distressed discussions about the various claims being advanced by a number of would-be leaders seeking Joseph's position. "Who will take Joseph's place?" seemed to be the question on every mind. The question was answered, as far as Warren was concerned, a

full six weeks after the Prophet's death as Warren sat on a rough-hewn log bench while attending a large open-air meeting held August 8, 1844.

Thousands of Mormons were gathered for the express purpose of settling the succession issue and they first heard Sidney Rigdon, a former counselor to Joseph Smith, claim that he should be the "guardian" of the Church. Rigdon eloquently occupied an hour-and-a-half but Warren was unimpressed.

After a break for lunch, Brigham Young, the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, then spoke, and as he did Warren described that he received a manifestation, that for him at least, settled the question once and for all. As Brigham spoke, Warren saw "the mantle of Joseph rest upon him." Warren was one of quite a number of Mormons who reported that they witnessed a supernatural occurrence often referred to as the "transfiguration of Brigham Young."

According to their accounts, Brigham spoke with the voice of Joseph, and to some he even looked like the murdered leader. "I heard the voice of Joseph," Warren said, "and had I not known that Joseph was dead I should say that [it] was Joseph speaking and this convinced me" that Brigham Young was "the right channel for truth."²

Still filled with vivid memories of the bloodied bodies of Joseph and Hyrum and convinced that Brigham was the Prophet's successor, Warren was determined to do what

he could to see that Brigham did not meet the same fate. His devotion to Joseph and his willingness to defend was transferred to Brigham and grew until they became some of his most striking characteristics.³ But his experience with the transformation of Brigham Young was obviously not the only factor in his shift of allegiance from Joseph Smith to the new leader.

Brigham Young, as Joseph's successor, was at the center of all that was meaningful in Warren's life, and to have a place near that center was among Warren's greatest aspirations. Serving as a bodyguard to Joseph Smith had pulled him, to some degree, into the Prophet's circle, giving him a sense of importance and self-worth that helped him to define his role in life.

For him there was a certain pride and fulfillment that went with protecting the prophet. He felt he was playing a significant part in the unfolding of God's kingdom, and he enjoyed the respect he received from his family and friends when he was thus involved. These were things he both wanted and needed, and he viewed his experience, his large size, and his desire to protect, as talents that could give him a chance to break into Brigham's circle, thus helping him to maintain the course he had commenced. He therefore sought every opportunity to defend.

Standing Guard

Though never drawn into Brigham's closest circles, Warren served his new leader where he was placed. For eighteen months he stood guard in Nauvoo while the Saints worked to finish the Nauvoo Temple. During this time the Nauvoo Legion was officially suspended along with the Nauvoo City Charter by state officials, but Warren still functioned as captain in the organization as Church leaders continued its operation despite the ruling.

Whether Warren stood guard as a member of the Nauvoo Legion, the Nauvoo Police, or any one of a number of organizations in the business of protecting is not clear.⁴ What his specific activities were, for the most part, is equally unclear. He did, however, leave a scant record of one incident that he obviously felt was important.

Warren stood guard at the home of Brigham Young at a time when the leader's life was threatened by a disgruntled church member. Two Mormons, William and Stephen Hodge, had murdered a Mennonite minister and his son-in-law in May 1845 while attempting to rob them. The murders took place in Montrose, Iowa, situated just across the Mississippi river from Nauvoo. Hoping to be protected by Brigham Young, the two brothers returned to the city, but their hopes were dashed as they were

delivered up by church leaders to the authorities in Iowa and subsequently hung.⁵

Irvine Hodge, an older brother of the two murderers, had threatened that if his brothers were hung, Brigham Young would be the next to die. Warren was guarding President Young's home at the time Hodge attempted to carry out his threat. According to Warren's account, Hodge was approaching the house "to commit the deed" when he was "met by someone that gave him a death blow and he [died] close by Brigham Young's door." Warren stood guard at Brigham's door the remainder of the night.⁶

According to other accounts, the incident occurred at ten-thirty on the night of June 23, 1845, in a cornfield near the Young house. Two policemen, John Scott and Allen Stout, were positioned on the Young's front porch where they were conversing with Sister Young when they heard "two or three blows seemingly struck with a club" followed by a "succession of shrieks." John Scott ran in the direction of the noise and met Hodge. He then helped the dying man toward the light of the house. As they came near Young's door, Hodge fell, exclaiming, "I am a butchered man." A crowd of men quickly gathered and a light was sent for while Scott ran for a doctor, but before he could return Hodge "gave a few struggles and expired."⁷

It is interesting to note that no account, with the exception of Warren's own, mentions that he was involved in the affair. Contemporary accounts seem to indicate that only policemen Scott and Stout were guarding the Young house that night. However, it is possible that Stout and Scott, both Nauvoo Legion officers as well as leaders of the Nauvoo Police, had men under their command stationed elsewhere on the Young premises. Warren, still a captain in the Legion, served directly under Colonel John Scott at this time and could well have been positioned somewhere on the Young property and, upon hearing the noise, may have been numbered among the crowd of men that soon gathered around the dying man and thereafter "stood guard the balance of the night at the door of President Young."⁸

While our knowledge of Warren's involvement in standing guard at Brigham's home (or in Nauvoo in general for that matter) is sketchy at best, the very fact that he recorded what little he did is indicative that for him it was an important episode in his life and that its memory was a source of pride and satisfaction to him in later years. He was thrilled for the chance to be involved, for he was convinced that the man he was protecting was God's prophet and he wanted to defend him, knowing that it was an opportunity to penetrate Brigham's circle.

The Burning of Morley Settlement

How Warren divided his time between Nauvoo and Morley Settlement during his eighteen months of standing guard is not known. The family residence, however, remained in Morley Settlement and Warren spent some time there with his wife and their first child, a son, who was born January 16, 1845, and affectionately named Joseph Smith Snow by his father. The little family resided in Morley Settlement until mid-September 1845 when anti-Mormons burned the community, forcing the several hundred Mormons there to flee to Nauvoo.

Possibly on guard in Nauvoo, Warren may not have been at home at the time the trouble began. But since it effected his property and the lives of his wife and child and other family members and resulted in the entire destruction of the community he called home, it is certain that the settlement's incineration was a severe personal tragedy that effected him greatly. Indeed, the event and its aftermath had greater impact in forging and molding his already well-developed "standing between" mentality than did any other event he would experience in his entire life.

To him the incident was a stark reminder that Saints as well as prophets were in need of protection. To this point in his life he had sought opportunities to protect the lives of "the prophets," and he had found them, though perhaps on a smaller scale than he would

have desired. But with the burnings he found that he was able to render a much greater service in defending ordinary church members than he was ever able to render protecting church leaders. This realization was a significant turning point in his life and from this time forward his efforts were directed more toward protecting the larger group.

He was already endowed with a generous helping of hatred for those he felt to be the persecutors of God's kingdom, and the burnings intensified his bad feelings towards them. The burning was the keystone in the persecution complex or tradition that dominated his life and formed the basis for his defending. It furthered his already well-developed view that these persecutors were agents of Satan that must be stopped, and his experience in putting an end to the burnings made it plain to him that the only way they could be stopped was by force. The affair worked to convince him that it was his role in life to help provide that force.

The burning of Morley Settlement was the crucible in which Warren was tempered. He emerged red-hot and bombastic, his tolerance for his persecutors thoroughly purged. He also emerged poignantly aware of the protection needs of ordinary church members and fiercely committed to do something to meet those needs. A study of the burning and the Mormon reaction to it is therefore

significant in understanding the development of Warren Snow.

The coals of conflict that resulted in the burning of Warren's home town had been smoldering for some time. Inflammatory feelings between Mormons and non-Mormons existed generally in Illinois during the period, and the problems at Morley Settlement were undoubtedly expressions of the overall situation.⁹ Friction occurred wherever the two groups met, and Morley Settlement, located on the extreme southern fringe of the Mormon settlements, and just two-and-a-half miles from the hostile non-Mormon town of Lima, was natural kindling waiting for fire. It is not surprising that it was there that the coals first burst into real flames.

Mormons and non-Mormons in the area held deep mutual feelings of contempt for each other. Oliver B. Huntington, one of Warren's neighbors, represented the Mormon viewpoint when he wrote that Lima was a "town of [a] set of desperadoes," adding that his life was in danger from personal enmity as well as "for being a Mormon" when he did business there.¹⁰ Non-Mormons, on the other hand, held similar feelings for their neighbors at Morley Settlement, describing them as a "very poor class of Mormons," and claiming that they were annoyed beyond "endurance" by their "little larcenies and rogueries."¹¹

The situation came to a head in 1845 as Lima's non-Mormons complained of an increase in the number of robberies allegedly committed by Morley Settlement Mormons. The Mormons denied all accusations, claiming they were falsehoods and part of a calculated program of legal harassment designed to force them to move to Nauvoo. A large number of arrest warrants were sworn out against the Mormons and some actually did move to Nauvoo.¹²

Warren himself was involved in the increase in tension between the two groups, for on June 4, 1845, Isaac Morley and two men from Morley Settlement visited Brigham Young, informing him that Warren and another Mormon were in jail in the non-Mormon town of Quincy, "accused of selling and passing counterfeit money." Brigham was asked by Morley if "it was best" to get the two men out of prison on bail. Joseph Heywood, a prominent Mormon bishop in Nauvoo, affirmed that Warren and his companion were guilty.

What information Heywood had to establish the two men's guilt or how the case turned out is unknown.¹³ While the lack of evidence makes it impossible for the modern historian to judge Warren's innocence or guilt in the matter, Heywood's statement is a powerful indictment that can not be ignored.

That Warren may have been guilty of "selling and passing" counterfeit money may not be out of character

with some his activities later in life. As will be shown later, his honesty was at times questioned by his closest associates and at one point his integrity was examined before a church court. While never convicted of any blatant crimes against his fellow Saints, minutes of the hearing give some evidence that on at least one occasion he applied a different standard of honesty to those he felt to be persecutors than he did to Mormons.¹⁴

Warren may well have been guilty of the counterfeit money charge. But it is equally possible that he was simply an innocent victim of a non-Mormon program of legal harassment. In any case, Heywood's statement, as well as those of other Mormons, seem to admit that the non-Mormons were not without provocation,¹⁵ and soon anti-Mormon newspapers were calling upon the people to rise and "exterminate the Mormons." Such publicity helped to heat up the already boiling conflict, and it was on the verge of boiling over¹⁶ by the first week in September 1845.

On September 9, the residents of Lima and Green Plains (a non-Mormon settlement some five miles north of Morley Settlement) held a meeting to devise a plan to expel the Mormons from their neighborhood. The meeting was held at the home of Levi Williams, a Green Plains resident who had played a prominent role in orchestrating the murders of the Smith brothers the year before. One of their own number was appointed to shoot a few harmless

rounds at Williams's house while the meeting was in progress. Having thus staged a "Mormon attack," they broke up the meeting and rode through the country, spreading the word that the Mormons had commenced a civil war.

The Morley Settlement Mormons, who got credit for the feigned attack, were immediately warned by Williams's men to head for Nauvoo and threatened with death if they refused to do so. In spite of these threats, the Mormons were determined to stay. Warren and his associates had heard such threats before. The following day a group of robbers bent on impressing the community's leaders with the seriousness of their threats, entered the Mormon town. After shooting at and dispersing a few Mormons stationed as guards, the group burned the homes of the two counselors in the settlement's bishopric. One of the houses belonged to Warren's sister Martha Jane, and her husband John Edminston.

The next morning the burners returned, first firing at some children and then setting fire to two shops owned by Isaac Morley. At about this time they saw a man they mistakenly identified as Warren's brother James, who was the clerk in the local church organization. After some shooting, they "thought they had killed him," but again they were mistaken. They put the torch to James' home and destroyed the homes of two other local leaders, and returned to Lima.

That same day, Solomon Hancock, who had taken Morley's place as branch president, apprized Brigham Young of the depredations, stating that the mob was about two hundred in number and that "they shoot at every brother they see." Hancock sent his son to Nauvoo to inform Brigham of the situation and to ask for instructions. President Young did "a good jig dance for about five minutes" upon learning of the burnings and then sent word for the Mormons at Morley "to come away and let the mob [burn] all the bedbugs they were amind¹⁸ to."

With the Mormons so instructed, the burners boldly continued their work. On September 13, the fourth day of the burnings, the home of Warren's parents was looted and burned. That same day the community was described as a "seene [gic] of desolation." The mob continued burning for an entire week until "the whole of Morley Town was in ashes." They then moved on to other Mormon homes in the nearby regions of Green Plains and¹⁹ Bear Creek.

During this week of burning, the home of Warren and Mary Ann Snow was burned, its smoke mingling with that of many others to cloud the Illinois sky. A granddaughter later wrote that Warren was not at home when the mob approached the house and ordered Mary Ann to leave. She refused to vacate the house and the mob gave her a short time to "get out," threatening to burn the

house with both her and her infant son in it if she did not. Known among her descendants for her stubborn nature, Mary Ann vowed that the burners would not have the pleasure of burning her house. She stacked kindling just outside the door and apparently burned the house herself.²⁰

Like most Mormons, Warren was incensed by the inhumane acts of the burners.²¹ As a Latter-day Saint, he shared an already well-developed persecution tradition, a tradition understandably rich in its self-pity and excessive in its violent anger. Immersed in this tradition, Warren gave little thought to the possibility of fault among the Saints, but held the one-sided view that the persecutions were simply the harassments of Satan against the totally innocent members of God's kingdom.

Such acts of vigilantism as the burners demonstrated were not new to him. He had protected Joseph from such persecutors in Kirtland, and his father's house in Missouri had been burned to the ground, his infant brother dying as a result of the mob violence the family experienced there.²² The Haun's Mill Massacre, Governor Boggs' extermination order, and the martyrdom of the Smith brothers were all components of his group experience. All of these were interpreted and defined in his mind against the backdrop of the Mormon persecution tradition. They became building blocks that,

when neatly stacked in his mind, created a monument memorializing what he felt to be dark deeds wrought by the fiendish followers of Satan. And Morley Settlement's incineration provided the monument with a fitting capstone, turning his persecution tradition into a near mania.

But the burnings were more than tradition for Warren, and they obviously touched his life more profoundly than they did most Mormons, for this time, more than ever before, he was the victim of the persecutors. ²³ It was his house and his belongings that were burned. It was his life, and the lives of his closest relatives and friends, that were threatened. It was his town that was left in ashes. Warren's anger and hatred reached high pitch.

He saw the burners as wicked and hateful men inspired by Satan to wreak havoc on the church, and throughout his later life many of his sermons and writings would seethe with the venom he felt for them. The word "enemies" was the word he was most wont to use in describing them. To him they were enemies in the deepest sense of the word, and he believed they could only be stopped by force. It was his nature and inclination to do just that. How could he just sit by and watch them destroy his property and endanger the lives of his people?

He was undoubtedly frustrated by his leader's instructions to do nothing to oppose the house burners. But his allegiance to Brigham Young was such that Brigham's word was law, and despite his vengeful feelings he would submit to it. Warren was a hot firebrand, but he was a yes-man first. He could always be counted on to follow instructions. ²⁴ For the time being he had to be content to use his energy to move women and children and salvaged property from the burned out areas to Nauvoo.

Church leaders were aware of the chagrin such men as Warren experienced while quietly standing by as the burners continued their work. John Taylor wrote that he "felt sorrowful" when he considered such men, especially when he realized that they "had it in their power to destroy their persecutors," but did not because of their leaders' counsel. That they were able to follow instructions under such circumstances filled Taylor with admiration. "They are good and faithful men," he wrote, ²⁵ "or they would not have done it."

Sheriff Backenstos's Posse

The time came, however, when Brigham's instructions would change and Warren's pent up frustrations could be released. At the end of a full week of burning, the house burners still continued unchecked and over fifty Mormon homes had been destroyed. Jacob B. Backenstos, the non-Mormon sheriff of Hancock County, appealed to Brigham Young for men to form a posse

to join him in stopping the depredations. Brigham declined, however, thinking it best for the sheriff to raise a non-Mormon posse. Backenstos traversed the county in search of men, and, unable to persuade a single non-Mormon to join him, he returned to Nauvoo.

It was then evident to Brigham Young that the Saints had no option but to defend themselves. Brigham called for one hundred Mormons to volunteer to join the sheriff's posse. Warren undoubtedly jumped at the chance to be one of the defenders and was soon numbered among Backenstos's one hundred riders.²⁶ It was a happy day for him, for as he stated of a similar situation later in life, he "rejoiced that the day had at last come when the prophet of God said [that the Saints] had been robbed and driven enough."²⁷

Just after dark on September 16, Warren rode out of Nauvoo as part of Sheriff Backenstos's posse. They proceeded through the darkness to Carthage to liberate the sheriff's wife and children who were allegedly in the hands of the mob. They were fired upon as they entered the town but the hostile force soon fled, and Backenstos²⁸ found his family frightened but safe.

During the night the sheriff learned that about three hundred burners, headquartered at Levi Williams's house at Green Plains, were still burning and plundering Mormon property. In the morning Backenstos headed his posse towards the burners' conclave. Warren was well

acquainted with the road south from Carthage. He was familiar with each bend and rise in the road. In the past it had always been the road home, but this time as he passed its well known landmarks, he was filled with the melancholy realization that Illinois would never be home for him again.

He had understood and internalized the vision Joseph Smith had for Illinois. It was to have been home for God's people. But as he rode south from Carthage that warm September morning, Warren knew that Joseph's vision had been shattered and that each stride of his horse was bringing him closer to those who had shattered it and his melancholy was transformed to anger.

After a fifteen mile ride, Warren and other posse members saw some large plumes of smoke towering in the distance some six miles off. After riding another three miles, they discovered "a fresh smoke" about half-a-mile to their left. A huge corn field lay between them and the Mormon home that had just been torched. The sheriff called for his men to halt, after which he ordered them to split into two groups of about fifty men each. Both groups were made up, in part, of men like Warren, who up until a week before had lived in the now burned out regions, and who, in addition to desiring to stop further burnings, had personal scores to settle.

Backenstos quickly instructed one group to go around the cornfield to the right and the other to the

left, intending on coming at the burners from both sides. He told the men in both groups to "put [their] horses at a fast run." Warren's pulse rate undoubtedly increased as the sheriff ordered them to command "the marauders to stand," adding that should the burners attempt to flee, they were to "shoot them down."

As the two groups of Mormon riders came around separate sides of the cornfield, they saw a group of twelve burners sitting on a woodpile, eating stolen melons as they watched the home of a "brother Wilkins" burn to the ground. The surprised burners, whose faces were painted red and black, immediately mounted their horses and fled. The Mormons chased them for about two miles, at a dead run, shooting at them as they went. Warren undoubtedly did his best to empty a non-Mormon saddle.

At last one of the twelve burners was shot and killed, his body toppling from his running horse, causing the Mormons to cheer. The chase continued a short distance, whereupon the burners leapt from their horses and clambered over a fence surrounding a cornfield, most of them disappearing into the corn. As the last of them went over the fence, a volley of shots rang out, leaving one more burner dead and wounding a few others who followed their comrades into the cornstalks as best they could.

The sheriff ordered his men to stop, undoubtedly realizing that the burners' headquarters was only half-a-mile away on the other side of the field into which the ten burners had disappeared. Perhaps fearing a more serious confrontation, he and his men backtracked, picking up lost pistols and guns as they went.²⁹ They soon came to where the first burner had fallen. Non-Mormons, who later retrieved the body, alleged that it had been "hacked and bayoneted" in many places.³⁰ While the validity of the claim is questionable, it is none the less certain that the feelings necessary for the commission of such atrocities were present. After gathering what weapons they could, Backenstos and his posse retreated to wait and see what effect the days activities would have on the burners.

The following day, September 18, some burning continued. The sheriff wrote a letter to Levi Williams and his men, warning them that if they did not surrender, they must expect consequences similar to those experienced by their two dead comrades. Simultaneously a large detachment of the Nauvoo Legion moved into the area to aid the posse. Warren and his fellow Mormons meant business. Two days later, Backenstos moved his men towards the burners' main encampment prepared to attack, but before reaching it he ascertained that the burners had left the state by crossing the Mississippi River into

Missouri. That day the sheriff proclaimed that peace and quiet had been restored to Hancock County.³¹

As Warren returned to Nauvoo with the sheriff's posse, he and the others were greeted by a cheering and enthusiastic populace. He was proud to have taken part in putting a stop to the burnings, and the acclaim and thanks he received from his fellow Mormons reinforced him in his efforts. It felt good to "stand between." But perhaps the Saints' reception that day was somewhat stilted, as most understood that the victory was only temporary and that they would soon be going West. Warren's experience riding with the posse convinced him, however, that force was the only way to stop persecutors. The victory left him with an important resolve, and he would be ready to meet his enemies with force again in the future.

The fifteen months that followed the death of Joseph Smith were significant months in the development of Warren's mentality as a defender. His devotion to Joseph and his desire to defend him were completely shifted to Brigham Young. He therefore sought opportunities to defend the new leader as he had Joseph, and to some extent he obtained them. Undoubtedly disappointed that these opportunities were not greater, he emerged from the crucible created by Morley Settlement's burning believing that his talents were of greater use in protecting ordinary church members than

they were in personally protecting Brigham. This shift in the direction of his protecting characterized his later life, though he defended church leaders whenever he could.

His "standing between" mentality was permanently effected by other factors arising from his Morley Settlement experience. The destruction of his home town greatly intensified his hatred for his persecutors, and it was his hatred for them and repugnance for their deeds that motivated him to continue putting himself between them and his fellow Saints whenever and wherever he could. His experience convinced him that force was necessary in dealing with persecutors, and while he was always willing to follow the pacifist commands of his leaders, he was none-the-less prepared and anxious to fight when their instructions changed. Warren's experiences during this fifteen month period affected his "standing between" activities for years to come and helped prepare him for Nauvoo's final conflict.

CHAPTER III

NAUVOO TO MANTI

Guard_of_the_First_Advance

Like other victims of the mob violence in Hancock County, Warren and Mary Ann undoubtedly moved in with friends or relatives in Nauvoo in the latter part of September 1845. If they were typical of other victims, they escaped with little property, as most retrieved little more than they could carry from their burning homes. To Warren and Mary Ann, who had very little to begin with, the destruction of their property was a severe financial blow, and they were forced to join the large and ever increasing number of impoverished Latter-day Saints in the city.

No matter what their living arrangements were, it is certain that by late September Warren and Mary Ann knew their stay in Nauvoo would be short as church leaders officially revealed their plans for a mass exodus of Mormons to some point in the West the following spring. Throughout the closing months of 1845, Warren, who was always enterprising and hardworking, did his best to secure what means he could to prepare for the coming journey. Simultaneously he continued his work as a

defender by standing guard while others worked to complete the Nauvoo Temple to the point that the endowment could be performed.¹

Warren did not clearly delineate what his guarding activities were, nor did he name the organization under whose auspices he performed them. It is certain, however, that he was part of a select group of men who under the direction of Hosea Stout and John Scott specialized in protecting.² Some of these Mormon guards patrolled the city night and day watching for strangers. Some guarded the Temple and some manned picket posts outside the city to keep mauraders out. Some watched over the hiding places of the few pieces of cannonry that made up the Mormon "Artillery," while still others were sent out as spies to watch the movements of hostile forces. As one of these guards, Warren was involved in some, if not all, of these ventures.

According to Hosea Stout, the guards' foremost duty was to protect church leaders at a time when Brigham and the others were "anxious to attend to the affairs of the Church and not be brought under the persecuting hands of their enemies" so that they could finish the Temple, endow the Saints and direct the move West. But Stout pointed out that the Saints generally needed protection from both mobbers (who repeatedly threatened to attack the city) and the "Moblitia," a term he used to describe the Illinois State Militia which he viewed to be "a

legalized mob" sent by Governor Ford to "vex" the Mormons.

Added to these threats were those posed by apostates and thieves living among the Saints.³ As one of these guards, Warren again found himself in a major defensive role. It was a role that would not end with the beginning of the exodus, for he followed his leaders into the wilderness in a similar capacity.

The evacuation of Mormons from Illinois was originally scheduled for April 1846 when the Mississippi River would be free from floating ice and the grass on the Iowa plains would be sufficient to support the hundreds of teams necessary to execute the mass migration. A premature departure, however, was prompted by a new surge of warrant-laden government officials who canvassed the city in hopes of capturing Brigham Young and other leaders. Simultaneously rumors reached Nauvoo that federal troops were planning to hedge the Mormons in, thus making the upcoming exodus impossible.

While the rumors turned out to be unfounded, they were, however, when coupled with continual legal threats, enough to induce church leaders to initiate their plans early. On February 2, it was decided that church leaders and all those Saints prepared to evacuate the city should do so as soon as they could, and on February 4, the first Mormon wagons were ferried across the river on skiffs and flatboats.⁴

In executing the initial stages of the exodus, Mormon leaders drew heavily on the organized groups of guards which were comprized of men like Warren who had demonstrated that they could be depended upon in emergencies. Hosea Stout, John Scott, and the "police" under their command were assigned to procure boats and superintend the crossing of the river. They gathered "several flatboats, some old lighters and a number of skiffs" until they had "quite a fleet." Hundreds of Mormons with loaded wagons lined up at the river's edge where the police worked around the clock "crossing Saints."⁵

That Warren was among the "police" involved in ferrying Mormons across the river is evidenced by this stanza written by a nephew of Brigham Young who crossed the river with his family as a nine year old boy:

The next I remember was the ice-flowing tide,
 Of the great Mississippi, its flood a mile wide,
 The shout of the boatmen, the splash of their oars,
 As they pushed the huge scow from the river's east
 shore.
 They were giants in stature, and fearless and bold,
 They shrank not in danger, nor shriveled in cold.
 There was tall Thomas Grover, and brave Warren Snow,
 And three other heroes whose names I don't know.
 With skill and endurance, they stemmed the wild tide,
 And landed their freight on the Iowa side.⁶

Warren crossed the river himself on February 13 and joined church leaders and other Mormons camped on Sugar Creek some nine miles west of Nauvoo. He apparently left his wife and child in the city for the time being for he had an important assignment to fulfill.

He wrote that he left Nauvoo "in charge of the first
 advance as Captain under Col. John Scott."⁷

What Warren referred to was the fact that Hosea Stout and John Scott and some of the Mormon guards had drawn the assignment to make sure that no mob, apostate or government force endangered their leaders' lives or in any way hindered their departure from the city. Stout was in charge of approximately one hundred men who were known as "the Guard," while Scott was over a similarly sized group known as "the Artillery." Both groups were organized to provide a military escort of sorts to insure that the Twelve and "the first advance" of the Mormon exodus made good their escape.⁸

John Scott and Warren Snow, the officers of the Artillery, had in their charge the four cannons owned by the Church and were responsible for transporting wagon loads of powder and over twenty-four hundred pounds of cannon balls and shot. The first advance was armed to the teeth.

That Warren and other members of the Artillery were with the Twelve and the first advance in a protecting role, rather than merely as transporters of Church property, is evidenced by a statement made by James Palmer, who served under Warren and John Scott. He wrote that he had been called to "go out and protect" the Twelve while they were camped in eastern Iowa, "and further on if needed until they [gic] felt safe."

Concerning the cannons, he stated that they "had four cannon and amonition [sic] for them and . . . intended to use them if [they] had been oppressed again by mob violence." In addition to having responsibility for the cannons, Palmer made it clear, that members of the Artillery joined the men under Stout's command in serving "as a guard to protect" church leaders as well as other pioneers.⁹

That Warren and the other men involved in guarding took their jobs seriously was attested to by Hosea Stout. He wrote that during the earliest stage of the exodus, while most of the Twelve and others were still encamped on Sugar Creek, word reached them that some militiamen were in the city with writs for some of the Twelve. The Mormon guards agreed that if members of the militia came across the river after their leaders, "they would put them to death rather than be Harrassed as [they] had been" before. Fortunately such a conflict¹⁰ never came.

After camping a few days on Sugar Creek, Warren wrote that he and the other pioneers "waded through mud and Snow and Rain," intermitantly stopping for a few days to rest and obtain food for themselves and their animals. Having left much earlier than originally planned, the first advance was not properly prepared for their journey and provisions were scarce. Many of the group, including the men in the Artillery, were therefore forced to take

on what short term jobs they could in and around the
11
settlements they passed as they went.

These problems, coupled with the large size and the initial disorganized nature of the group, made for slow going, and after nearly a month, the main body of the first advance was only fifty miles from Nauvoo. But they had been virtually free from the harassments of their enemies and church leaders therefore instructed John Scott to lighten his load by caching twenty-four hundred pounds of "ball & shot," and to release some of his men. A number of the Artillery's men went back to help their families leave Nauvoo, but Warren and about
12
fifty others stayed on with the colonel.

While the threat of attack appeared to be gone, by the end of March the scarcity of provisions began to pose an even greater threat to the first advance. Considering the lack of supplies and aware that thousands of other Mormons would soon be joining them in the exodus, church leaders determined to send as many men as possible from the pioneer vanguard to settlements to get work. Accordingly, in the second week of April, Scott and his men, who had almost thirty head of horses, fourteen oxen and a large number of now empty baggage wagons, were sent to Missouri to "get jobs of work & feed."

The men of the Artillery had not been there long when Col. Scott sent Warren to Brigham Young with an

important dispatch. Warren reported that a mob had driven Scott's group away from their settlements and threatened to perpetrate "a general out-break" against the Mormons.¹³ Fortunately, the mobbers' threats were never realized, and the Artillery moved on to other settlements to find work. To Warren, however, the affair was just one more indignity heaped upon him by his persecutors. He was happy to be on his way out of the country, and he hoped he had seen the last of them.

The Artillery worked throughout April, May and even into the first part of June. Warren wrote that they "took contracts to build houses, repair mills and fence farms" and took in exchange "cows, flour, corn meal and oxen." The first week in June they were instructed by church leaders to join other pioneers at Mt. Pisgah, a temporary settlement the Saints were constructing to aid in the exodus. When Warren and his fellows turned their teams toward Mt. Pisgah, their wagons were loaded with thousands of pounds of greatly need supplies.¹⁴

The Mormon Battalion

Warren could not have been in the temporary settlement for more than two weeks when Captain James Allen of the United States Army visited Mt. Pisgah on June 26. His business was to raise a battalion of Mormon soldiers to help fight in the United States' newly declared war with Mexico. Captain Allen passed out a circular which explained a government call for Mormons to

volunteer to fight and urged suitable men to meet him as soon as possible at Council bluffs, the principal Mormon encampment, located some 138 miles to the west.

Warren, like most Mormons at Mt. Pisgah, at first probably viewed Captain Allen and the government's request for men with suspicion and contempt. After all, he may have reasoned, the government was partially responsible for the very fact that he was at Mt. Pisgah in the first place. He had no tolerance for a government that, in his view, allowed the murdering of prophets and supported the persecutors of God's people. He was leaving the country, and like other Latter-day Saints, he undoubtedly hoped that he was leaving for good. Let the government and the country be damned! As far as he was concerned they could fight their own war.

Despite these feelings, Brigham Young himself was soon in the settlement raising volunteers. Warren's position therefore suddenly changed, and he quickly signed up to join the Battalion. Following his enlistment, however, President Young, perhaps sensing that Warren's abilities were needed elsewhere, "released" him and sent him back towards Nauvoo where he again shielded Saints from their persecutors.

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The Battle of Nauvoo

Warren found his family encamped with other Saints near Farmington, Iowa, some twenty miles west of

Nauvoo. After a short visit he received word that the Saints still in Nauvoo, now numbering less than a thousand, were being threatened by mobs. Feeling a responsibility to protect them, he left his family and headed for the city.

The Nauvoo he encountered near the first of September was not the same city he had so hurriedly left in February.¹⁶ He may have sensed an eerie solitude as he rode into town. At his departure it had been full of the clamor created by the hustle and bustle of thousands of Mormons preparing to leave. But as he returned it seemed to be shrouded in silence. Many of the homes stood vacant, some with their doors hauntingly ajar. Untended gardens were overrun with weeds and the little used streets were likewise succumbing to vegetation. Could this really be the Nauvoo he had known?

The city that had once been home for thousands of Mormons now housed only a few hundred Latter-day Saints as well as an even smaller number of apostates and "new citizens," a name applied to newly arrived settlers who came to Nauvoo seeking bargains as desperate Mormons let their property go for little or nothing. Most of the Saints still in the city were either so destitute of means or so ill that an attempt to go west would have been almost certain suicide.¹⁷

But to remain was equally dangerous. Members of the mob were aware that the poorest, and in their minds

the worst, segment of the Mormon population was still in the city, and they therefore renewed their raids and attacks, hoping to encourage the stragglers to leave. By the time Warren arrived, a number of serious confrontations had occurred, and the mob's final solution was already planned.

Leaders of the mob had sent runners to nine different counties in an effort to raise a large enough force to physically remove the Mormons from the city. Those willing to help in the enterprise were promised a good time and a share of Mormon plunder. As Warren entered Nauvoo, hundreds of anti-Mormons were already gathering in Carthage.¹⁸

Warren was fully aware of the volatile nature of the situation in the Mormon city. In fact, the danger the Saints faced was the very reason he was there. He had come to protect Mormons, and he rode resolutely to the temporary military headquarters that had been established by a handful of determined Nauvoo Legion leaders. There he met Lieutenant Colonel William Cutler, the highest ranking Mormon in town, as well as Major Benjamin Clifford, the non-Mormon officer in charge of the meager force of fifteen state militiamen the governor had sent to protect the city from the gathering mobs.

Cutler, clearly in charge of Nauvoo's defense efforts, quickly sized up Warren's experience and leadership ability and appointed him to serve as one of

his two aides. Warren was suddenly one of Cutler's right-hand-men, serving as an advisor, strategist and ranking officer in the force of defenders the colonel was hurriedly attempting to organize.

As his other aide, Cutler appointed a newly¹⁹ baptized Mormon by the name of Daniel H. Wells. This large and ruddy natural born leader was destined to rise to the highest echelon of the Mormon hierarchy, and Warren's close association with him on Cutler's staff was the beginning of a deep friendship that lasted throughout the remainder of their lives and no doubt opened the door to many opportunities for Warren.

Warren had not been in Nauvoo long when a force of near one thousand mobbers under the leadership of Colonel Thomas Brockman positioned themselves in the fields just east of the city. Brockman's men were well armed and had six cannons and several hundred cannon balls. On September 8, Brockman sent a message to the Mormon leaders demanding that the Saints surrender immediately and evacuate the city or face severe consequences. Cutler and his men ignored the ultimatum and continued building a number of bulwarks on the main road into town which they had commenced a few days before. By now, the Mormons had raised a force of 250 men made up mostly of Mormons but aided by a good number²⁰ of "new citizens."

Anticipating the invasion, the defending force had secretly buried large barrels filled with gunpowder and scrap metal to act as mines along the main road into the city. These they planned to activate from a distance, using lengths of string and percussion locks, but Brockman was soon informed of their plans. The Mormons also improvised cannons using disguardered pieces of steamboat stacks.

Finally Warren and the others settled down behind their barricades and waited for the mob force to attack. On September 12, Brockman's one thousand man army moved into the city prepared to assail the bulwarks. Upon seeing the mob marching toward their slipshod fortifications, about one hundred of Cutler's men deserted their posts and fled, leaving only 150 greatly outnumbered protectors to ward off the mob.²¹ Considering the size of the attacking force, the fortitude that Warren and the other remaining protectors displayed is impressive.

Typical of those who stayed, Warren was prepared to fight with courage. He possessed a tenacious resolve motivated by the deep hatred past mob offenses had inspired as well as a fear of the certain depredations that desertion or defeat would bring upon the city's indigent and ailing Mormon population. Added to this, he clearly felt that God had called him to put himself in danger for the good of the Saints.

He was sure that "God [would] fight [the Saints'] battles," but he was also sure that God "would not do so" while men like himself "stood still." He felt that he was a necessary instrument in the hands of the Almighty, useful only when showing his faith "by works."²² While he was undoubtedly gripped with fear when he considered the size of Brockman's force in comparison to his own, his sense of duty and commitment to his church calmed him. A few years later he articulated this dedication by claiming that while "he did not care" how others felt about "his religion," he "was willing to live or die by it."²³ This incident, as well as others in his life, demonstrates that he was indeed willing to die for his church and for his people.

Brockman positioned his artillery two blocks east of the Mormon barricades and set his infantry just one block away. The spirited confrontation that ensued is known as the Battle of Nauvoo. One non-Mormon who watched it from the Temple's tower, claimed that "history never afforded a parallel."²⁴

The battle was by far the most serious confrontation Warren had experienced to this point in his life. No detailed account of his personal experience has been found, but it is certain that he was right in the thick of the battle.²⁵ For about three hours the two groups exchanged cannon and musket fire. Brockman's artillery pumped upwards of 180 cannon balls into the

bulwarks, homes, barns and shops around which the Mormons were positioned. Pieces of shattered brick, cannon balls and musket shot were flying everywhere. After their homemade cannons proved to be ineffective, the defenders concentrated on their sharpshooting. While severely outnumbered, the intensity with which Warren and his comrades fought seemed to be sufficient to hold Brockman's army at bay.

At last, Brockman, unable to crush the Mormon positions as he had planned, ordered his men to outflank them by skirting the bulwarks to the south. For a moment it appeared that Brockman had outmaneuvered the defenders. But suddenly Daniel H. Wells appeared on horseback, and with blatant disregard for the musket balls that swirled about him, he led a company of Mormons in a courageous charge. Within minutes Brockman's bugler sounded the signal for retreat amid cheers from the Mormon force.

As their enemies retreated, the Mormons scurried to ascertain the extent of their casualties. Three of the defenders were dead and a number of others were wounded.²⁶ But when Warren reflected on the barrage of cannon and musket fire they had endured, the victory was nothing less than a miracle and he related it as such to his family and associates later in life.²⁷

While the Mormon force had temporarily repulsed the invaders, Warren and other defenders knew that the

mob would attack again. The next day Brockman resumed his offensive, but this time depended mostly upon his artillery to keep up a steady bombardment of the area around the Mormon barricade.

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By the fourteenth, word reached both forces that a committee of peaceful minded anti-Mormons would arrive in the city the next day. The committee hoped to act as mediators in ending the fighting through negotiation. The news of their coming caused the firing between the two groups to slacken and virtually stop. The committee arrived on the fifteenth and the following day the Mormon leaders, sensing the futility of their situation, signed what was known as "the Nauvoo Treaty of Surrender." They agreed to leave the state "as soon as they [could] cross the river." Brockman's force was to take possession of the city the next day at 3 P.M., promising to treat the Mormons "with humanity."

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Not trusting the mob, the Mormon leaders determined to do all they could to have every Mormon ferried across the river by the time Brockman marched his men into the city. Warren and other defenders now left their posts and secured flatboats, working around the clock, literally blistering their hands as they rowed sick and poverty stricken Saints across the river. As Brockman's force entered Nauvoo on the seventeenth, they discovered that almost every Mormon had fled.

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Once the sick and destitute Mormons were out of immediate danger from their enemies, Warren's mind turned again to his family who were almost as destitute. He left the poor Saints on the banks of the Mississippi and rode on to find his family, but he never forgot that he had been part of a group that had "stood firm in the day of trial and had held their lives in their hands for the Safety of [God's] people" during the final days of Mormon Nauvoo.

31

"Thy Gift to Defend"

After the Battle of Nauvoo, the Snows traveled westward through Iowa, eventually joining the bulk of the Mormon exodus, which by then had gone into winter quarters on the banks of the Missouri river. On Mosquito Creek, a small tributary not far from the river, Warren found his parents and brothers James and George encamped with their families, and he and Mary Ann happily joined their relatives.

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Throughout the next several years, hundreds of Mormons left their temporary settlements in Iowa and Nebraska and headed for the Great Basin, planning to build settlements so far away from their persecutors that they would be bothered no more. Warren had a great desire to join the Saints in the mountains. He remembered how Joseph Smith prophetically told him that he would come West and it was his desire to fulfill that

prophecy. But for the time being he and Mary Ann were forced by their poverty to remain on Mosquito Creek.

Five long years passed before they could scrape together the necessary means to make the journey to the new home the Saints were establishing in the valleys around the Great Salt Lake. By the time they left Iowa near the first of July 1852,³³ Warren and his wife had three small boys and Mary Ann was seven months pregnant with their forth child.³⁴ Having won the respect of his leaders, Warren was chosen to captain one of the ten wagon trains of Mormons to cross the plains that year. His brother James led another train, and the two groups frequently traveled together, arriving in Salt Lake City in mid-October.³⁵

It appears that Warren and Mary Ann stayed in Salt Lake City about a year. By this time Warren had come to be viewed as a member of an elite set of militant Mormon frontiersmen who were used by church leaders in dangerous and challenging situations. They were "men in between" who as a group were emerging to play important defending roles in the Saints' new settlements in Utah. They were becoming the leading officers of the Nauvoo Legion and served as sheriffs and marshals and in other protective capacities.

In the latter part of August 1853, a posse of fifty men with a distinct Nauvoo Legion orientation were organized under Marshal Joseph Heywood for the purpose of

going into the mountains to capture Jim Bridger and a few of his associates. Mormon leaders alleged that Bridger and company had been selling weapons to the Ute Indians for "the purpose of committing depredations upon and making war" with the citizens of the Utah Territory. Appropriate posse members of the militant set described were hand-picked by Daniel H. Wells (who by this time was a councilor in the First Presidency and the Nauvoo Legion's highest ranking officer) and sent after the
 36
 mountain man.

While unable to apprehend Bridger and the others, the posse none-the-less constituted a significant collection of up and coming "men in between." Among the most notable were Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, Ephraim Hanks, William Hickman, James Ferguson and William H. Kimball. These men were all important defenders, and the concentration of such men on the roster of Marshal Heywood's posse reveals that as early as 1853, they, as a group, were viewed as aggressive men with distinct military talents. It is a significant fact that as early as his first year in Utah, Warren was numbered among
 37
 them.

Before the end of 1853, Warren and his family moved 120 miles south of Salt Lake to Manti, the Sanpete County community in which his parents and brothers as well as a good number of his friends from Morley Settlement had settled. The people of Manti, knowing his

background, immediately elected him as town marshal, and before the year was out he was elected to be one of the sixteen officers that led the 212-man battalion of the Nauvoo Legion located in the area.³⁸

On February 22, 1854, Isaac Morley, who was then the presiding church authority in Manti as well as a patriarch, gave Warren a patriarchal blessing. In the blessing, Morley articulated what Warren and others already felt to be true. The patriarch indicated that it was Warren's "gift," or calling from God, "to defend the cause of the just." Morley reminded Warren of his former experiences as a protector, calling them "severe trials and afflictions."

He told Warren that throughout these experiences, the Lord had "watched over and preserved" him and that he had been "brought through" them with "an unseen hand." Morley then prophesied that Warren would "yet have power to wield the sword in defense of [his] brethren and . . . friends." The Patriarch prophetically assured him that he would have the necessary power "to defend [his] family" and other Saints "against their foes," and he promised him that he "would not be slain" by "the wicked."³⁹

Warren had long felt that he had a special calling to safeguard Saints, but for him his patriarchal blessing was undoubtedly an unquestioned divine mandate, once and for all establishing the fact in his mind. His

course was now clear. The blessing laid before him an agenda which he felt he must work to fulfill. Knowing that he had a "gift" to "defend the cause" no doubt reinforced the direction his life was taking, and the promise that he would not be killed by his enemies must have comforted him. He was now prepared to enter confrontations with an even greater confidence and sense of mission. As he worked to fulfill the blessing, there was a marked increase in the importance of the defensive roles he played.

Bishop Snow

Warren quickly rose to prominence in Sanpete Valley's leadership, both in the Church and in civil government. In June 1854 he was called to serve as a councilor to Welcome Chapman who replaced Isaac Morley as the president of the Sanpete Saints when the latter was called to return to Salt Lake City. The following year, Brigham Young, obviously aware of Warren's leadership skills, called him to serve as the bishop of Manti, which was Sanpete's largest and most prominent community.

Simultaneously Brigham appointed him to the more significant position of presiding bishop of all of the settlements in central Utah. In this important post, Warren, like Peter Maughan, his counterpart in Cache Valley, was not far behind the apostles in influence. As an extension of Warren's ecclesiastical positions in the Mormon theocracy, Brigham Young saw to it that he was

nominated to serve as Sanpete's representative to the Territorial Legislature, and the Saints unquestioningly elected him as the county's highest ranking elected official.⁴⁰

Warren presided over and preached at the ward meetings held in Manti and occasionally preached in the other wards over which he had stewardship. He was Brigham's representative in the local area. It was his responsibility to see that the bishops taught the doctrines of the Church and enforced the policies of the Mormon kingdom, and when they did not he "dropped" them⁴¹ and replaced them with others.

He was the shepherd of the Sanpete Saints' spiritual needs, but he carried a tremendous burden of care for their temporal needs too. He directed all pioneering efforts, controlling the settling of new areas. He also regulated irrigation, fencing, planting and harvesting as well as other agricultural⁴² improvements.

In addition he directed the tithing collection and distribution for the entire area and was responsible to see that all impoverished Saints were fed.⁴³ Several times a year he organized and led "tithing trains" from Manti to Salt Lake, carrying Sanpete's surplus tithing to Church headquarters. These trains consisted of scores of wagons laden with thousands of pounds of wheat, oats, barley and other grains. He also supervised the driving

of hundreds of Church owned tithing stock to Salt Lake
City.⁴⁴

The Nauvoo Legion during this period was organized along ecclesiastical lines and when Warren became presiding bishop he also became the highest ranking legion officer in the area.⁴⁵ He had the responsibility of directing Mormon policy toward the Indians in his locale and became the chief liaison between Brigham Young (who was not only governor but also the superintendant of Indian affairs in the Territory) and the powerful Ute tribes that claimed the Sanpete area as their central homeland.

He learned the Ute language and acted as the Indian agent in Sanpete County, directing the federally funded "Indian Farm" near Manti. He became a personal friend of Arapeen, then the most powerful Ute chieftain, and exercised such influence with the Ute tribes that Brigham Young was very much "gratified." Warren viewed his work with the Indians to be an important work of defense. At times the influence he exerted with them fluctuated, and when it waned he organized guards for the preservation of Mormon lives.⁴⁶

As a presiding bishop during a period when "church" and "state" in Utah were virtually one in the same, Warren played the major role in civil as well as religious matters in Sanpete County. Brigham Young himself was simultaneously Church president, territorial

governor and commander in chief of the Nauvoo Legion. He was the captain of both "church" and "state" and, to a large degree, Warren had become his counterpart on the local level.

Suddenly Warren had become a very powerful Mormon. While his skills as a leader were important in his advancement, so also were his past activities in "standing between." Brigham and other leaders were undoubtedly impressed by the commitment Warren had displayed as he repeatedly risked his life to protect them as well as other Mormons. This commitment demonstrated to Brigham that in Warren he had a man he could depend on, and the Church leader had a talent for recognizing such men and using them to carry out his policies.

While Warren was situated some distance from Church headquarters, he had at last broken into Brigham's circle and had a place close to the president and the other general authorities. In his positions of presiding bishop and territorial legislator, he was often brought into close connection with his leaders. When in Sanpete on church business, leaders made it a habit to stay with the Snows. It greatly gratified Warren to know that he was rubbing shoulders and building friendships with those he felt to be the most important men in the world. He knew he had a firm grasp on the second-highest rung of the Mormon hierarchial ladder, and he hoped to be up and

coming. Furthermore, he felt that his abilities in defending were an important toehold as he climbed up the ladder.

CHAPTER IV

THE UTAH WAR

Military District Commander

The year 1857 brought Warren one of his greatest opportunities to act as buffer between saints and danger. Before the year was out he again defended church members from an invading force, this time a federal army. The year began peacefully enough, but church leaders seemed to sense that the growing concern in Washington regarding Mormon attitudes and actions was more serious than ever before. Preparing for trouble, they reorganized the Nauvoo Legion in April, dividing the entire territory into twelve military districts, and Daniel H. Wells commissioned Warren as commander of the Sanpete Military District. At thirty-eight years of age Warren became one of the Legion's most important officers.¹

That same month, not overly concerned with the problems in Washington, Brigham Young called together a group of the territory's leading men and started on an eight hundred mile trip to visit the northern most Mormon settlement, located on the Salmon river in northern Idaho. The main purpose of the trip, as Brigham later

reported, was to get away with hand-picked leaders so that they could be "schooled and instructed."²

About 115 of Zion's top men were invited to join the church president on the excursion which led through dangerous Indian country. It is interesting to note that as Brigham organized the company he selected Warren to act as "sergeant of the guard," making him responsible for the group's protection.³ This fact seems to indicate that Brigham recognized Warren's role as a fighting man and considered him an able defender.

The expedition returned home near the end of May. At the Fourth of July celebration in Manti that summer, Warren preached a sermon which reportedly filled "every citizen with desires . . . to sustain the Constitution, all good and wholesome laws, and religious liberty."⁴ In accordance with the teachings of Joseph Smith, Warren believed the Constitution of the United States to be of divine origin, but he simultaneously held great contempt for the government and the country itself, undoubtedly the result of his former persecution experiences.

Warren's feelings were typical of those held by Brigham Young and the Mormons in general. This attitude, along with the actions it inspired, was enough to convince newly elected President James Buchanan that the Mormons were in rebellion, and he secretly ordered a large force of federal troops to head for Utah to quell the supposed insurrection. Buchanan removed Young as

governor and instructed the army to escort his replacement, Alfred Cumming, to Utah and see that Cumming obtained power. Buchanan, however, did not trouble to inform Brigham Young of the change, or of the coming of the army. And Warren was with the Mormon leader and some 2,500 other church members in Big Cottonwood Canyon on July 24, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Saints arrival in Salt Lake Valley, when word of the approaching
5
army reached Utah.

Brigham, who had been suspecting some such development, did not skip a beat, and the celebration went on as though the army did not exist. But while outwardly passive at first, Brigham was ready for action. He viewed the sending of the soldiers to Utah to be a violation of the people's constitutional rights. To him the act was one more ungodly persecution cast upon himself and his people, designed to once again drive them from their homes.

Ten years earlier, President Young had told his followers that if they were given ten years of peace to establish themselves in the valleys of Utah, they would not be driven out. The ten year period had come to an end precisely the day Brigham learned of the coming of
6
the army. In spite of the invading force, he was determined to keep his promise.

Warren returned home from the celebration and had not been in Manti a week when he received an important

dispatch from General Daniel H. Wells, giving him orders regarding the coming of the army. The communique affirmed that the citizens of Utah had lived "in strict obedience" to the laws of the United States and respected the Constitution. But it went on to say that when "anarchy takes the place of orderly government, and mobocratic tyranny usurps the power of rulers," the people have "the inalienable right to defend themselves against all aggression." The letter labeled the army as an illegal and aggressive force and declared that the Mormons were determined to "defend themselves" against it. The letter instructed Warren, as commander of the Sanpete Military District, to see that his men were prepared to fight.

"Fly to Arms and Grasp the Sword"

Upon receiving the orders, Warren quickly responded by writing to Brigham Young. "I . . . feel," he wrote, "to stand in defence," and he assured the president that he would "do all" in his "power" to urge the Sanpete Saints to do the same. The next weeks found Warren Snow preaching war! The adobe walls of the Manti church house rang with his inflamed speeches condemning the "USA sending men to regulate" the Saints "when they themselves were as corrupt as Hell." He suggested that all would be much better off were the Saints to "regulate" the government instead. He urged the local brethren to ready "their Military Equipments [sic] for

the time was come for Zion to be redeemed." He also told the Saints to start preparing food and clothing "for a winter campaign," and gave orders for the "brethren to hold themselves in readiness" to go to battle "at a moments notice."⁹

In addition to these physical preparations, Warren preached that spiritual preparation was necessary as well. He declared that the "approaching difficulties" would "try the faith of many saints." He recommended the "brethren to get their endowments" if they had not already, for "they would need them e'er long." Most of all he exhorted them to examine their own testimony of the Church and their faith in its leaders.

As far as he was concerned, it was this testimony that was the source of courage and greatness in "standing between." It had been his primary motivation in the past and would be again in the future. He therefore explained to the Manti Saints that they "had to realize that our leaders were prophets and that this was the work of God," for only then could they "meet" their "coming tryals [sic] with fortitude." He assured them that if they had this conviction they had nothing to fear, for "God had promised to fight [their] battles." It was a time for courage, and he suggested that those that were fearful had "better leave."¹⁰

In spite of his words, Warren feared the coming army. His fear was not for himself, however, or for

regular church members for that matter. What he feared was what the army might do to the leaders of the Church. Memories of the murdered bodies of Joseph and Hyrum flashed in his mind. He held the government responsible for allowing his prophet to be killed, and he was convinced that they were "not satisfied" with Joseph's death alone, but were planning on using the army to bring Brigham and other leaders "into Bonds" so that they could "murder" them "as they did Joseph and Hyrum."¹¹

But Warren was determined not to see Brigham and others "mangled" as he had seen Joseph and Hyrum. Rather than see this he would "rather fly to arms and grasp the sword and face the foes of the servants of God" and meet "the deadly weapons" planned for his leaders himself. He felt keenly the responsibility articulated in his patriarchal blessing to "wield the sword in defense" of his "brethren." The answer to the present danger his leaders faced, as far as he was concerned, was to "let the saints rally around" and "protect the servants of God from the hands of wicked men and despots."¹² Warren therefore used all his powers of speech and example to urge the Sanpete Saints to "stand between" their leaders and the army, and as the weeks went by, he delivered sermon after sermon calculated to cause the Saints to willingly "rally around" and "protect" church authorities.

Of the sermons Warren delivered as he worked to prepare the minds of the Sanpete Saints to fight, none was more powerful than the one he delivered in the afternoon session of the Sunday meeting in the Manti church house on August 23. Minutes of the sermon reveal much about his feelings and beliefs concerning violence, his role as a protector, and the responsibility he felt to support his leaders and their policies. With fervent emotion he declared that he "rejoiced that the day had at last come when the prophet of God said [that the Saints] had been robbed and driven enough." He remembered the days when he and others, in angry frustration, watched the robbers burn homes in the Morley Settlement area. It made his blood boil just to think of it, but now he delighted in the opportunity to fight back.

Typical of the view that characterized his feelings regarding his earlier persecutions, he set forth that the army was coming as a result of "the devil being mad at [the] Saints [for] building temples" and living their religion. With conviction he "spoke on God fighting [the Saints] battles" but warned the congregation that God would not do so while they "sat still." His experience had convinced him that Saints had the responsibility of "showing faith by works" in such situations. Remembering the deserters at the time of the Battle of Nauvoo, he proclaimed that "one faithful man was better in battle than 1000 indifferent ones." As far

as he was concerned he "would rather die now [than] become an enemy to the Kingdom of God" by failing to show his faith by defending his leaders.

He counselled the Saints to follow their prophet. "If Brigham said burn your houses before your enemies come," he urged them, "take the fire-brand" and do it! Only when sustaining Brigham and other leaders "would God fight our battles." For Warren, sustaining God's anointed was the key to their success. At the climax of his sermon, Warren asked the congregation to manifest by raising their hands that they would "sustain" their leaders in the war effort "with all their means." The ward clerk noted in his minute book that "all hands" enthusiastically went up.¹³ As bishop and commander, Warren was successful in motivating the Saints to "rally around" to defend their leaders.

Warren was ready for action, but, undoubtedly to his chagrin, he was not called out to join in the initial stages of the spying, night raiding, wagon burning and cattle stealing the Mormons employed to harass and hinder the approaching army.¹⁴ Throughout August and September, however, he kept himself busy by preparing for war. As military district commander, he took a careful inventory of the "arms and ammunition" of his men. He wrote to General Wells and informed him that the Sanpete Saints were in a dangerous situation, lacking as they were the

necessary powder, caps and lead "to use what few arms" they had.

He planned to alleviate the problem by raising thousands of dollars through stock donation, with which he proposed purchasing supplies as well as additional weapons. He more fully organized his district and "constantly" kept guards in the mountains east of Manti. He led exploring parties into the mountains himself, looking for signs of enemy scouts and acquainting himself with the country, knowing that understanding the terrain was necessary for good defensive strategy. He also made frequent trips to Chief Arapeen's camp, enlisting the chieftain's aid in encouraging his warriors to support the Mormons, and if necessary, to fight with them.¹⁵

On at least one occasion he traveled to Salt Lake, joining with other leaders in planning Mormon strategy. On October 8, at about ten at night, he left Brigham Young's office with Nauvoo Legion dispatches addressed to various officers living south of Salt Lake. One of the dispatches was addressed to himself and contained his orders to immediately raise a large number of men from his district and return to Salt Lake prepared for action. Throughout the night and the following day he rode south, delivering dispatches as he went.¹⁶

He arrived in Manti just before dawn on the morning of October 10, having spent two sleepless nights riding. He quickly gathered the Manti members of the

legion by sounding a big drum that was used for that purpose. There in the cool pre-dawn morning air, he informed the legionnaires that sixty men with thirty days rations each were to leave with him for Salt Lake at once. He told them that a similarly sized group was gathering in Nephi and that they would travel to the city together. He then read the names of the sixty men he had chosen to join him and dismissed them to go home and prepare to leave. He went home himself to enjoy a hearty meal, to sleep a few hours, and to say good-bye to his family. The group left town at 1:00 P.M. that same
17
day.

The legionnaires traveled to Nephi where they were joined by about fifty other men. The group, now numbering over one hundred, continued their journey northward. Warren was undoubtedly excited to see so many men under arms, especially when he considered that he was their commander. Perhaps he hoped that he would soon be leading them into the mountains towards their enemies, possibly feeling that the time had come for the fulfilling of Patriarch Morley's words concerning his again wielding "the sword" in defence of his brethren,
18
friends and family.

While some Saints were undoubtedly praying for a peaceful settlement, Warren may have been hoping for a fight. Perhaps he thought the war would give him a chance "to assist in the avenging of the blood of Joseph

Smith," thus fulfilling his commission from his fallen prophet as well as another promise in his patriarchal blessing.¹⁹ He undoubtedly shared his friend, George A. Smith's sentiments, that if he "had the command of thunder and lightning," he would "never let one of the damned scoundrels" get to Salt Lake City alive.²⁰ Warren did not have "the command of thunder and lightning," but he knew how to fight and hoped that he would have the chance to do so.

As he traveled northward, he undoubtedly thought of the certain hardships that awaited him in the "winter campaign." He had told the Manti Saints a few weeks earlier that they should "all have as much [hardship as they] could attend to and bear," himself included. Thoughts of injury and death possibly flashed through his mind, but he may have forced them out with the words he had given the Saints a few weeks before. "Death was a trying ordeal to the stoutest mind," he had told them, "and it was so to Jesus; yet we [have been] promised by Bro Brigham that if we would be faithful and follow him we should be delivered."²¹

Warren believed and trusted in those words, and they comforted him. He thought, no doubt, of the similar promise in his patriarchal blessing that he would not "be slain" by the wicked. It was his "gift to defend the cause!"²² Warren was mentally prepared for the conflict that lay before him.

Annoying the Army

On October 13, Warren and his small army from the Sanpete Military District arrived in Salt Lake and joined about four hundred other legionnaires encamped on Union Square. Expecting to be mobilized immediately, Warren was undoubtedly frustrated again by the fact that his orders were ten days in coming. At last he was instructed to hand-pick fifty men with good mounts from among the troops encamped on the square, and on October 24, Major Snow and his newly organized cavalry command²³ headed for the mountains with ten days rations.

Near the end of their second day of travel they passed through Echo Canyon where other Mormons were engaged in building bulwarks, piling rocks to hurl over cliffs at their enemies, and damming the river, thus enabling them to flood the canyon's narrows through which the army must pass.²⁴ Two more days found them near Fort Bridger on Black's Fork of the Green River where a considerable amount of snow was already beginning to accumulate. At Bridger, Warren was informed by General Wells that he and his men were to take on the duties of the companies of Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, Porter Rockwell and others, whose horses and men were in need of²⁵ a rest after three full weeks of harassing the enemy.

These groups had burned scores of supply laden wagons as well as thousands of acres of grassland, both of which were essential to the quick forward movement of

large numbers of troops. They destroyed bridges, confiscated hundreds of army cattle, took prisoners, kept the soldiers from sleeping and generally annoyed them. Their work, combined with a change in army commanders and a few other problems, significantly hindered the army's progress.²⁶ The Mormons' plan was to keep the army in the mountains long enough that the winter snows would make their entry into the Great Salt Lake Valley impossible, thus forcing them to go into winter quarters. After fighting snow, cold, and hunger all winter, they hoped the army would be much less likely to give them a good fight in the spring.

The Mormon raiders under Burton, Rockwell, and Smith had succeeded in slowing down the soldiers, but, Warren was told, the army's new commander, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, was determined to bring his men into the Valley that season. Johnston, he was informed, had not yet arrived to take command of his men but was soon to join them with reinforcements. Meanwhile, the army, under the command of Colonel Edmund Alexander, waited for their new leader at a temporary encampment on Ham's Fork,²⁷ some thirty miles from Fort Bridger.

Warren was told to take his men to the army's camp and pick up where Smith, Burton, and Rockwell had left off. His orders were undoubtedly much like those these earlier raiders had received. They were to "annoy" the army in "every possible way," especially by driving

off their animals and keeping them awake by "night surprises." Warren was to send out scouts to watch the movements of the soldiers and send dispatches to keep General Wells informed of all developments. And like the officers that had been active before his arrival, he was to insure that his men took "no life" in carrying out their assignments. ²⁸ At last he was going to see some action! While perhaps disappointed that he was ordered to not actually fight the soldiers, he was, none-the-less, delighted to take an active part in repulsing the invaders.

On November 1, Warren neared the army's camps. Leaving the majority of his men to establish a base camp on Black's Fork, he led a party of fifteen scouts toward the soldiers, still situated just a few miles away on Ham's Fork. The first order of the day was to get a view of the country and an acquaintance with the army's encampment preparatory to successful night raiding. As they reconnoitered the country, they chanced upon four U. S. officers mounted on horseback not far from an army picket post about four miles out from the main body of soldiers.

Upon seeing the Mormons, the officers turned their horses and headed back toward their camp, spurring them into a dead run. Warren shouted orders to his men and "pursued them hotly." The soldiers apparently had quite a lead on the Mormons, and even though a "Captain's

horse" tripped and fell while crossing a creek at full gallop, "sousing" its rider, Warren and his men were unable to catch them.

After crossing the creek, the soldiers scurried up a ridge, after which they defiantly turned and fired several times at Warren, whose horse's speed had put him some distance in front of his comrades. Fortunately the balls from their muskets passed "over him, whistling through the air, but doing him no harm." While "the balls came very close," Warren considered their bad shooting to be providential and a testimony of the truthfulness of the promise in his patriarchal blessing that he would not be slain.²⁹

Warren and his men retreated to a position just outside the range of their enemies' guns. The officers on the ridge boisterously swore and cursed Brigham Young and the Mormons in general and then rode back down the ridge, obviously trying to get the Mormons to come after them again. By now Warren and his scouts were aware that the officers they had been chasing were attempting to decoy them into an ambush. As they sat watching the demonstrations of the officers, they discovered an entire company of infantry "secreted in ambush" not far away.

Suddenly an even larger force appeared on the top of the ridge. The soldiers fired at the Mormons "by platoon with many muskets" and even brought out a small cannon and fired some "grape shot." But as the Mormons

were out of range, it was all "to no purpose." Warren and his men "laughed and hooted at them," and then rode
30
back the way they had come.

Later that evening, Major Snow and his raiders had a similar encounter. They again approached a picket post on a ridge and were fired at by another large force, the musket balls falling around them like hail. The only damage done, however, was that a hole was put in a
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blanket tied to a Mormon saddle. After an eventful day Warren turned his men back towards their own camp. He had enjoyed the day's activities, and after he had smelled gunpowder and heard the whistle of musketfire, he appears to have decided to be a little more careful.

The following day, Captain Ephraim Hanks and about thirty other men joined Warren's command in harassing the enemy. For six full days they worked out of "Snow's Camp" on Black's Fork, annoying their enemies at night by taking their cattle and mules and even some prisoners. During the day their scouting parties and picket guards watched the movements of the army. It was hard work. Sometimes men were in the saddle twenty-four hours at a time. When they did rest, they slept in small wickiups, three or four sleeping together to keep from freezing. The weather was stormy and the cold was "intense." Some had no coats and there was only one blanket per man. Their supplies exhausted, they feasted

upon "poor" government oxen which could not travel any
 32
 further.

The circumstances were less than desirable but Warren was happy to be there. By week's end, he and Hanks and their men had successfully driven away between five and six hundred head of government cattle and sent them on with others towards Salt Lake City. Their efforts, when added to the work of earlier raids, left
 33
 the troops almost destitute of beef.

During the time Warren's command was watching and harassing the army, the soldiers were moving at a very slow pace. Daniel H. Wells was convinced that the army was waiting for the arrival of Colonel Johnston. But when his coming did not step up the army's movement significantly, Wells mockingly wrote to Brigham Young that "Col. Alexander waited for Col. Johnson and Col. Johnson [sic] waits we presume for Col. Cummings, and the Devil, we presume is waiting for the whole of them." Wells then jokingly suggested the necessity of Major Snow's command "remaining upon the watchtower, to see
 34
 that each has what he waits for."

It is interesting to note that when Colonel Johnston reached the army, he "was much dissatisfied" with Colonel Alexander for "allowing the Mormons to take so many of their cattle and annoying them so much." The cocky commander boasted "that if he had been there it would not have been so." Hosea Stout, in the spirit of

good nineteenth century Mormon humor, wrote that "unfortunately for [Johnston's] gusto" just at the moment "he was letting off on poor [Alexander,] Maj. W. Snow . . . was in the act . . . of relieving them of the last beef oxen [the army had] that were in any kind of decent order," about "400 in number." Stout undoubtedly smiled as he reflected that the "brave" colonel "now had the ill fortune to see his boasted courage vanish," for he like Colonel Alexander, "had to quietly submit" to the harassments of the Mormon raiders.

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On November 6, Warren received word from his pickets that a company of dragoons were near by, apparently heading for his camp. He gave orders for his men to move back toward Fort Bridger, and in a blinding snow storm, they traveled about ten miles but were then forced by the weather to stop and build fires for warmth. Again his pickets reported that the dragoons were on their trail, this time "on the gallop." Because of the storm, Warren's force scattered and by "hard running" stayed ahead of their mounted enemies.

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It became apparent that the dragoons were making an attempt to take Fort Bridger. Some time before, the Mormons, anticipating such an action, had burned most of the log buildings at Bridger, leaving just enough to provide themselves with comfortable quarters. The raiders were instructed that should the army try to take the fort, they were to burn what they could before the

soldiers got to it, thereby significantly reducing its strategic value. As it turned out, the dragoons did not reach the fort that night, but in the excitement virtually everything but Fort Bridger's sturdy rock walls was burned. About midnight, in a raging snowstorm, Warren's command warmed themselves near Bridger's burning buildings and then moved on to General Wells's headquarters not too many miles away.

Strike Force

At Wells's Camp, possibly several hours before dawn the following morning, a handful of Mormon officers gathered by the general's fire and discussed the situation and planned their course of action. Perhaps after listening to Warren and Ephraim Hanks report the advance of the small mounted government detachment, Wells revealed his plan. He instructed them that Major Snow, Captain Hanks, and Colonel Thomas Callister were to take sixty of their best men and go back again and secret themselves in the brush and watch the army. The general, convinced that the army was ready to move ahead, made it clear that if the troops chose to go into winter quarters at Bridger, the surveilling Mormon force would peacefully allow them to do so.

If, however, the soldiers demonstrated their intentions of pushing on to Salt Lake by moving west of the fort, Wells informed the officers that Snow, Hanks, and Callister were to "pitch into them in every possible

way." The conclusion was not to attack them until they left Fort Bridger. But the General made it clear that they were to "make the first attack" as soon as the army passed the fort.³⁸

The idea, Wells described, was not to make a desperate stand against almost 3,000 troops with the small sixty man Mormon force. It was, rather, to ambush and kill small detachments, to hide on cliffs and behind rocks and act as snipers, and to harass them by "making night attacks." These attacks, the general explained, would not merely be the cattle stealing forages of earlier raids, but actual hit-and-run, ball and powder attacks designed to make the army "as unfit for service as might be" when they got to the Mormons' prepared battle grounds at the narrows in Echo Canyon.³⁹

Warren was one of three commanders to lead a special Mormon strike force assigned to begin actual hostilities should the army attempt to come west of the fort. The Mormons were serious and ready to start playing for keeps. Wells obviously respected and trusted Warren's abilities or he would not have placed him in such a critical leadership position. There can be no doubt that in Wells's mind, this was the beginning of the most critical period of what he viewed to be the greatest physical threat the Church had ever faced. He knew he needed to place his best men out front. That he chose

Warren to assist in leading the strike force is a significant fact.

One assumes that Wells's respect for Warren as a defender stemmed back to the time of their close association as the two "aides" to Colonel Cutler at the time of the Battle of Nauvoo. It is obvious that the fact that he elevated Warren to the position of military district commander in the first place was not based on whim, but rather on observed ability in times of crisis. The Battle of Nauvoo was a significant time of crisis for Daniel H. Wells and what he saw of Warren there was obviously not to Warren's shame.

Perhaps Wells, impressed with Warren's ability and willingness to "stand between" at Nauvoo, suggested Warren to Brigham as a capable and dedicated leader when Young was looking for a strong presiding bishop to administer the affairs of the Church in Sanpete County.

The fact that Wells himself was a man "in between" and had exhibited such great leadership ability during his dashing ride at the crucial moment of the Battle of Nauvoo was not unimpressive to Brigham Young and undoubtedly influenced the church leader's decision to call Wells to be his counsellor in the First Presidency and to appoint him as the Nauvoo Legion's highest ranking official. Building a Mormon empire on a rough and unsettled frontier, Brigham needed men with such grit and often elevated them to positions of

importance. They inturn elevated others of their own kind.

Perhaps Daniel H. Wells was the key that had opened the door to Brigham Young's circle that Warren had hoped for. And now, it was Wells, who at the Utah War's critical hour, as in the whole campaign for that matter, placed Warren in a major protective role that was topped by very few men.

On the same morning Wells had held his campfire council, Warren along with Thomas Callister and Ephraim Hanks and their sixty scouts mounted their horses and started back through the snow toward Fort Bridger. Wells's entire camp started out the other way, retreating to Echo Canyon. The scouts left with orders to burn stacks of hay and grain at Fort Supply, another Mormon position not far from Bridger. The following day they backtracked their trail and established a new camp in some cedars on a butte a few miles west of Fort Bridger. After a day or two there, they were reinforced by about twenty-five more men including Lot Smith, Robert T. Burton, and Lewis Robinson.⁴⁰ Now most of Wells's leading raiders were with Warren and the strike force.

For the next three weeks Warren and the eighty-five Mormon scouts "scoured the Country pretty thoroughly," keeping an eye on the soldiers' progress. Because of the snow, which was well over a foot deep in most places, Wells directed them not to waste the

strength of their horses in taking cattle. They did, however, attempt to drive off the army's horses and mules, but had little success in this as the animals were heavily guarded. They were successful, though, in capturing a few prisoners and they received "deserters" from the army "daily."⁴¹

The weather was dangerously "severe" and was described as being cold, dark and foggy. Literally hundreds of the army's animals died of hunger and cold. The weather seemed to be the scouts' greatest challenge, especially at night. Lot Smith recalled one night in particular. Some of the men "froze faces, ears, and feet" and had to pack their ears, which were "discolored [gic] to blackness," in snow in order to save them. He declared that he feared the cold of that one night "more than all the [U.S.] troops" he had seen during the entire campaign.⁴²

The army slowly wallowed ahead through the deep snow. The scouts were frustrated to note that it seemed to take the soldiers "3 days to make one days march." The scouts only excitement came when they occasionally had to drive small numbers of federal scouts away from Bridger's cold and forlorn walls. But at last they were outnumbered and the army took possession of the fort near November 20.⁴³

Warren and his comrades now paid particularly careful attention to the soldiers' movements, knowing

that this was the crucial point in the campaign. The army would either take up winter quarters and the Mormons would go home, or they would attempt to push on through to Salt Lake and the strike force would attack and war would break out. For a week the army hesitated as though preparing to move on. It was a stressful time for Warren and the others, who by now were beaten down by the weather and their constant exertions. They either wanted the army to settle down for the winter so they could go home, or to move on so they could get their fighting over with. But the hesitation in the cold weather was literally almost killing them.

General Wells, in a dispatch to Brigham Young, summed up the feeling of the whole Mormon force. He wrote that they were all "a little chagrined" at the lack of decision on behalf of the army. But Wells, perhaps more patient than most Mormons, stated that he "would rather lie in their path ten or twenty years, thereby blocking up their way," than allow the army to enter the Mormon settlements with "the train of Hell" which he felt
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accompanied them.

Wells assured Brigham Young, who was directing Mormon movements by daily dispatches, that if the army moved west of Bridger he would "take it as a sure indication that the Lord wants them used up" and he promised the president that he would do all he could "towards accomplishing so desirable a result." "If it

comes to a crisis," he wrote, he was sure his trusted men would "give good account of it."

He then expressed the religious fervor that was the basis for the fact that he and men like Warren were in the mountains in the first place:

Our trust is in the Lord of Hosts who is mighty to save and who thus far has turned aside the balls of the enemy and preserved and delivered his servants. In his name will we fight the battles of our country and defend the rights of the saints of the most high.

The Mormons were braced for a "bloody and furious" fight. But fortunately for both forces, after a week of equivocating, the army settled down for the winter at Fort Bridger.⁴⁵

About November 30, General Wells called his men in, finally convinced that the army was indeed going into winter quarters. Warren and the others traveled to Wells's camp in Echo Canyon "through a most powerful snow storm." The next morning Warren gathered his original command and headed for Salt Lake. They traveled through the day and all through the night and arrived in Salt Lake at about 7 A.M. on December 2.⁴⁶ As Warren rode into the city he was as tired and worn-out as he had ever been in his life.

The campaign had been difficult for Warren and his command. They were poorly equipped to begin with and received but little in the way of supplies while in the mountains. Daniel Burbank, the commissary of the command, noted that of the forty-three men that made up

Warren's group, only three had coats. Burbank later wrote a scathing report to Wilford Woodruff concerning the supplies the command received while on active duty. "We got five plugs of tobacco in all, some coffee, tea, sugar, flour and a little beef," he wrote. Then sourly, he added, "then what was it that we did not get? No blankets, no over [coats,] no socks, mittens or gloves; none of the many over shirts made by the different wards. No salt to salt our dying beef with." Then he ended his report with the hope "that in the future" he would "see such times no more."⁴⁷

Warren undoubtedly shared the sentiments of his fellow raider Philo Johnson, who remembered the campaign as being "the hardest part" of his life.⁴⁸ Warren was glad it was over, at least for the present, but as he returned with his men he was proud to know that he had played a very significant role in defending his leaders and his people from what he viewed to be an aggressive and dangerous alien force.

While he was a late comer to the campaign, missing as he did the first three weeks of active wagon-burning and cattle-stealing, Warren made up for it during the last five weeks by spending more time out front harassing and watching the army than did any other Mormon officer. He was fired at perhaps as much as any other Mormon, and as one of the hand-picked leaders of the strike force assigned to start actual hostilities, he

came dangerously close to waging real warfare against the United States. Warren Snow was one of the top four or five active Mormon officers in the conflict and the role he played was on a par with those played by Lot Smith, Porter Rockwell, and Robert T. Burton. Warren had become one of Zion's leading "men in between."

It is against this backdrop that Warren delivered his "standing between" sermon in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Just three-and-a-half weeks after returning from the campaign, he stood at the tabernacle's pulpit to speak to several thousand Mormons who had gathered for Sunday services. His experience facing what he considered to be "the foes of the servants of God"⁴⁹ was fresh on his mind. Not so fresh, but still significant, were his memories of protecting the life of Joseph Smith in Kirtland, and protecting Brigham and the Twelve as a guard in Nauvoo and later as captain in John Scott's Artillery.

Looking out at the assembly and remembering that the army would still have to be dealt with in the spring, Warren resolutely said, "It is for us to stand betwixt our leaders and danger, and I feel to be one of that number." He told them that while his leaders had watched over him "with the spirit and power of the calling that is upon them," he had "endeavored to stand betwixt them and those who would destroy them." "In this, I want to increase," he said, "that I may remain faithful."

He then testified that he knew that their leaders were "Prophets," and he prayed that God would preserve their lives. As an afterthought, he referred to the army, saying, "As for our enemies, I have but one prayer for them, that they may be thwarted in all their designs and go to hell as fast as the Almighty sees fit to let them go."⁵⁰

As Warren stood in the tabernacle following the winter campaign of the Utah War, he was at a high point in his "standing between" career. But his longest, most taxing, and most significant contribution still lay ahead.

CHAPTER V

"A VERY ROUGH SEA TO RIDE ON"

The Standing Army

When Warren returned to Manti after watching and harassing the army, the Manti Saints gathered in the ward house and listened to their bishop give "amuseing anecdotes and scenes of the War."¹ For him it was a proud and happy day.

Throughout the winter of 1857-1858, he carried out his ecclesiastical assignments in Manti and spent a considerable amount of time in Salt Lake City attending to legislative and military duties. He spent at least four weeks in Salt Lake during February and March as the commanding officer of a detachment of what was called "the Standing Army." This precautionary force consisted of ten battalions of mounted riflemen who were prepared for immediate action should the army suddenly try to advance into the valley.²

But the Standing Army was disbanded on March 18, when Warren met in a "council of war" with Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, the Twelve, and about thirty other leading officers of the Nauvoo Legion. The council concluded to abandon Mormon military resistance toward

the army. Instead they planned an immediate mass migration of Salt Lake Valley Saints to the settlements south of the valley. They determined that should the army harass them further, they would burn all their homes, barns, and fields and "lay the country waste," thus insuring that their enemies did not obtain their³ property.

Directly following the meeting, Warren returned to Manti, and on assignment from President Young, he organized a train of about thirty wagons which he led to Salt Lake to assist in moving the Saints and their⁴ property south. When the troops entered the city on June 26, they found it quiet and deserted, except for a group of Nauvoo Legion men prepared to burn the city if the army attempted to meddle with their property.

Prior to the army's arrival in the Valley, a long series of negotiations had produced a fragile peace agreement between the Mormons and the federal government. In accordance with its conditions, the army marched right through the city and established a camp (Camp Floyd) some thirty miles to the southwest in Cedar Valley. President Buchanan, censured by the American public for sending the army in the first place, sent a peace commission to Utah and offered to pardon the Mormons, and near the first of⁵ July the Saints began to return to their homes.

While an open fight between the Mormons and the troops seemed to have been avoided, serious problems

existed between the two groups until the soldiers were recalled at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Warren, like most first and second-string Mormon leaders, had his share of problems with the troops, especially when his activities as bishop and Nauvoo Legion commander were examined by the federal judges that came to Utah in the wake of Johnston's army.

"The Lewis Affair"

As bishop Warren worked hard because of his commitment to the Church and his undeviating devotion to Brigham Young. He considered the church president to be a prophet of God as well as a close friend. He seemed to hang on Brigham's every word and as one Manti settler sized him up, he would "come as near cutting his throat as any man if Brigham Young told him to." President Young's own success as a leader and colonizer was based in part on his ability to recognize such devotion and capitalize upon it, and in the church leader's mind, Warren was definitely an asset to the Church.

Warren idolized Brigham Young and did his best to emulate him but at times went to far in this and caused himself serious problems. He saw Brigham as a stern and commanding leader who ruled his people with a strong hand. Warren carried the same feeling over into his own leadership and therefore was viewed by a good number of Sanpete Saints as being "oppressive" and "sever" as a bishop, often displaying "a spirit of brow beating."

Many of them later claimed that they obeyed him "through fear." But like his leader, he was simultaneously charismatic, likeable, and at times even loving, and his fellow Saints respected his undying commitment to the Mormon Church. There was no doubt in their minds where Warren stood on that account, and to most it was clear that he was "trying to do good."⁸

Warren unknowingly characterized the forceful nature of his leadership in a sermon early in 1857 by relating the following dream:

I thought I was in a splendidly furnished room and in company with Joseph Smith the Prophet, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, J. D. Grant, Daniel H. Wells and E. Benson with some others I will not name. Joseph asked me how we intend to get some people through the endowments. I told him I did [not] know except I took them like a hot potatoe and knock them through (striking his hands together.)⁹

The dream was a good metaphor describing Warren's actual dealings as bishop. He received instructions from Brigham Young, and then, taking the Saints in his hands like "hot potatoes," he simply "knocked them through."

The same rugged and powerful characteristics that made Warren ideal for his defensive roles made it nearly impossible for him to do otherwise, and while Brigham undoubtedly got occasional complaints about Bishop Snow, Warren was precisely Brigham's kind of leader and the president was thoroughly pleased, for the most part, with his actions.

As it has been shown, Warren was deeply influenced by the persecution he and other church members

experienced. Much like his file leader, his sermons bore the scars of this influence and were often characterized by violent language. Immersed in a spirit of retribution he had learned from Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and the Mormon community in general, Warren often "spoke of the meanness of Levi Williams" and other mobbers responsible for Joseph's death and the Saints' persecutions. He was serious in his desire to avenge their wrongs, but he considered that even "their blood was not enough to atone¹⁰ for what they had done."

This spirit of retaliation at times carried over into his dealings with the Saints. Echoing words he had heard his leaders use, he often threatened them that "the time would come when a man who did anything worthy of being cut off from the Church . . . would be cut off from the earth." As far as he was concerned, "it was better to kill a man in faith than to let him damn himself" by evil conduct. The Saints "had to cut out every bad thing" in order to be pure. In the high-pitched frenzy of the Mormon reformation, Warren had railed that "their is some of our sisters . . . that will ask those cussed Gentiles to go home & sleep with them." "Warren would say," he cried, "that a dagger should be put through both¹¹ of their hearts."

Like other church leaders, Bishop Snow used such language to cow lackadaisical Mormons into living their religion. He had heard his president use similar

rhetoric, especially during the Reformation. Brigham clearly taught that "there are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come" without "the shedding of [their own] blood."¹²

These ideas were based on the Law of Moses in the Old Testament wherein ancient Israel was commanded that if a man and woman commit adultery "then they shall both of them die." In this manner Moses was to "put away evil from Israel."¹³ Brigham, viewed by his people as a modern Moses, taught that "what has been must be again." As part of the "restoration of all things" that the Lord had commenced through Joseph Smith, this law must be practiced again. In this manner, modern Israel would "put away evil" as the ancients had done. Therefore, Brigham preached, if a man were found guilty of adultery,¹⁴ "he must have his blood shed."

But Brigham tempored his teaching by saying "the time will come, and is now nigh at hand" for such doctrine to be practiced, but is "not yet" here.¹⁵ Other Mormon leaders, however, were not so temperate in their preaching. Apostle Jedidiah M. Grant, for example, declared that as far as he was concerned the time had come for "the sword of the Almighty" to be "unsheathed," not only "in word," but also "in deed."¹⁶

To Warren, who trusted his leaders implicitly, such preaching was more than simple hyperbole. Exposed

as he had been to violence, and the Mormon vengeance mentality, the doctrine fit neatly into his world view and somehow in the geographic distance that separated him from Church headquarters, Brigham's temperance was lost. Thus it was that sometime during the winter of 1856-1857, during the height of the Reformation, Warren and a handful of Manti's most influential Mormon leaders committed what appears to have been a ritualistic act of Mosaic retribution.

On a cold winter night, Warren, the entire Manti bishopric, and a few others secreted themselves in some willows near a creek by which the road to Salt Lake City passed. Thomas Lewis, a young member of the Church from Ephraim (a town located seven miles north of Manti,) was being taken by night to the penitentiary in Salt Lake to serve a sentence for what appears to have been a sexual crime.

When Lewis and his escort reached the creek, Warren and the others stepped out of the willows, and pulling Lewis from his horse, they dragged him into the brush and emasculated him "in a brutal manner." The prisoner's escort seems to have been an accomplice (hence the night trip), and soon the entire group fled, leaving their victim lying on the snow-covered ground on what was described as "a bitter cold night." Lewis laid there in a near senseless condition for forty-eight hours before

being found by someone who took him in and saved his
17
life.

Late in the spring, Joseph Young (Brigham's brother,) and a few other members of the Church's First Quorum of the Seventy, learned of the incident while visiting the central Utah area. Joseph was incensed and "entirely disapproved" of the action. He mentioned it in Nephi as he returned to Salt Lake City. He furiously declared that he "did not want" that man as a leader that "would shed blood before he was duly commanded." "Oh how carefull men ought to be- in not steping to far-[sic]," he cautioned the Nephi leadership, "for they might do something that would give them sorrow forever."
18

Upon his arrival at Church headquarters, Joseph Young and Warren's brother, James, who was then president of the Utah Stake at Provo, talked with Brigham Young in his office. Undoubtedly in connection with Warren's recent action, the subject of "eunuchs" came up. In a near rage, Joseph said that "he would rather die than to be made a Eunuch." Brigham, much more placid than his brother at this point, simultaneously referred to the emasculation and paraphrased a statement made by Jesus by saying that "the day would Come when thousands would be made Eunuchs for them to be saved in the kingdom of God."

Obviously referring to Lewis' crime, they then discussed sexual sin. Brigham again emphasized his feeling that the time for such severe punishment was

still in the future by saying that church leaders could not "Clens the Platter because the people will not bear it." He expressed his fear that if such penalties were carried out, "the wicked [would] go to the states & call for troops." But then, making obvious reference to Warren, he said, "I will tell you that when a man is trying to do right & do[es] some thing that is not exactly in order I feel to sustain him," and perhaps looking at Joseph, he authoritatively added "& and we all
19
should."

Within days of the above conversation, Brigham, who had in all probability heard of the incident firsthand from Warren before he heard it from his brother, wrote a letter to Warren and affirmed his friendship. Then, a few weeks later, he again wrote Warren concerning the affair. Warren, receiving complaints from some of his ward members, evidently requested Brigham Young to write an "Epistle" to the Sanpete Saints to explain the action of the Bishop and his counselors. Brigham declined, however, suggesting that doing so would be like pouring water on "a hot Iron," making only "the more smoke." "Just let the matter drop," he told Warren, "and say no more about it,
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and it will soon die away amongst the people."

"They.....Thought_Lightning_Had_Struck"

Brigham's counsel seemed to be right and the issue began to die away. That is, it did until Judge

John Cradlebaugh learned of it. After arriving in Utah on the heels of the army in 1858, this federally appointed district judge launched an all-out crusade to hunt and prosecute Mormon leaders accused of various crimes. While Brigham Young was his chief target, he sought any information that would incriminate any Mormon leader in any way and the Lewis affair, coupled with Warren's role in the Mormon resistance to the coming of Johnston's army, put Warren near the top of the judge's wanted list.²¹

Cradlebaugh began his crusade in the spring of 1859, and with the help of Colonel Johnston (and against the wishes of Governor Cumming), he secured the use of the federal troops to help him apprehend and bring accused Mormon leaders to trial. Thus it was that on a quiet Sunday in April, three deputy marshals called at the Snow home in Manti. Informed that the Bishop was at a meeting, they were invited in to wait and Warren was sent for. One of the three, however, declined the invitation and went back to ready about forty U. S. dragoons who were secreted a short distance from the house.

Warren arrived at his home and offered the marshals some whiskey, but sensing that they "acted a little strange," he excused himself to get a chair. Grabbing his hat off the kitchen table, he slipped out the back door and, mounting his horse, he quickly

disappeared. Not too much later, the dragoons surrounded the house. Their commanding officer dismounted and inquired of the marshals as to the bishop's whereabouts. The lawmen dejectedly replied that "the Bishop had hop[ple]d." The soldiers then scurried off toward Ephraim²² to arrest some leaders there.

Warren and quite a number of other local leaders were in hiding for about four days. They sent to the marshals and "denied having broken any law." They declared that they were "willing to submit" themselves to the law when administered by "just men," but they were determined not to submit to the "tyranny and mobocracy"²³ they felt Cradlebaugh represented.

The night of the soldiers' raid, Warren, safe in the confines of a mountain retreat, sat by the light of a campfire and wrote a long letter to Brigham Young. Concerned about his file leader, he informed the president of the day's events and urged him to be careful. To Warren it was clear that it was really Brigham Young the judge was after. "Keep the boys around you, that will protect you from every hand that may be raised against you," he wrote. "Go not into the hands of your enemies," he warned, perhaps remembering the fate of Joseph Smith. And then, in the trying circumstances in which he found himself, he again affirmed his commitment to his leader, "We feel to sustain you, to the laying

down of our lives . . . we are ready for anything that
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 may be given us to do."

Finally convinced that the soldiers had left the valley, Warren returned to his home. There he learned that the troops had returned and searched Manti for himself and the others. Two young deputy marshals rode boisterously through the town "cursing and swearing and firing their pistols at random among the people." They belligerently declared that:

they had come to this country to hang every God-damned Mormon, President and Bishop, and they would do it before they left, and when they were all out of the way, they would hang more. They swore that we should ere long see every God-damned Mormon president and Bishop dangling in the air with a rope around his neck looking up to Heaven.

The two then accosted Warren's father-in-law, Edwin Whiting. Aiming his pistol at Whiting, one of them threatened, "God damn you, I'll shoot you." At this a number of Mormons who had been watching grabbed the pistol wielding marshal and tried to wrestle the weapon from his hands. In the struggle that followed the pistol was accidentally fired, slightly wounding the other lawman in the throat. The soldiers then stormed out of town, taking the bleeding marshal with them. Warren was
 25
 infuriated when he learned of the assault.

About two weeks later word reached Warren that Cradlebaugh had issued a "writ of attachment" against him and that the soldiers would soon attempt to capture him again. He sent word to the various Sanpete settlements

and gathered a small army of about seventy-five men and retired to a secret mountain camp some twenty miles north of Manti. The camp was under full military organization with Warren as commander, and they held themselves in "readiness to act in defense of the people."²⁶

A large platoon of mounted soldiers soon arrived in Sanpete County under the command of a Captain Ruggles. Warren, remembering the attack on his father-in-law, sent a stern message to the captain. Seemingly as full of fire and hatred as he had ever been, he threatened Ruggles "that if they injured a hair of the head of any of his family," he and his seventy-five men "would wipe out ever soldier" in the County "within 24 hours."²⁷

By this time, Warren's reputation among Utah's gentiles was such that they took his threat seriously and "became afraid" and returned to Camp Floyd.²⁸ And perhaps it was a wise move on their part. Warren was a man of action and had come to view force as the best way to deal with those that harassed him. In his mind he had suffered their persecutions too long already. He was fed up and but little provocation would pull his trigger. And once pulled, the explosion could be deadly.

Warren's explosive nature and violent and vindictive spirit can best be seen when examining a later, but perhaps not unrelated event. It appears that "the Lewis affair" that worked to curdle Judge Cradlebaugh's wrath was not yet over for Warren. Near

the middle of March 1872 he was traveling alone from Springville to Manti. He stopped for supper one evening, prepared a fire and knelt beside it cooking his meal.

Suddenly four men appeared with "shotguns and revolvers." He knew at least two of them and referred to them as "Lewis and Tom." The four men leveled their revolvers at Warren's chest and sternly requested him "to take a walk with them." He knew immediately what they planned to do. They were there to settle a fifteen-year-old score. He knew that what he had done to Thomas Lewis awaited him if he went with them. He coolly stared at them and refused to go.

At this point they thrust the double barrels of a shotgun in his face and resolutely told him to walk. He stood up and slowly started to move. As he walked he first felt that his "last hour had come." ²⁹ But perhaps Patriarch Isaac Morley's words echoed in his head. "By the wicked," Morley had promised, "thou shalt not be slain." ³⁰ According to his own account of the incident, the realization came over him that they did not dare do him harm. They were more afraid of him, he reasoned, than he was of them. Suddenly he was furious that the four would jump him as they had. In his mind his treatment of Lewis had been righteous; a ritual that would have been approved even by God. But their treatment of him was the opposite and he would not tolerate it. He stopped and turned to face them.

"Lewis" then struck him with the butt of the shotgun. At that instant, in a sudden fit of fury that seemed to unleash all the fire the violence of his past had heaped in his heart, he attacked his captors. Apparently he grabbed the closest one and threw him to the ground. Then, either wrestling a revolver away or drawing his own, he quickly aimed and fired twice, dropping two of them. Then all was quiet. Undoubtedly his startled captors eyed him closely as he stood poised and ready for action, his gun still smoking and pointing in their direction. Seeing the fear in their faces, Warren may have bellowed in a voice full of rage that they could go to Hell and go there fast. Perhaps the two men still standing helped their wounded fellows to their feet and together limped back the way they had come.

At about 2:00 A.M. the next morning, Warren reached the camp of some friends, and finally feeling safe, he wrote of his experience to one of his plural wives. He exulted in the fact that at the moment he jumped his attackers, "two revolvers" were aimed at his breast. "Through the providence of God," he lauded, he had "come off without being hurt!" To fight four armed men single-handedly was more than he had "bargained for," but with God's help he had overpowered them. "It was marvelous," he wrote. They thought "lightning had struck." "God," he exclaimed, must have "reserved me for some cause."

But intertwined with his rejoicing in his victory, Warren displayed an extraordinarily well-developed spirit of vengeance. "I am bound to have revenge," he declared as he thought of how four had attacked one. He expressed his hope that "the two of them shot dies." As for the other two, he wrote: "I intend to meet them when they little think of it and make them bite the dust. . . . I will slay them or some one will have to inbreed for them at once." ³² Whether these were vain breathings in a fit of rage or actual threats that he planned on carrying out is unknown.

Similarly, the seriousness of Warren's threats to Captain Ruggles and the dragoons Judge Cradlebaugh sent to catch him in the spring of 1859 is not known. But the fact that he made them is demonstrative of his violent and vengeful world view, and when examined against the backdrop of his personality, they were threats that Ruggles and his men wisely respected. Fortunately for both Warren and Ruggles, however, government officials in Washington, intent on smoothing out bad feelings in Utah, ordered Cradlebaugh to abandon his crusade and federal ³³ concern with Warren's activities simply passed away.

"A Good and a Talented Man"

In 1859 Warren was at the high point of his career as a Mormon leader. His power and influence in the Church, the territory, and in his community would never be greater. His energetic and driving leadership

had compounded his power as presiding bishop and he wielded an almost unrestrained ecclesiastical influence on the local level. Continuous terms in the legislature, coupled with his position of presiding bishop, enabled him to maintain similar control on the civic scene as well, and he still occupied the position of military district commander in the Nauvoo Legion. Clearly, in the Mormon theocracy that still thrived despite the "gentile" governor and army, Warren was Sanpete's most influential man in the Church, in the government and in the Nauvoo Legion. He enjoyed his powerful positions and was undoubtedly proud of the fact that he was considered to be an important leader throughout the entire territory.

But for him, the greatest benefit that came from his military, church and government positions was that they constantly threw him into situations where he could associate and work closely with the leaders of the Church. He loved and respected them and it thrilled him to know that a number of them considered him a close friend. He frequently made trips to Salt Lake to fulfill assignments and with each trip his friendships and influence with his leaders increased. They in turn occasionally came to Manti, and when they did they often stayed in his home. Over the years his friendships grew stronger and his influence consolidated. But while he had made significant inroads in penetrating the tightly knit circle of Brigham Young and Zion's other leading

men, he probably longed for an even closer association with them, perhaps even to the point of desiring to take a place with them in the presiding quorums of the Church.

While Warren undoubtedly never knew it, in 1859, at the height of his influence, his name was discussed in a meeting of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the First Council of Seventy who had met to fill a vacancy in the Twelve and one in the Seventy. As Brigham opened the meeting for the suggestion of names to fill the positions, Orson Pratt expressed his feelings regarding how the selection should be made. "I would select a man of experience who was tried in many places, faithful and diligent," he said, "a man of talent who could defend the Church in any position in which he might be placed."³⁴

To George A. Smith it must have seemed that Pratt had just described Warren for he immediately raised his hand and suggested "Warren Snow of Sanpete." As if explaining the criteria for his selection, Smith reminded the others that Warren "was well acquainted with Joseph, his life and history." Brigham responded to the suggestion by simply agreeing that "Warren Snow is a good and a talented man." He then took other suggestions. When all was said and done, Warren's chance had passed him by. George Q. Cannon was selected as an apostle and Jacob Gates, Warren's shirt-tail relative from St. Johnsbury, was chosen as a seventy.³⁵ Warren's chance

for greater position was gone, for within a year-and-a-half he was in serious trouble with Brigham Young and the people of Manti and in a dramatic fall he lost all of the positions that had been his.

"They Were Scoundrels"

Early in 1858, as Warren raised men, equipment and supplies for the Standing Army, he urged Saints to "back up" their bishop, for, he said, "your Bishop . . . is on hand all the time." This statement summed up Warren's feelings regarding his position as bishop. While it had its rewards, the job kept him on the go "all the time," and he was "almost worn out."³⁶

Brigham Young had said that the office of bishop was "one of the most laborious and responsible offices in the whole Church." And Warren was not simply a bishop but a presiding bishop as well and he had the concerns of other wards to worry about too. It was not surprising therefore, that Brigham Young felt Warren's position was "one of the greatest importance," and one "which requires men of the best skill, judgement and talent" to fulfill.³⁷

President Young, in calling Warren Snow as bishop, displayed that he believed that Warren possessed the necessary "skill, judgement and talent" to perform these duties. But it was an awfully big job. The responsibilities were overwhelming.³⁸ It took more than every waking hour to correctly fulfill them. But Warren

also had other demanding responsibilities in the legislature, the Nauvoo Legion, and in the local government, and by now he was the polygamist husband of at least five women and he therefore had several families to care for.³⁹ He had crops to plant and harvest, houses and fences to build, ditches to dig and stock to feed, drive, and slaughter and his oldest son was just barely reaching his teens and therefore was not able to provide his father much help.

The demands upon Warren were superhuman. There was simply no way he could carry every responsibility off in good order. Necessity therefore required him to perform an exacting balancing act, juggling his various duties, able only to give a few of them attention at a time.

Brigham Young frequently urged him on in his tasks by expressing "a sincere desire" that Warren would be "adequate to every duty" and able to "do all things aright."⁴⁰ Warren desperately wanted to please the president and show his dedication to the kingdom but because of the impossibility of the situation, some important duties did not get the attention they needed. Never very good at numbers or record keeping, Warren began to let important financial matters in the tithing office and in the government slide.

As his responsibilities compounded, Warren pushed himself and his Saints harder and harder and his

leadership became increasingly oppressive and tyrannical. Perhaps this was the natural result of his frantic efforts to be successful in all of his various duties and to "knock" Brigham's policies through. As he stepped on more and more toes, criticism of his financial management of both Church and public funds began to mount.

The bad feelings concerning Warren's leadership continued to fester but remained reasonably calm until October 1860. At the Church's October General Conference that year, Brigham Young publicly chastised all bishops in general, knowing full well that "too many Bishops" had "taken pattern" from Joseph, himself, and other bishops, and were misusing Church funds. He gave the Saints an example of what was going on:

When tithing-chickens, butter, &c., are brought in, a Bishop says to his clerk--"You need not trouble to take an account of these chickens; my wife will keep an account of them;" and the Bishop's wife takes the chickens, the ham, the butter, the cheese, &c., and puts them away; and when the clerk wants to know what has been brought in by such a brother, "O never mind," says the Bishop; "my wife will give an account of it;" and the wife forgets it. Are such things done? Yes, more or less, all the time. This example was set long ago, and some of the Bishops have followed it.⁴¹

Brigham explained further that when a "good, handsome cow has been turned in" as tithing, some Bishops would keep it, substituting in its place "an old three titted cow--one that would kick the tobacco juice out of the mouth of [the] man who came to milk her." Brigham charged that "if one hundred dollars in cash are paid into the hands of a Bishop, in many instances he will

smuggle it, and turn into the General Tithing-Office old, ring-boned, spavined horses instead of the money."

He declared that he wanted the practice stopped and stopped immediately. "I will trace out those who conduct in this manner and expose them," he threatened, but then softening a little, he told them that if the bishops "come out and own things as they are, and honestly prove that their past errors have proceeded from the head, and not from the heart," he promised that they could "be placed upon the right track and magnify their⁴² calling."

When the conference was over, the few Manti Saints who attended it rushed home and the Manti rumor mills exploded. Stories of Warren's misuse of tithing and other Church and public resources were so prevalent that they were accepted as fact by many.⁴³ Church headquarters immediately received a barrage of complaints regarding the bishop, and in November Brigham sent Traveling Bishop A. Milton Musser of the Church's Presiding Bishopric Office to examine the Manti tithing records. Musser and fifteen of Sanpete County's principal men, including Apostle Orson Hyde who had just recently moved to the county, sat down with Warren and his clerk to look over the records. They found them to be in a "very confused state" and it was obvious that they had been kept in a very "loose manner."

Musser, Hyde and the others were astonished to learn that from "5 to 8 thousand dollars" were missing. Orson Hyde was furious. He fired off a letter to Brigham Young recommending that the keys of the Manti tithing office be placed in "more Careful and particular hands,"⁴⁴ and Young promptly acted on his recommendation.

In the following weeks, Orson Hyde blasted Warren and his counselors George Peacock and George P. Billings from the pulpit, and soon the people began to come forth with other grievances, making the situation increasingly ugly. The community boiled over with rumors of how Warren had also misused funds in his position as County Treasurer and how Peacock was operating some kind of cattle rustling ring. Elder Hyde lamented to President Young that he believed the people had suffered "greater picuniary loss" by their property being rustled by Peacock "than the tithing office has suffered by the grab⁴⁵ game."

Warren and his counselors visited Brigham Young in Salt Lake City on December 31, and explained their side of the story. They denied any blatant wrong doing, and when they left the president's office they were once again in his good favor. But feelings in Manti continued to rage. Throughout January and February, Orson Hyde continued to blast the bishopric. He charged that the "political power" of the county had been "monopolized" to serve "selfish purposes," and suggested that "the county

seat be removed far from its incumbents" (Snow and Peacock), and that no more money be paid into the treasury "till the Bag be sewed up in the bottom." With inflamed speech and gestures he spoke of the "leakage of tithing and expressed his exasperation that the bishopric still "endeavored to Justify themselves before every council," but firmly stated that if he had his way he would "land some men in the Penitentiary."⁴⁶

He condemned the bishopric for standing before the President of the Church and "trying to pull the wool over his eyes." It was "the people" who had been "wronged" and "the people" that "should be consulted." "Let a man but gain the good will of the people," he declared, "then all would be right with Brigham who would take care of himself." He stated that he "had no fellowship for Warren S. Snow nor for Geo Peacock till they had come before the people and confessed their infernal meanness and dishonesty nor did he wish to see them." As far as he was concerned "they were scoundrels."⁴⁷

Spurred on by Elder Hyde's tirades, the Manti Saints became almost hysterical in their anger and, uncovering old sores, they hurled every imaginable accusation at Warren and George Peacock. "The old affairs of 'torn Lewis' [Thomas Lewis]", Peacock wrote, was "going the rounds with renewed vigor." The excitement in Manti raged so fiercely that Peacock wrote

that he feared his life would be taken. "I carry three revolvers with me," he said, "and should anyone attempt to assassinate me I design to sell my life as dear as possible."⁴⁸

On February 3, Warren wrote a letter to Brigham Young. He described that there was still "considerable excitement" in Manti regarding his business with the tithing office. He freely admitted that he had been "careless." But apparently claiming clemency by virtue of the president's promise at General Conference, he claimed that the problem was the result of "an error of the head and not the heart." "I have done wrong," he went on, "in letting the business run at loose ends as long as I have but I had no idea that things were in as bad a state as they are."

Although he did not admit any dishonesty on his part, he asked Brigham for forgiveness. To justify himself, he reminded Brigham of the pressing nature of his responsibilities and that he had had to "shoulder" the other wards in the county too. His duties had called him "away a great deal" and he had therefore given "the entire business" of the tithing office over to his clerks almost four years earlier. He stated that he had no idea what had become of the missing "means," and explained that he had left the key to the office in his clerks' possession with strict orders as to who should use it. He suggested that they too "bear their portion" of the

chastisement. But finally, taking responsibility for the problem, he assured the president that he would "pay up" just as fast as he could and that he was even then putting all his available means into the tithing office.

Apparently convinced that President Young had now turned against him, he promised his leader that the whole affair had been presented in its "worst light," and that in the "final settlement and winding up," things would be much more favorable. Referring to his future in Manti he lamented that he had "a very rough sea to ride upon," and then, perhaps remembering Brigham's earlier preachings on blood atonement, he expressed the hope that "in the midst of the excitement" there be "no rash act" performed. "If I have done anything worthy of death," he wrote, "I will die like a man, but do not want to go like a dog." He ended his letter, as he often did, with a prayer, "may⁴⁹ God bless you and forgive me is my prayer."

Both Warren and George Peacock felt they were innocent and requested an investigation to lay the matter before the people. But by now Elder Hyde and the Manti Saints were so prejudiced against them that they felt that it was impossible to get justice in Sanpete County. So near the middle of March they again traveled to Salt Lake to visit with the First Presidency. At the end of a long meeting, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Daniel H. Wells "manifested a good feeling" towards them and

promised them that in time their problems in Manti would be "righted."

They were encouraged to make a broad confession, if for no other reason than to appease the people. Also, as a way to remove them from their positions (which, they were told, they could not possibly fulfill successfully under the circumstances), and save what little honor they still had left, Brigham called them both to serve missions in England. They were to leave as soon as the weather would permit.⁵⁰

Investigation

In Manti the following Sunday, Warren, who had been forbidden by Orson Hyde to speak in church since the problems started, sat and listened to another one of the Apostle's speeches. During the closing song he motioned with his hand to Elder Hyde and submissively asked if he could speak. At the same pulpit from which he so often had condemned wickedness in fiery language, he now spoke in subdued tones, asking "to be forgiven of the people and of God for his errors either private or public." Then, looking at Orson Hyde, he humbly asked "what further he was required to do."

His demeanor totally changed, the Apostle stood up and took Warren by the hand and forgave him and announced to the congregation that he had been "rather severe" in how he had treated the bishop. "The war," he said, has "gone far enough against" Warren Snow. The

people said "Amen." Then on a motion from the elder, the people forgave Warren and, as he was preparing to go on his mission, they voted to give him their blessing. But Warren's second counselor, George Billings, in what was undoubtedly a prearranged move, objected and asked for an investigation that Warren might "go clear."⁵¹

The investigation was agreed upon and a month later, on April 15, it was conducted.⁵² It was presided over by three "impartial judges" and held in the Ward house. Large numbers of Manti Saints attended. All who had grievances were invited to bring them forward, and in three sessions that lasted all day, the only criminal charge that was sustained against Warren was the fact that he had unlawfully given a pair of government cattle as pay to ten Mormon spies who had watched groups of soldiers pass through the Sanpete Valley in 1858. To a man that had taken almost six hundred head of cattle from the army just half a year earlier, this was considered no great sin. Most of the furor was centered in his personal relationships as a leader and his close association with George Peacock, whom the people were convinced was stealing their stock.

Warren had called a man a "cipher" and a woman a "harlot," thus damaging their reputations, and he asked their forgiveness. No other specific details of his leadership were brought up, but all seemed to agree that he had "ruled with an iron rod" and that the Manti Saints

had been "clubbed" and "choked down" in their feelings long enough. They generalized that he was "slack" in his business affairs and not an "honorable dealer," but that he was fiercely committed to Brigham Young and to the Church and that he would "do for this kingdom." One man testified that Warren "would spend the last picayune (half dime)" for the Church, but the problem was that he did not care "whose pocket it came out of."⁵³

After hearing all the complaints, the three judges each made a statement. William Broadhead stated that much testimony had been given but very little had "been sustained." He agreed that Warren had been "overbearing," but suggested that this be overlooked, considering his willingness "to do any thing for the kingdom." "I do not see much guilt," he summarized, but it was clear that in some things Warren had been "too hard." Isaac Morley, the second judge, agreed. He felt that Peacock was guilty of stealing cattle and had been an "injury to Br. Snow as a councillor."

Andrew Love was confused. The testimony had all been simple complaint. "If, there is any difference of opinion," he suggested, "let it be in favor of the Bishop [for it was] a difficult office to fill." The charges made against Warren were not "so bad," he told them, and he pointed out that the bishop's faults could be "got along with." As far as he was concerned, the problem was that Warren had been "running too fast--and with a high

hand." "The office of bishop," he continued, "is to be a father to the people, to husband the means of the church." Warren had not done this. "There does not seem to have been much crime," he concluded, but Warren's actions had not been "to build up."

At the end of the judges' statements, Warren again asked the people to forgive him and a vote was called, and the Manti Saints "unanimously" agreed to do

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so. Even though the charges had not been proved, most of the Manti Saints and church leaders involved still felt that Warren was guilty, at least to some extent, of

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dishonesty in his use of Church and public funds. And while he asserted his innocence to the last, it is hard to believe that such bad feeling on behalf of the entire community could have been groundless. In the end perhaps

even Brigham doubted his story. At least until 1865, the church leader held Warren responsible for the missing tithing resources and expected him to make up the difference. As far as Brigham was concerned,

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accountability was Warren's, guilty or not.

But perhaps Warren was innocent of any dishonesty as he claimed. The inability of the Saints to substantiate any significant crime against him during the investigation is also an important fact. Warren was

convinced he had been honest in spite of his "slack" management and felt that he had been sacrificed to cover

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up someone else's wrong. The issue was complex then

and remains so today, making it impossible for the modern historian to clearly demonstrate Warren's innocence or guilt.

The next Sunday Warren sat on the stand as his replacement, Andrew J. Moffitt, was sustained. And the following Wednesday, April 24, 1861, he left Manti with George Peacock on his way to England.⁵⁸ He was a broken and censured man. His reputation shattered, stripped of position, he was leaving Manti in disgrace. He correctly viewed the vote to forgive him as an outward act that had little to do with the Saints' real feelings, feelings he was sure could not mend in a day. He left town knowing that much of what had been important to him was lost and that he was leaving very few friends behind.

When the two missionaries stopped at church headquarters and were set apart for their missions by the First Presidency, Warren sensed a cold reserve in Brigham. Perhaps he had lost more than he thought, something more important to him than all the rest. It may have been then that President Young handed him the official acceptance of his resignation of his commission in the Nauvoo Legion. Possibly not until then did he realize that he had lost everything! He had been colonel and district commander, one of the Legion's highest ranking officers, but now he was rankless, having no place in the organization he loved.⁵⁹

The chance to "stand between" that had meant so much to him was gone. For years it had been the single greatest factor by which he defined himself. It was a major part of the superstructure upon which his concept of self-worth and esteem rested and it hurt to have it pulled out from under him. It had been his role, his God-given mission, "to defend the cause." It had given him opportunity and position. But what was his role in the Kingdom now? Where was his place? What was his position?

The mission to England was a setting aside. He had been dropped. He knew it and he knew that others knew it. Yes, the sea he had to ride was "very rough." To him the future seemed dark and gloomy. Perhaps there was a chance he could regain what he had lost, but as he turned his back on Salt Lake and faced the strong spring headwinds that blew down Emigration Canyon, he more than likely felt like weeping, but undoubtedly did not, at least not until darkness had fallen.

In his pocket, Warren may have carried the letter Daniel H. Wells had written just a few weeks before. Perhaps he read it again and again for it undoubtedly gave him comfort and assurance. "Of one thing you may rest assured," it read, "you have friends, good and true friends, who will bear you off . . . therefore feel encouraged." "All men suffer . . . through their own negligence, and . . . lack of wisdom," Wells consoled

him. "Why should you be an exception to the general rule?" And then, offering his fallen friend some hope, he urged: "Be quiet, Warren; resolve to do right and you will feel that it is a good lesson for you . . . Remember--'The darkest day Wait till to morrow [sic], will have passed away.'⁶⁰" The letter gave Warren hope as he trudged toward his mission in Great Britain.

CHAPTER VI

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

"Cheering News"

In England, Warren worked with the same energetic drive that had always characterized him. In spite of his problems in Manti, his commitment to his religion was still strong, and he viewed his mission to be a great opportunity to proclaim the Latter-day gospel. Away from the Manti situation, he resumed his natural confidence, and learning that he had been a member of the Church longer than any other English missionary, he capitalized upon that fact and frequently preached of his early experiences with Joseph Smith and other church leaders.

The English Saints, filled with the zeal of fresh conversion, were delighted to meet and know someone who had been so closely associated with "the Prophets," and soon Warren, a traveling elder, was receiving calls to preach to congregations throughout England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland. Within months of his arrival in Great Britain, he reported to his family that he was very "kindly received" by the members of the Church there and that he "did not lack for friends." "The Saints," he

wrote, "feel to do me good."² It was quite a contrast from the feelings he had left in Manti.

Caught up in the spirit of his experiences, Warren's sermons were energetic, exciting and powerful and exerted great influence upon the English Saints. "I love to talk about the kingdom," he forcefully declared to various gatherings of Saints as he traveled. "I did not expect to occupy much of your time when I stood up," he sometimes apologized, "but when I commence to relate the things I know . . . it is like a stream that is let loose." And as he preached, he loved to refer to his "standing between." It was still a role that he cherished and was proud of.

"I am the oldest member of the Church in this room," he told one group. "I have been one of the pioneers in this Work. I have stood by Joseph and defended his life and those of my brethren whose lives were constantly in danger."³ Disappointed that he had seemingly lost his chance to physically protect his leaders, he extended his defending mentality into his missionary work and urged his fellow missionaries and the Saints alike to join him in going "forth as giants in defense of the cause we advocate."⁴

While there is no doubt that Warren sincerely loved the Church and worked tirelessly to build it up in England, for him there was an extra reason for working hard. His mission was a chance to redeem himself.

Perhaps Brigham Young would hear of his efforts and show him the warmth he had known in the past. But after two full years he had not received a single word from his leader. Though the message seemed obvious, Warren hoped he was wrong. Finally he summoned up the courage to write the President in an attempt to ascertain where he stood.

He carefully chose an appropriate day to write. It was June 27, 1863; the nineteenth anniversary of Joseph Smith's martyrdom at Carthage Jail. "After a lapse of over two years I resume my pen to address a few lines to [you]," he began the letter. He first described conditions in England, but then, in an obvious move to remind Brigham of his history and willingness to defend, he remembered the martyrdom.

He expressed a poignant desire to avoid seeing Brigham and other leaders "mangled" as he had seen "the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum." "I had rather fly to arms and grasp the sword and face the foes of the servants of God and let my bosom meet the deadly weapons before those that I love and esteem above all earthly joy," he proclaimed. In a desperate attempt to regain Brigham's friendship, Warren had played his trump card. His "standing between" was all he had to offer his leader, but he hoped it would be enough.

Then, like a vassal declaring fealty to his liege, Warren wrote, "I can truly say that like a fixed star thou art fassend [sic] upon the pages of [my] memory

. . . [your friendship] is more dear to me than life." He told the president that he was doing all the good he could possibly do on his mission and again he begged for Brigham's forgiveness and friendship,

You will except my kind love . . . forgive my past faults [gic] and let me share your faith and blessings while on this mission that I may return pure to the bosom of friends and family in my mountain home after I have done my work upon this land.

He then ended with a plea for some word from his friend-- at least some message to let him know where he stood. "If it is not asking too much of you," he humbly wrote, "a line from you would be gratefully received."⁵

Not knowing if Brigham would respond at all, Warren anxiously awaited a letter from his president for almost half a year. At last it came. As he read it he was relieved to discover that the tone was warm and friendly. Word of Warren's labors in England had obviously reached the church leader. "From Various sources," Brigham dictated, "we learn cheering news of your diligence, faithfulness, and good works in your ministry."

Signalling that he was ready to drop the past, Brigham urged Warren to "blow the Gospel trumpet long and loud [and] do all the good" he could, for, he stated, "I want to see you a perfect giant in the gospel when you come home."⁶ For Warren the message was clear. For the first time in over three years, he felt that he could reclaim his place near his prophet, and while it perhaps

would not be a position of leadership or power, at least it was a place in Brigham's heart, and for Warren, at this point, that was enough. With Brigham's friendship he could again face the wrath of the Manti Saints. Suddenly he was ready to go home.

Early in 1864, Warren left England, and after reaching the United States he spent several months in the East acting as a church agent, arranging transportation and supplies for several hundred British converts that arrived in New York in mid-July. In August he again captained a wagon train headed for Utah, this one made up of friends and converts from England.

After an absence of over four years, Warren arrived in Salt Lake City on November 2, at the head of his train.⁷ But quickly taking leave of his British friends, he rode on towards Manti with foreboding. His family and a few others had kept him informed of the feeling there. It was not good, to say the least, and he knew his trouble was not yet over.

In Manti his worst fears were confirmed. Time had not cleared up the bad feelings. After several months, Orson Hyde, perhaps feeling somewhat responsible for the situation, took Warren by the hand during a Sunday meeting and declared to the congregation that he had "the best of feelings" for him, and blessed him in the name of God. Then looking at the congregation, he said that "all past feelings of a bad nature should be

forgotten." In the same tone of voice in which he had rebuked Warren four years before, he commanded the Manti Saints that since he had "given his heart and hand" to Brother Snow, then they should do the same. But Hyde had given them the same exhortation four years earlier, apparently to no avail. To Warren the situation seemed hopeless, but all that was about to change. Interestingly enough, it was his "standing between" that allowed him to redeem himself in the eyes of the people and again take his place in the community with honor.

War_Whoops

About six weeks after Orson Hyde commanded the Manti Saints to put away their ill will for Warren Snow, bad feelings of another kind on behalf of some Manti church members touched off a string of events that culminated in the longest and fiercest Indian war in Utah history. It is interesting to note that the core of the issue was cattle stealing.

On Sunday April 9, 1865, a small group of Manti men sat on their horses near the Manti ward house facing a similar number of mounted Indians. They were discussing the fact that a large band of Indians had spent a cold and sickly winter less than fifteen miles from Manti and in a starving condition had helped themselves to at least fifteen head of Manti stock. John Lowry, Jr., speaking on behalf of the Manti Mormons, threatened in harsh tones that the stealing had better

stop. Several of the Indians were insolent and claimed that the Mormons owed them the cattle, as they had taken Indian land and brought the diseases that were rapidly depleting tribal populations.

At this, Lowry exploded and his verbal harangue became so intense that one young brave named Jake Arapeen, (son of the deceased Chief Arapeen,) began to set an arrow to his bow. Lowry, in a burst of anger, spurred his horse toward the young sub-chieftain and tackled him, both of them falling to the ground. While men from both groups prevented a fight, the Indians angrily left town as Jake and another rebellious young Indian named Black Hawk hurled threats and insults back over their shoulders.

The following day, the Mormons, fearing that more cattle would be killed by the Indians, sent twenty unarmed men to gather their stock from the herd grounds near the Indians' camp. Nearing the cattle, the Mormons were ambushed by Black Hawk, Jake, and a good number of other angry young Indians. Peter Ludvigsen was killed, his body left behind as his comrades scrambled back towards Manti.

The following day the Mormons returned and found Ludvigsen stripped and mutilated, his face viciously shoved into a prickly pear. After the ambush, the Indians quickly gathered up what Manti stock they could and drove them towards Salina where they were joined by

other Indians. Now numbering from seventy to eighty warriors, they rounded up most of the Salina stock and headed up Salina Canyon. On their way up the canyon they met two more Mormons who they easily captured, tortured, and killed.¹⁰

Colonel Reddick N. Allred, who had succeeded Warren as the highest ranking officer of the Nauvoo Legion in the Sanpete area, just happened to be in the vicinity of Salina while in the process of moving to Round Valley in Millard County. He immediately took charge and sent orders to the various Sanpete settlements for one hundred men to rendezvous in Salina and go in pursuit of the Indians.¹¹

As word of Allred's plans reached Manti, a group of men knocked on Warren's door and asked him to lead them in the chase. In past emergencies it had always been Warren who had led them, and in this time of conflict they turned to him again. In spite of their bad feelings, they were convinced that he was the most capable defender in the area and they needed his talents. While perhaps flattered that they would ask, Warren undoubtedly was not surprized. He grabbed his revolvers, rifle, hat and blanket and went out to saddle his horse. Within minutes he was leading a detachment of Manti Legionnaires toward Salina.¹²

By the time they reached the small settlement, located about thirty miles southwest of Manti, Colonel

Allred had been gone for some time. Warren headed his group up the canyon to join Allred, but soon met the colonel and his seventy men traveling back down the canyon looking flustered and dejected. Warren learned that after proceeding some fourteen miles up the canyon, they were ambushed in a tight and steep mountain pass, and two more Mormons were killed as the group retreated in a panic through "showers" of bullets and arrows.

Allred, depressed with the outcome and anxious to get on with his move, was aware of Warren's past experiences and positions and left him in charge of the entire Mormon force. A rankless military "has been," Warren suddenly found himself in full command of the Sanpete military district. Undoubtedly thrilled, but unsure how Brigham would feel about it, he carefully described the situation in a report of the ambush which he sent to the church leader.

"You may think it strange that this [report] should be written from my Hand," he wrote, but explaining that Allred had moved on, requesting him "to take charge of the detachment," he described that "under feelings of sorrow & regret for the loss of our Brethren I gave consent." ¹³ Sounding reluctant on the surface, Warren resumed a responsibility that meant almost more than anything to him.

Warren did not wait for Brigham to sanction the move but began immediately to do what he could to resolve

the situation. Organizing the Salina community, he directed the erection of a temporary fort to ensure the town's protection. At first he viewed negotiation to be the best approach to settling the problem, and rather than risk a second ambush, he sent to Chief Sanpitch and asked him to come parley with him at Salina. This chieftian was the brother of Walker and Arapeen and was then the most powerful Ute leader.

When he arrived, Sanpitch admitted that he could do little to control Black Hawk and his men, but Warren persuaded the Chief to at least go up the canyon and see if Black Hawk's band were still waiting to ambush the Mormons when they went to retrieve the bodies of the two men killed in the ambush. Learning that the canyon was safe, Warren recovered the bodies, which by the time he reached them had laid in the canyon for five full days.¹⁴

About a week later, word reached the Sanpete Saints that Black Hawk was gathering reinforcements near the head of Salina canyon and threatening further depredations. Tensions among the settlers ran high, and as their fears grew, they turned more and more to Warren's leadership to provide protection. He organized the Legion, inspected the troops and weapons, and directed the various communities to start building forts in preparation for Black Hawk's expected raids. By the end of April, Warren, if only in the minds of the people, was the commander of the Sanpete Military

District. Still he held no rank in the Nauvoo Legion. But on the last day of the month, Orson Hyde's recommendation that he lead the Mormon forces in protecting Saints from Indians was sent to Salt Lake.

Things were quiet until about the end of May, when over a period of three days two men were murdered near Fairview and a family of six was massacred at Thistle Valley. In the less than two months that had passed since John Lowry pulled Jake Arappen from his horse, thirteen whites had been killed.

It was obvious that Brigham Young needed Warren's help. During the second week in June, as President Young and Colonel Irish, the "gentile" superintendant of Indian affairs, worked out a treaty with the major Ute chieftains, the church leader brought Warren along as a negotiator. While Sanpitch and eleven other Ute leaders signed the treaty, they maintained precious little control over Black Hawk, Jake, and their men. Most of the warriors involved in the initial raids were young men who were greatly displeased with the Mormons, the federal government, and their own tribal leaders. Therefore, the depredations continued.

"A Volley of Bullets"

Fearing the Black Hawk affair was turning into a full-fledged war, Brigham Young and other Church leaders visited Sanpete County to see that the Nauvoo Legion was fully organized and to make sure that the people were

preparing to protect themselves. While in Manti on July 14, Brigham received word that two more men had been killed south of Salina and that more stock had been driven off. The need for Warren Snow, he felt, was greater than ever. The following day Brigham directed a muster of the Nauvoo Legion in Manti, and he made sure that Warren was officially elected commander of the Sanpete Military District as well as Brigadier General in the Nauvoo Legion. At forty-six years of age, it was the highest rank to which Warren had ever attained. Used to capitalizing upon his positions, the new general undoubtedly hoped he could use it to allay the bad feelings against him in Manti.

That evening Brigham sent Warren and detachments of legionnaires from Manti, Ephraim and Gunnison to "hunt and chastise" the Indians responsible for killing the two men near Salina. Warren and his men spent the night at Glenwood and were joined the following day by legion companies from the settlements in Sevier County. At dusk on the rainy evening of July 17, the group, numbering over one hundred men, started over the mountains to Grass Valley, following the trail of about one hundred head of stolen stock driven by a small band of marauding Indians.

Traveling all night, they reached Grass Valley at daybreak. Deciding to rest, they unsaddled their horses beside a creek near a grove of cedars. Picket guards soon returned and informed Warren that the grove was

"full of Indians." Unknowingly they had overtaken the very Indians they were trailing!

Warren ordered the men to resaddle their horses and to surround the cedar grove, and while taking position, the rainy morning stillness was shattered by a shot fired by an Indian hiding behind a log. Marine York of Richfield, receiving a serious chest wound, toppled from his horse. Suddenly other shots rang out and a four-hour battle ensued. When it was all over, Warren and his men had killed twelve braves. Unfortunately, and clearly against Warren's orders and wishes, a number of squaws were also killed and the engagement was thereafter referred to as "the Squaw Fight."¹⁹

From the surviving squaws, Warren learned that the Indian band was headed toward the Green River in eastern Utah where Black Hawk was collecting stolen stock to feed an increasing following of hostile Indians. Hearing this, Warren lead his men back to Glenwood to get supplies and to send requisitions for more men to join him in an expedition to the Green River. After dark on July 20, he started his command toward Black Hawk's camp.

Traveling at night in order to surprise the Indians, Warren and his command of one hundred men were joined by a similarly sized group under Colonel Allred in Castle Valley. Now leading the largest active force he had ever led, Warren pushed his two-hundred-man army for two more days, riding around the clock. At last they

reached the banks of the Green River and saw where the Indians had driven a large herd of stock through the river.

On the opposite bank they could see freshly made Indian wickiups. Warren and some others swam the river to investigate and found reasonably fresh tracks, and upon returning to his command, he counselled with his staff as to what course they should pursue. The men were hungry and weak, having subsisted on nothing but "cracker crumbs" for three days. Their horses were also jaded from the forced march and could not go much further.

The Indians, on the other hand, were obviously aware of their approach, and had much fresher animals, making it almost impossible to overtake them. Warren and Colonel Allred concluded to call off the chase and headed the command back toward their settlements. Their decision turned out to be a wise one, for they later learned that Black Hawk and over a hundred braves were²⁰ secreted in ambush on the other side of the river.

After the Squaw Fight and the expedition to the Green River, Black Hawk laid low, obviously threatened by the show of Mormon force, giving the Mormons over a month-and-a-half of peace. But in mid-September he called for a general rendezvous of hostile Indians near Fish Lake preparatory to a major outbreak of attacks. Upon learning of the rendezvous from friendly Indians,

Warren quickly raised a command of 111 men and left for Fish Lake on September 14.

After a week of riding and gathering information from friendly Indians, they entered Fish Lake Valley on the morning of September 21. Near a small lake at the base of a mountain they found fresh evidence that large numbers of Indians were in the area. Halting his command and taking Major John L. Ivie with him, Warren rode to the top of a black lava ridge to get a view of the valley in order to learn where the Indians were.

By happenstance, they ran into a large force of hiding Indians who were just about ready to attack the detachment. Ivie, seeing a ramrod wiggling behind a bush just a few paces away, had only time to shout "There they are!" before the shooting began. Within "fifteen or twenty feet" of the Indians, Warren and Ivie wheeled their horses to retreat to the command as "a volley of bullets" were discharged at them. Warren was instantly hit in the right arm just below the shoulder joint, the shot knocking him from his horse. Instinctively he rolled behind a large rock. But realizing he was just a few feet from the Indians, he ran for his horse, and mounting it "under a heavy fire," he made for his
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command.

Meanwhile, the legionnaires retreated a short distance in a panic, but upon catching up with them, Warren ordered his men to stop and prepare to receive an

attack. Moments later a large group of mounted Indians swooped down over the same ridge Warren had just left and attacked the Mormons. After a lengthy exchange of gunfire, the Indians retreated, and resting a few minutes, they attacked again. After "several" such skirmishes, the Indians had lost "four or five" men and others were wounded, yet they had only succeeded in slightly wounding two more Mormons. Finally they retreated again, this time disappearing into the nearby hills. Again short of rations and seriously wounded himself, Warren directed his men to retreat to Glenwood²² where he received needed medical attention.

Three days later found Warren in bed in Manti. He dictated a letter to Brigham Young, informing him of the attack, his wound, and of the Indians' plans. He was sure that Black Hawk's warriors were "two or three hundred strong" and that they were planning "to make a rush" on some settlement soon. He told Brigham that it would take a very large force to drive them from their²³ position in Fish Lake Valley.

Upon receiving Warren's letter, Brigham became concerned about the "hunt and chastise" policy that he had directed Warren to pursue. He and other church leaders could see that Warren's chasing the Indians through the mountains had become a dangerous and "endless" job. Not only that, it seemed to be counter productive. "Every Indian that is killed on an

expedition," George A. Smith explained, "has friends who expect to kill two [whites] for him--some lone traveler[,] some person keeping mill or digging potatoes has to be killed by way of retaliation." ²⁴

Simultaneously, the expeditions of large Mormon forces riding through the mountains and killing "guilty" Indians was turning friendly Indians against them, and Black Hawk's ranks were swelling daily. Brigham therefore decided to try a policy of peace.

Accordingly, on October 2, Brigham sent his son John and Heber C. Kimball of the First Presidency to Manti with a hand-delivered letter and verbal instructions for Warren, explaining the new policy and telling him how he was to implement it. Warren was told to kill Indians if they were obviously guilty of killing Mormons and stealing their stock, but since once they reached the mountains it was virtually impossible to distinguish the guilty from the innocent, he was advised to drop the long and dangerous mountain chases.

He was also told to "exhort the people to adopt a peace policy towards the Indians" and to start treating them kindly. While Warren was no longer an ecclesiastical leader, in this emergency Brigham viewed him to be the most capable Mormon leader in the area and depended upon him to carry his message to the Saints as well as to direct and carry out his policies towards the
²⁵
Indians.

The day he received the letter and instructions from Heber C. Kimball and John Young, Warren dictated another letter to the president. "I have suffered considerable pain," he stated, "but am happy to Inform you that I am mending fast, the Power of God has been made manifest in my behalf." Referring to Brigham's new policy, he assured his leader that "every thing will be done, that Can [be]" to carry it into effect. "I consider it far preferable to fighting," he said, perhaps thinking of his own wound. Then, as if trying to justify his past actions in light of the new policy, he explained, "Our course heretofore has been to Inflict punishment upon the Guilty, and not to disturb such as are Innocent."

Then, as though Brigham's new policy would cause all hostilities on the part of the Indians to cease, he projected that "the Brethren [sic] will be most happy, once more enjoying peace." He closed his letter by looking back over the past six months of the war:

. . . the past troubles have been a great drawback to Improvements of All kinds. We cannot procure from the Mountains or Kenyon's [sic], Lumber, to finish our Houses, build graneries, or Poles to fence our feilds or Yards and the most of the Past Season we have been prohibited from getting fire wood, consequently [we] have had to use fencing etc. for fuel, we find by experience Your Council to be true-- viz. "better feed the Indians than fight Them" and far Cheaper.²⁶

Just two weeks after Brigham asked Warren to declare his new policy, one of the largest raids of the war took place at Ephraim, about seven miles from Manti.

On October 17, seven settlers were massacred, three of them while working in a field just outside town and the other four while gathering firewood in the mouth of a nearby canyon. Rather than going out immediately to attack the Indians before they reached the mountains, the Ephraim Saints, exhibiting their dependence upon Warren, sent for him in Manti. By the time he arrived, perhaps riding with his arm in a sling, the Indians were long gone.

In a letter to Orson Hyde, George A. Smith simultaneously chided the Ephraim Saints for their lack of action and their dependence upon General Snow. "Really was there no horses kept up ready to mount in Ephraim?" he asked. "Was there no Sergeant or Corporal who could follow out and recover the cattle without sending to Manti to find if brother Snow was at home?"²⁷

Smith's last question demonstrates the role Warren had come to play in the Black Hawk War. The entire white community in Sanpete and Sevier Counties depended upon him to defend them from the Indians. President Young likewise relied upon him to protect the Saints and to carry out his policies. In his position as brigadier general and military district commander, Warren had become the chief protector and policy implementor in Utah's longest and most severe Indian war, and it was here that he provided his greatest service in "standing between."

"A Sound Practical Man"

As Warren carried out his defensive responsibilities, an interesting thing began to happen. Not only did the feelings of the Manti Saints and church leaders soften, but they actually did a complete flip-flop. In March 1865, prior to the outbreak of the war, the ill-will manifested towards Warren caused Orson Hyde to rebuke and command the Manti Saints. But half-a-year later, the same community elected Warren as one of the County's two representatives to the Territorial Legislature. That same year they also elected Warren as
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their mayor.

Long expeditions in the mountains with other Manti men gave him opportunities to patch up old friendships. His display of energy and courage as a protector in their behalf was greatly respected among the Sanpete Saints. From this time on he was not only "Brother Snow" to them, but also "General Snow," a title they still called him at his death over thirty years
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later. His defending was enough to pay for whatever they had against him and to cause the pendulum of public opinion to swing in his favor in a very short time. He still had his problems, but the Manti Saints could live with them now.

Simultaneously, Traveling Bishop A. Milton Musser, who had examined Warren's tithing books and was thoroughly convinced that Warren had been dishonest with

the Church, asked Brigham Young to reinstate him as the Presiding Bishop of Sanpete County. Warren's show of defensive grit had softened him as well. Musser told the President that "the appointment of a sound practical man" like Warren "would be a great blessing to the saints." "Bro. Warren S. Snow's past blunders have been a severe lesson to him," he wrote. "I hardly think he would allow himself to be again compromised."

While Brigham did not act upon Musser's recommendation, ³⁰ Warren's "standing between," within a period of less than six months, allowed him to totally reverse the local feeling against him and to regain and even exceed his former positions in the Nauvoo Legion, the community and in the territory. His defensive role had played a major part in his obtaining the positions in the first place, and once he lost them it was his tool in recovering them. Warren's protecting had paid off. It was his door to opportunity and prominence and he understood how to use it.

"Good Indians"

Late in February 1866, Warren wrote to Brigham Young for counsel. During the winter, hungry Indians had flocked to Black Hawk's camp near the Green River, and in exchange for their allegiance, he fed them Mormon beef. The situation was such that Chief Kanosh, a friendly Pahvant chieftain, told the Mormons that "all the Utah Nation are mad." "They had called a grand war council,"

the chief told them, "and will not make peace."

Indians spending the winter near the Mormon settlements were becoming increasingly belligerent and were making threats of what would happen when the snow melted enough to enable Black Hawk's warriors to resume their raids.

Sometime in February Warren captured "three bucks" near Moroni who had been threatening the settlers not to go into the canyons to dig coal or get lumber. The Indians defiantly boasted that if the Saints did so they would be killed by Black Hawk. In Warren's mind, these braves were examples of a prevalent type of Indian that professed friendship to the Mormons but actually gave Black Hawk information and even helped him in his raids. These "bucks," Warren told the president, "gives notice of what is going on by us to our ennimes [sic]." He was convinced that they had been with Black Hawk in some raids. "I am of the opinion," he stated, "that the men should bite the dust." He expressed his desire that a "clean wipe" be made of all such Indians to avoid problems later in the spring. He therefore asked Brigham if it would be all right for him to kill them. "Your word is the law to me," he wrote, displaying his confidence in his leader's judgment and his willingness to submit to it.

While Brigham's return letter has not been found, subsequent events suggest that Brigham made it clear that only those positively known to have helped Black Hawk

were to be killed. Those only suspected of involvement were to be captured and imprisoned until concrete evidence of their innocence or guilt could be ascertained. Apparently lacking the necessary information to do away with his "three Bucks," Warren left them incarcerated in the Moroni jail.

Having had all winter to worry about what Black Hawk would do when spring came, Brigham Young, perhaps prompted by Warren's call for a "clean wipe," was prepared to take a hard-line approach with the Indians, and devised a plan that he hoped would end the war. The idea was to gather up a number of powerful Ute Indian chiefs who professed friendship but allegedly sheltered renegades in their camps. These Indian leaders would then be held as hostages until they directed their warriors to go to the mountains and bring Black Hawk back to face justice. Perhaps Brigham overestimated the power the chieftains had over their followers, but in any case the plan backfired and instead of ending the war, it greatly compounded its intensity.

Before light on the morning of March 12, 1866, Warren and a large force of legionnaires quietly surrounded the camp of several bands of what Brigham called "professedly friendly Indians." The bands were led by Sanpitch, Ankawakets and six other major Ute chieftains. Warren broke the silence by commanding the men to come out of their lodges. If they came out

peacefully, he told them in their own tongue, then all would be well. But if they tried to fight or escape, they would be shot.

Slowly the startled and sleepy Indians emerged from their lodges. Warren asked Sanpitch if there were any of Black Hawk's men in the camp. Immediately a single brave grabbed a weapon and began to make a run for it. Instantly a dozen Mormon rifles went off and the brave fell dead on the snow.³³ Again Warren asked his question. Chief Sanpitch, obviously aware of Warren's seriousness, responded in the affirmative. Four braves were then pointed out. The four were quickly frisked for weapons and bound by the Mormons. Then, ordering the eight chieftains to stand before him, Warren coolly voiced Brigham's feelings, stating that the Mormons "could not put up with killing and stealing any longer." "If [the] hostilities continued," Warren told the Indian leaders, then "they would be shot," and after them others, "until the last Indian was destroyed" if need be.

As his men put irons on the wrists and ankles of Sanpitch, Ankawakets and the others, Warren told the prisoners that he planned on jailing them in Manti until Black Hawk and his men were given up. Warren suggested to Sanpitch that he would be wise "to send his men out" to bring the marauding Indians back. The captured chieftains were loaded onto horses and the four "guilty" Indians were taken a short distance from the camp and

shot. As Sanpitch and his fellows were led out of camp, the bodies of five Indians lay still and bleeding on the snow. The Indians knew that the Mormons were more serious than they had ever been before.

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The act was ruthless, but to Warren it was a defensive duty that had to be done. The marauding Indians were his "enemies" and in his view Black Hawk's men, like all the robbers he had encountered before, were sent by Satan to harass God's kingdom. It was his job to do away with them, for Brigham's "word" was his "law," and no matter how distasteful the job, he was determined to do it. Four days after his raid on Sanpitch's camp, he captured four more of "Black Hawk's men" in a similar encounter. They were tried by "Court Martial," Warren acting as judge and Chief Kanosh's son John witnessing against them, and when sufficient evidence of their guilt was heard, they too were shot.

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Warren had ordered other Nauvoo Legion leaders to make similar raids, and soon word of the Mormon's hard-fisted actions spread among all the Indians near the settlements and runners even reported it to Black Hawk. The excitement engendered by the killings started a chain reaction of unfortunate events that greatly inflamed Black Hawk's rage and sent scores of previously peaceful Indians scurrying to join his ranks.

When the three "bucks" Warren had imprisoned in Moroni learned of the killings from their squaws, they

became frightened and tried to escape. About nine o'clock on the evening of March 20, two squaws and a little boy brought the prisoners food as usual. The two guards stationed at the jail door did what they did every night. One leveled his gun on the prisoners while the other opened the door to give them their food. Suddenly the squaws attacked the guard holding the rifle with knives, while the three prisoners attacked the one with the food. Somehow the squaws had smuggled in a knife and a chisel, and within seconds the prisoners had their guard on the ground, stabbing him with the knife and knocking his front teeth out with the chisel. Meanwhile, the squaws continued to struggle with their guard, fighting for his gun to keep him from shooting their men.

The guard on the ground somehow managed to pull a revolver from his belt and succeeded in killing two of the Indians while the third one escaped with one of the squaws. But the boy and the second squaw were pushed into the jail and locked up for the night. Warren, who happened to be in Moroni that night, sent a detachment of men with lanterns after the escapee. After trailing him for about ten miles, they overhauled him, and as he "still showed fight" by threatening the Mormons with a knife, they quickly shot him. Later that night, Warren summed up the days events in a letter to a Major Sutton, declaring that there were "three more good Indians" in Sanpete County.

The next day still another tragedy occurred. Warren turned the squaw and the little boy loose, instructing the people of Moroni to "treat them well and be kind to them" and to let them go their way. But after Warren left, five or six Mormons followed the pair out of town and killed them. In frustration Warren wrote to Brigham Young, "I have fought against harming women and children." He explained that the killing of the squaw and boy put the Mormons in a deadly situation. He had promised Sanpitch and the other captive chieftains that they would only harm those that had "been doing wrong in stealing and killing." "I have pledged my word that [women and children] should not be harmed," he lamented, "and now for this to happen at this excitement I am afraid that it will not do very well." ³⁷ And Warren was right.

Sanpitch, Ankawakets and the others apparently made an effort to cooperate with Warren up to this point. But when the squaw and child were killed it was an obvious breach of Warren's word, and convinced that they could no longer trust him, or any Mormon for that matter, the chieftains became fearful of losing their own lives and sent to Black Hawk, asking him to help them escape. Brigham's plan had backfired and had forced the "friendly" leaders to throw in with Black Hawk.

Weapons were smuggled into the jail and on April 13, Black Hawk and a large group of warriors attacked

Salina, killing at least two Mormons and driving off another herd of stock. Warren recognized the attack as a ploy to get him and his men out of Manti, but not falling for Black Hawk's enticement, he remained in town and gave orders for the twenty guards at the jail to redouble their efforts to make sure the Indians did not escape. ³⁸

Perhaps unaware that Warren and his men were still in town, the prisoners made their move just after dark on April 14. Using smuggled knives and chisels, they broke off their chains which had secured them to the walls of their cell on the top floor of the two-story jail house for a solid month.

The guards had carelessly joined together at the front of the jail where they were sitting in a circle telling stories and jokes. A squaw, who had been hiding, waiting for just such an opportunity, quietly moved up the outside stairway leading from the back of the building to the front of the second floor. She opened the latch, signaled to the prisoners, and then slipped away. This done, the prisoners jumped from the stairway and scattered in the gathering twilight. The guards heard the running and fired a few shots but all eight disappeared into the darkened streets.

Immediately the alarm drum was sounded and the Manti men that dared grabbed their guns and, leaving their families, headed toward the jail. Warren, just about ready for bed when he heard the shooting, pulled on

his boots, stuck a revolver in his belt and reached for his rifle as he went out the door. Running to the jail house which was not far from his home, he quickly ordered the surprised and scared men that were gathering there to scatter and find the Indians. Knowing that it was dangerous business, he started down a dark side street himself. For him, as well as the others, every shadow became an Indian and every log and rock became a crouching chief. But the Indians had to be recaptured, for, Warren was convinced, if they made it to Black Hawk's camp the Mormons would have eight times the Indian problem they then had.

As Warren quietly made his way down the street, he heard a slight movement behind a shed and was in the process of approaching it to have a look when Ankawakets jumped out, brandishing a knife. The chief lunged at Warren, but as he did, Warren side-stepped and knocked the Indian to the ground with the butt of his rifle. Ankawakets jumped up and lunged at Warren again. Again Warren knocked him down with the butt of his gun, this time splitting the stock in two. As the Indian pulled himself up off the ground the second time, ready to attack Warren again, Warren pulled his revolver from his belt and killed Ankawakets, thus putting "an end to the fight with him."

Two more chieftains were overtaken in like manner and killed in one-on-one scuffles. But Sanpitch, who was

shot in the foot by the guards in the initial shooting, and the four others made it out of town. Warren sent a detachment of legionnaires with lanterns out to retake them and returned to his house to write to his leaders. "I cannot express my feelings of regret at the affair," he wrote. "After all the cautious council and instructions," it exasperated him that the guards "should let them escape." "Sanpitch," he prognosticated, "will doubtless make war with a vengeance." His prediction, however, turned out to be wrong, for within three days Sanpitch and the other escapees were tracked down one by one and killed by the Nauvoo Legion.⁴⁰

But Black Hawk, joined by a large crop of newly estranged and fiercely angry Indians, made war for Sanpitch. And largely a result of Brigham's backfired plan, the 1866 season of the war embodied the most severe concentration of massacres, raids, ambushes, battles and general killings that Utah's white population ever experienced. The war spread to southern Utah and northern Arizona, and the Mormons launched a long and intensive defensive action that was seconded only by the Utah War in Nauvoo Legion history.

Hundreds of legion men from the northern settlements along with the organization's top officers were sent to reinforce Warren's district. Colonels Robert T. Burton, William H. Kimball, John R. Winder and Brigadier General William B. Pace, and even Lieutenant

General Daniel H. Wells himself, spent over half a year aiding Warren in a new wave of armed expeditions through the mountains in pursuit of Black Hawk and his men. Meanwhile, the cantankerous young chief continued his strategy of striking and then disappearing into the hills. While the Nauvoo Legion met him in a number of pitched battles that year, he experienced no serious setbacks, and viewed as victorious by other Indians, his forces continued to grow.

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Warren led one campaign after another throughout the spring, summer and fall of 1866. When he was not chasing Indians he was organizing troops, holding inspections, raising cash to buy weapons, building forts and closing down weaker settlements and relocating their inhabitants. His role as a defender consumed all of his time and his constant exertions in the long mountain rides as well as the pressures of commandeering his district began to wear him down and his health deteriorated. He was on the verge of physical collapse, yet he continued to work at full capacity until winter snows ended Black Hawk's forages for the year. But his defensive efforts continued to keep him in good stead with Brigham Young, and on January 17, 1867, Warren and a handful of other Nauvoo Legion officers, including William B. Pace, Robert T. Burton, Thomas Callister and Aaron Johnson, received their "second anointing" in the Salt Lake Endowment House.

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Early in March 1867, while it appeared to be too early for Black Hawk to begin his movements, Warren and his son Joseph drove several wagon loads of merchandise from Manti to Glenwood in Sevier County. The trip was purely an economic venture designed to raise a little cash to support Warren's families, who were in very poor financial shape due to Warren's total involvement in the war effort. While at Glenwood, Warren became "very sick" and was confined to bed for several weeks.⁴³

As Warren convalesced in Glenwood, the tiny settlement was attacked on March 21. A man and two women who had come from Richfield to buy some of Warren's wares were ambushed just outside of town and savagely mutilated. The Indians fired at a number of other settlers who were lucky enough to escape. They then gathered up about eighty head of Glenwood stock and started driving them away. Warren, too weak to go out himself, sent his son and about ten others to attack the Indians. After a pitched battle in which both Chief White Horse, one of Black Hawk's right hand men, and Joseph Snow had their mounts shot out from under them, the Mormons recovered most of the stock and routed the Indians.⁴⁴

While undoubtedly unknown Warren, the battle he directed from his bed in Glenwood was the last he would lead. Three days later, General Wells held a Nauvoo Legion council in Ephraim and for reasons of health,

Warren was "temporarily" relieved of his command and replaced by General Pace. While it is clear that his health was the reason he lost his command,⁴⁵ there appears to be another reason it was not returned to him after he recovered.

It seems Warren's constant expeditions against hostile Indians and his killing the ones he caught had earned for him a sizeable bad reputation among Utah's natives. Just as Black Hawk, for the Mormons, had come to symbolize the murderous treachery of the Indians, Warren Snow, in his position as the main Mormon leader in the Sanpete-Sevier theater of the war, and the man responsible for the deaths of Sanpitch, Ankawakets and many others, had come to represent something similar to the Indians.

The bad feelings they had for him are illustrated by an official report Indian interpreter George W. Bean submitted to General Pace regarding a council he had with renegade chieftain Tabiona in the mountains southeast of Provo near the end of July 1867. "Tabby," as Bean called the Chief, had been with Black Hawk in raiding the previous season, but he told the interpreter that he had "got" his spirit "right" and was prepared to extend his friendship "as formerly" to all Mormons with the exception of Warren Snow. Tabiona suggested that if Snow and Black Hawk were both killed, he could "settle the war in ten days." He told Bean that Black Hawk was at Fish

Lake with a large force of Utes and was bent on doing
"mischief to Manti as long as Snow lives there."⁴⁶

Bean's report, indicative of the importance of Warren's role in the conflict, seemed to proclaim that many Indians and Mormons respectively felt that Warren Snow and Chief Black Hawk personified the opposing forces. Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young were undoubtedly aware of such feelings and perhaps concluded that it would be best to let Warren sit out the rest of the war, possibly believing that his removal from active duty was an important step in restoring peace. Interestingly enough, from about the time Tabiona and Bean had their conference in the mountains, the intensity of the Black Hawk War rapidly diminished. And while related raids did not totally cease until after 1872, Black Hawk, who had been wounded in 1866, and was sick himself, hung up his rifle and bow and made peace with the Mormons in the fall of 1867.⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

At forty-eight years of age, Warren's impressive career as a Mormon defender was over. But it ended at its apex. As a youth he personally protected Joseph Smith and later as a member of Sheriff Backenstos's posse he helped stop the ruthless attacks of houseburning mobs. He made significant defensive contributions guarding Brigham Young and other Saints, both in Nauvoo and in their exodus West, and he played a leading role in the Battle of Nauvoo as a member of Colonel Cutler's staff. As commander of the Sanpete Military District and major in the Nauvoo Legion, Warren's leadership motivated Saints under his jurisdiction to fight at the time of the Utah War. And as commander of a large mounted force of Mormon raiders and one of the leaders of Daniel H. Wells's strike-force and the Standing Army, he was one of the most important Mormon officers during the conflict.

But his role in the Black Hawk War was his most significant achievement in "standing between." In this frontier Indian war, which undoubtedly was Mormonism's longest and most intense defensive struggle, he played the single most important role that any Mormon played. And because of that role, he became so identified with

Mormon defense efforts that his eventual removal was viewed as an important factor in ending the war.

Warren Snow was a natural defender. Large, strong and forceful, he was raised on America's frontier where he partook of the tradition of the American Revolution, and like his countrymen, he respected those that defended their rights, freedoms and families from oppressors. Experiencing a charismatic family conversion to Mormonism as a boy, he became immersed in a doctrine perfectly suited to inspire the desires to defend in a young man's heart. Joseph Smith and other leaders Warren came to love and respect were defenders as were many of the scriptural heroes he encountered in the Bible and especially in the Book of Mormon.

His experience viewing the martyred bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith poignantly persuaded him that the need for protection was real. His subsequent victimization during the burning of Morley Settlement convinced him that the threats posed by his enemies were personal and that defensive measures were imperative for the general membership of the Church as well as for prophets. And Finally, after receiving his patriarchal blessing, which came almost in the middle of his career as a defender, he felt divinely assured that "wielding the sword in defence" was one of his major missions in life.

Warren Snow was filled with an unending commitment to his prophets and his church that some would say bordered on fanaticism. He was a zealot, to say the least, and his actions demonstrated that his frequent claims of willingness to die for his religion were not just hyperbole. His course of life made it clear that his commitment was the dominant factor in his willingness to act as a buffer between his people and danger. But while his dedication inspired him to fulfill vital protecting needs for the Church, at times it led to the type of tragic excess exemplified by his participation in the emasculation of Thomas Lewis and the killings of Ankewakets and other Indians.

From 1837 to 1867, a period of over thirty years, Warren "stood between" the Mormon Church and the physical forces that threatened it. As a first string Mormon defender, he was in a class shared by very few men, and when viewed against the backdrop of their entire careers, none of the others surpassed Warren's contributions in significance. Orrin Porter Rockwell, perhaps the only Mormon whose protecting rivaled Warren's in duration, was not the leader Warren was, and while his individual involvement in actually protecting prophets was much greater, the roles he played in the Nauvoo Legion, and in defending the Saints generally, were not as profound.

Daniel H. Wells, Lot Smith and Robert T. Burton were all great leaders. But Wells, in spite of his

impressive rally during the Battle of Nauvoo, was prone to direct others in defense from a safe distance and therefore did not have as much experience facing the Church's enemies on the front lines as Warren did. Lot Smith's activities were impressive and highly significant, but besides his experience in the Mormon Battalion as a young man, his protecting lasted only five years. Robert T. Burton's activities as a defender were similarly short lived.

Unlike Wells and Burton, Warren's protective role did not create a spot for him in the hierarchy of the Mormon Church. But he none-the-less understood how to use it as a tool to open the doors of opportunity in the Church as well as in the civil government. There can be no doubt that his greatness in "standing between" was a very significant factor in his obtaining such important positions as presiding bishop, territorial legislator, Nauvoo Legion district commander, brigadier general and mayor.

But perhaps most important of all for him, Warren's protecting secured him the friendship of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and other Church authorities and helped the Saints accept him in spite of his failings. It is certain that despite his foibles, Warren's defensive role was seen and greatly appreciated by his leaders and associates alike. Learning from his mistakes, his hard fisted leadership mellowed and his excesses ceased. As

the years went by, it was his greatness in protecting that his fellow Saints focused on, rather than his blunders, and he maintained a position of respect and honor in the Mormon community.

For the first four decades of Mormonism's existence, such defenders as Warren Snow were in great demand. Persecution, social conflict, mob violence and Indian depredations impelled literally thousands of Mormons to protect their church from numerous threatening forces. The willingness to physically protect the Church with one's life was not unique to Warren Snow, but because of his rich and varied experience as a Mormon defender, his life provides an extraordinary example of the "man in between" motif in nineteenth century Mormonism. A study of his life not only traces the development of the particular mind set necessary for such involvement, but also gives us an understanding of the types of activities such men took part in.

Warren's long career as a defender spanned most of Mormonism's crucial years when necessity required such men. But as the Black Hawk War came to an end, frontier conditions had changed sufficiently to almost totally negate the need for "men in between." Warren's next twenty-nine years were spent in stockraising, business, and railroad contracting as well as in civic and Church work. In his mind the greatest contribution he made during his last decades was his work as the "master

quarryman" during the construction of the Manti Temple. In this position he blasted from a Manti hillside¹ virtually all of the stone used in building the Temple.

Warren died on September 21, 1896. Interestingly enough, it was during this year that Utah received statehood and therefore the year is viewed by some to be the symbolic end of frontier conditions in Utah. Warren's funeral was held on September 25, in the Manti Tabernacle which he had helped build. The speakers were Apostle Anthon H. Lund, Sanpete Stake President Canute Peterson, Manti Temple President J. D. T. McAllister and² Manti bishops Maiben, Jensen and Reid. The day after the funeral, Lund wrote in his journal:

Yesterday I went to Manti and attended the funeral of Bro. Warren S. Snow. The brethren spoke highly of him. He was a man of integrity to the work. Bro. Reed [Bishop William J. Reid] said that take him all in all he knew no better man. I spoke and at the grave I dedicated his resting place.³

END NOTES

Introduction

1. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 27, 1857, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Journal History and Church Historical Department hereafter referred to as CHD).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Chapter I:

St. Johnsbury, Kirtland, and Morley Settlement

1. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p.1, photocopy of original in my possession. (The original, in the handwriting of Warren S. Snow, was in the possession of Laura Snow Johnson, of Mokelumne Hill, California, until it was destroyed in a house fire ca. 1980. The document appears to have been written late in Snow's life and because of the effects of his advanced age and his naturally poor handwriting and phonetic spelling, I have found it necessary to punctuate and correct spelling); Oran E. Randall, History of Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire (Brattleboro, Vt.: D. Leonard, 1882), pp. 9-14; and Archibald F. Bennett, "The Life of Gardner Snow," pp. 2-6, photocopy of typescript in my possession.
2. Ibid., pp. 6-7; Gardner Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2, photocopy of original in my possession. (The original was penned in the opening pages of a patriarchal blessing book in 1874 by Patriarch Gardner Snow, and is found in "Patriarchal Blessing Books" 124:2-4, CHD; and Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 1.
3. Edward T. Fairbanks, The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vermont: A Review of One Hundred Twenty-five Years.

to the Anniversary Pageant 1912 (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: The Cowles Press, 1914), p. 91; Bennett, pp. 2-6;

and Andrew Karl Larson, Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church (Salt Lake City: the University of Utah Press, 1971), pp. 7, 10.

4. Bennett, pp. 6-10; Fairbanks, pp. 29-93, 148-152; and Ray Bearse, ed., Vermont: a Guide to the Green Mountain State, the New American Guide Series, 3rd ed. rev. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 28.
5. Bennett, pp. 10, 8-9.
6. "Minutes of [an] Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow and Geo. Peacock held at Manti, before Elders Orson Hyde, Isaac Morley, and Brs. A. Love and Wm. Broadhead commencing on Monday April 15, 1861. Brs. John Eagar, Robinson and James H. Martineau clerks," Brigham Young Collection, miscellaneous items, microfilm reel 96, box 62, folder 27, CHD. Typescript in my possession, pp. 8-9 (hereafter referred to as "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow").
7. An example of this trait is found in the only journal Warren kept that has been found at this writing. During the summer of 1861, while sailing towards England on his way to serve a mission, Warren wrote: ". . . it being fine weather and soon we lost sight of land and night came on whilst I looked upon the deep blue sea by the light of the silver moon and the glistening stars which paid reverence to the Great Father of Light, to give light to the sea mens path, in its onward course in the organization of nature and whilst the strong screw repeated its revolutions to propel the mighty ship through the boisterous waves upon the bosom of the great deep (he was on a steamship with a huge paddle wheel,) I walked the deck fore and aft and listened with interest to the cry of the watchman, repeated hourly. My mind seen upon the great Plan of Salvation. My heart melted within me and I lifted my heart to God in praise for his kindness to me . . ." Warren S. Snow, "Journal," typescript in my possession, p. 5. This small journal covers June 4, 1861 to August 1, 1861. The original is found in CHD.
8. Bennett, p. 11.
9. Fairbanks, pp. 41-42; and Larson, pp. 6-7.

10. While Chesterfield's records of those that took part in the Revolutionary War are incomplete, it is clear that Gardner's grandfather and great-grandfather on the Farr side (both named Jonathan Farr) fought for independence. Sally's father, Josiah Hastings, was an officer. Jonathan Farr, Jr., and Josiah Hastings both fought in the battle of Bunker's Hill, defended Fort Ticonderoga, and fought in the battle of Bennington. Randall, pp. 88-102.
11. Edward W. Tullidge, Tullidges Histories vol. 2: Containing the History of all the Northern, Eastern and Western Counties of Utah, . . . (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), p. 175, Biographical Supplement.
12. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized by Joseph Smith and five others in April 1830. In January 1832, Smith received a revelation which designated Orson Pratt and Lyman E. Johnson, who were both in their early twenties, to take the new church's message to the "eastern countries" and on February 3, the two missionaries started their mission. It proved to be very successful, particularly in converting several large families and individuals that later rose to prominence in Mormon leadership. Converts Erastus Snow and Amasa Lyman became apostles and Jacob Gates became a member of the First Quorum of Seventy. Pratt and Johnson, undoubtedly partly because of their missionary success, both became members of the original Twelve Apostles. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al. comps. Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God (Kirtland, Oh.: F. G. Williams, 1835), pp. 221-222 (see section 75 in current editions); and Orson Pratt, The Orson Pratt Journals, comp. Elden J. Watson, (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1975), pp. 11-16.
13. Pratt, p. 502. For other accounts of the healing of Olive Farr, see Tullidge, Tullidge's Histories 2: 174-176, Biographical Supplement; Larson, p. 16; and Bennett, pp. 11-12.
14. Pratt, pp. 12-13; and Larson, pp. 16-17.
15. Bennett, pp. 15-16.
16. Larson, p. 17.
17. Pratt, pp. 17-18. Members of the Snow family baptized following this healing were Gardner Snow, his Aunt Lucina (Erastus' mother,) Willard Snow,

Mary Snow Gates (Erastus' brother and sister,) and Mary's husband Jacob.

18. Ibid., p. 21; James C. Snow, "Journal of J. C. Snow, 1817-1837," microfilm of typescript, CHD; and Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 1.
19. Ibid.; Erastus Snow, "Erastus Snow Journal, No. 1," as cited in Bennett, pp. 17-18; Larson, p. 18; and James C. Snow.
20. Fairbanks, pp. 217-218.
21. Bennett, p. 19; and Fairbanks, p. 219.
22. "Manti Ward Minutes," August 30, 1857, microfilm of original, CHD.
23. Two members of the group became General Authorities of the Church, Erastus Snow an Apostle, and Jacob Gates a Seventy. Four members of the clan participated in Zion's Camp, and two were members of Brigham Young's original pioneer company. (It is interesting to note that Erastus Snow, and the missionary that brought him the gospel, Orson Pratt, were the first Mormons to enter the Salt Lake Valley.) William Snow eventually became a bishop and a patriarch, served in the Utah Territorial Legislature, and acted as Probate Judge of Washington County. Zerubbabel Snow acted as commissary of Zion's Camp and later was elected Attorney General of the Territory of Utah. Both Willard and Erastus Snow served as presidents of the Scandinavian Mission, the latter translating The Book of Mormon into Danish, the book's first foreign language translation. Other roles played by Erastus Snow in Church leadership and colonization are too numerous to mention here. Jacob Gates, in addition to serving as a General Authority, also served a number of terms in the Utah Territorial Legislature. Gardner Snow served as bishop and patriarch. James Snow became the first president of the Utah Stake, located in Provo. He served in the Legislature and was appointed United States Deputy Marshal for a time. Warren Snow served as bishop, mayor of Manti, member of the Utah Territorial Legislature and brigadier general in the Nauvoo Legion. George Snow became a lawyer and prominent rail-road man in Utah. The family of Winslow Farr (son of Lydia Snow Farr) also played prominent roles in the Church. Aaron Farr served in the Utah Territorial Legislature, was elected probate judge of Weber County, and served as United States Deputy Marshal. Lorin Farr was the first president of the Weber Stake located in Ogden.

He served as Mayor of Ogden for many terms, and represented Weber County in the Utah Territorial Legislature. Most of these men, including Warren, were polygamists and raised large posterities that have also played important leadership roles in the Church. George Albert Smith, for example, the eighth president of the Church, was the son of Sarah Farr Smith, daughter of Lorin Farr.

24. Fairbanks, pp. 218-219.
25. Ibid. For a comprehensive study of Mormonism during the Kirtland period, see Milton V. Backman, Jr., The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).
26. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, undated, typescript, Warren Stone Snow Collection, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (Special Collections hereafter cited as BYU). Warren Snow was a polygamist and married at least five women. Sarah Elizabeth Whiting was one of these. While undated, the text of this letter makes it clear that it was written between the dedication of the Manti Temple on May 21, 1888 and Warren's death in 1896.
27. Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star 26(January 23, 1864):51(hereafter Millennial Star).
28. Backman, pp. 310-341. Referring to his experience protecting Joseph Smith in Kirtland, George A. Smith said, "With my brethren who have addressed you, I have lain by the side of the Prophet, in Kirtland, to guard him half of each night for a whole winter, so that, if anything occurred, I could give notice to all the brethren in a very short time." G. D. Watt, et al, eds. Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886) 5:107.
29. Warren wrote: "I was in Kirtland when the twelve and others of the haughty men of the Church apostatized in 1837. I went to live with the Prophet Joseph on a farm that was known as the French farm . . . " Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 1-2. The "French Farm," was a 103 acre tract of land purchased by the Church from a Peter French. The Kirtland Temple was built upon this land, as were the homes of Joseph Smith and many leaders of the Church. It was viewed as the center of Mormon Kirtland. Backman, pp. 72-73, 138, 144. Warren's obituary stated that "for several

years prior to his marriage [he] lived with the Prophet Joseph Smith and on his death bed [he] spoke of the motherly kindness to him of Emma Smith, the wife of the Prophet." Deseret Evening News, October 13, 1896.

30. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, undated. Because the evidence now in existence regarding Warren's role protecting Joseph Smith were statements Warren made himself, it is important to note that he frequently mentioned it in sermons when Brigham Young, George A. Smith, George Q. Cannon and others were present. It is highly unlikely that Warren would have exaggerated while these men, who would have known better, listened. On one such occasion for example, Warren declared that he had "stood by Joseph and defended his life and those of my brethren whose lives were constantly in danger." Millennial Star 26(January 23, 1864):51. See also Journal History, December 27, 1857. It is also important to note that George A. Smith (one known to have defended Joseph in Kirtland,) while suggesting that Warren fill a vacancy in the Mormon hierarchy in 1859, listed as his main qualification the fact that Warren "was well acquainted with Joseph, his life and history." Journal History, October 23, 1859.
31. "Manti Ward Minutes," March 22, 1857.
32. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), pp. 120-141; Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2; and Gardner Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 2-4.
33. For more information on Nauvoo, see Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). For information on Morley Settlement, see Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941), p. 434; and Clare B. Christensen, Before & After Mt. Pisgah (Salt Lake City, 1979), pp. 97-116.
34. Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2 ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964) 4:223; Jenson, Encyclopedic History, p. 434; and Warren S. Snow family group sheet, Patron Section, Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as GS).

35. On April 10, 1842, Warren was appointed as a first lieutenant, serving directly under the captain as the highest ranking non commissioned officer in his company. By 1844 Warren was a captain himself and led a company which consisted of from thirty-two to sixty-four men. John Sweeney, Jr., "A History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois" (Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974), pp. 206, 31. For more information regarding the Nauvoo Legion, both in Illinois and later in Utah, see Flanders, pp. 109-113; Paul Bailey, The Armies of God: the Little-Known Story of the Mormon Militia on the America Frontier (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1968); Ralph Hansen, "Administrative History of the Nauvoo Legion in Utah" (Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954); and Hamilton Gardner, "The Utah Territorial Militia," microfilm, CHD.
36. Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, Carthage Conspiracy: the Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 6-29; and Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church 6:463, 430-631. That Warren was involved in the defence of Nauvoo is made clear by Ibid., 6:533. For an account of the activities of Nauvoo Legion men from Morley Settlement during the crisis see Oliver B. Huntington, "Diary 1842-1847," p. 44-47, typescript, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter UofU).
37. Oaks and Hill, pp. 6-29.
38. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, undated. Warren undoubtedly told his family and close friends of this conversation with Joseph Smith. Apparently Patriarch Isaac Morley was aware of it for in 1854 he told Warren that "the decrees of the heart of Brother Joseph shall never depart from thee, for thou shalt have the desire of thy heart in avenging his blood. . ." "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow, son of Gardner and Sarah S. Snow," typescript in my possession.
39. Clare B. Christensen, p. 112.
40. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2-3; and Clare B. Christensen, p. 112.
41. Millennial Star 26(March 26, 1864):207.
42. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, June 27, 1863, Brigham Young Collection, CHD.

Chapter II:
The Burning of Morley Settlement

1. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 3-4. For discussions of the succession crisis in the LDS Church following the death of Joseph Smith, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," BYU Studies 16(Winter 1976):187-233; Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity," BYU Studies 21(Summer 1981):301-341; W. Grant McMurray, "'True Son of a True Father': Joseph Smith III and the Succession Question," Restoration Studies 1(1980):131-145; and Roberts, 2:413-445.
2. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 3-4. For a full account of the August 8, 1844 meeting, see Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, 7:231-243. For a discussion of Brigham's transfiguration, see Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," p. 212; and Roberts, 2:418.
3. "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow," p. 8.
4. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 4-5; and Flanders, pp. 324-326.
5. Juanita Brooks, ed., On the Mormon Frontier: the Diary of Hosea Stout, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press for the Utah State Historical Society, 1964), 1:39, 43-44, 53, 236; and Flanders, p. 328.
6. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 4-5.
7. John Taylor, "Journal of John Taylor," June 23, 1845, photocopy of original, CHD; and Allen Joseph Stout, "Journal," p. 16, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter USHS).
8. Later that summer, Colonel John Scott was given a similar guarding assignment. He was instructed to "keep guard" near the "Mansion House," the home of the family of Joseph Smith. Scott was ordered "to select 30 men from the 1 Reg [the first regiment of the Nauvoo Legion] to be stationed near the Mansion House Barn to keep guard night & day till further orders . . ." Brooks, Hosea Stout, 1:66. It is likely that a similar group of men were stationed with him on or near the Young premises on the night of June 23, 1845. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography,

pp. 4-7. For further evidence of the close military connection between Col. John Scott and Capt. Snow, see Brooks, Hosea Stout, 1:137.

9. For descriptions of the general problems that lead to the burning of Morley Settlement and ultimately to the expulsion of the Mormons from Illinois, see Allen and Leonard, pp. 173-215; Flanders, pp. 306-341; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon--Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967); and Annette P. Hampshire, "The Triumph of Mobocracy in Hancock County 1844-1846," Western Illinois Regional Studies 5(Spring 1982):17-37. For more detailed descriptions of the burnings themselves, see Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, 7:439-447; Roberts, 2:473-503; Thomas Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880), pp. 340-342; Thomas Ford, A History of Illinois (Chicago, 1854), pp. 291-296; and Journal History, September 11-20, 1845, passim.
10. Huntington, p. 44.
11. Ford, p. 296.
12. Allen and Leonard, p. 211. Isaac Morley traveled to Nauvoo in February 1845, bringing word that a number of men from his Settlement had been arrested and charged with larceny. According to Morley's report, anti-Mormons had hidden some of their own possessions on the premises of the five Mormons. The supposed stolen articles were then "recovered by a search warrant, on the principle [that] those that hide can find." Morley was convinced that the entire affair was a calculated scheme to "produce excitement against the Mormons." Morley, who was implicated himself, was instructed by church leaders to move with his family to Nauvoo. Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, 7:373-374.
13. Journal History, June 4, 1845. This is an extract from the journal of Mormon Apostle, Heber C. Kimball. Warren could not have been in jail long after the interview, for on June 23, he was on guard at the home of Brigham Young.
14. In the period following the Utah War, as United States soldiers established various camps in the Utah Territory, Warren, then presiding bishop of the Sanpete County area, was called upon by Brigham Young to appoint ten Mormon spies to "follow and watch" the soldiers while they traveled through the Sanpete Valley. A number of stray oxen belonging to

the army were brought in by the spies and delivered to Warren. Rather than returning them to the soldiers, who he viewed to be persecutors, he gave them to the spies to kill and divide among themselves. This action must be viewed in light of the fact that just a few months previous he had led a force of Mormon raiders that, under the direction of Brigham Young, took over six hundred head of cattle from the army late in 1857. Later, when church members under his jurisdiction complained of alleged dishonest acts, he was questioned by Apostle Orson Hyde regarding the cattle he gave the spies. Warren responded that he "did the best [he] could for the general interest. The Ten [spies] spent eighty seven days in active service, for which [the oxen] was a small remuneration." The thought apparently did not occur to him that the oxen were not his to give. One of his associates said that Warren "would spend the last picayune (half dime) for the kingdom, without caring whose pocket it came out of." Warren apparently justified his actions with the fact that the soldiers were his enemies. Perhaps this same mentality motivated him to pass counterfeit money to his enemies, if indeed he was guilty as charged. "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow," pp. 2-3, 8.

15. Charles B. Hancock, who lived in a small settlement near Morley Settlement called White Oaks, or Hancock Settlement, wrote that the Mormons at Morley were guilty of theft. Charles [B.] Hancock, "The Hancock and Adams Families," pp. 36-37, pamphlet, CHD.
16. Ford, p. 292.
17. Solomon Hancock to Brigham Young, September 13, 1845, Brigham Young Collection. Hancock's description of the mobs' shooting at James Snow is somewhat confusing. He wrote: ". . . they then proceeded to the Old shop of father morleys, [sic] set fire to both of his shops firing at the same time upon Jas. C. Snow as they supposed & thought they had killed him. Clark Hallett was the man but who naryly escaped, they then set fire to Jas. C. Snows house . . ."
18. Solomon Hancock to Brigham Young, September 11, 1845, Brigham Young Collection; and Charles B. Hancock, "Journal of Charles Brent Hancock," p. 4.
19. Solomon Hancock to Brigham Young, September 13, 1845; and Gregg, p. 340.

20. Many of the Mormons whose homes were burned in the Morley Settlement area swore out affidavits delineating their losses. Gardner and James Snow were among them, but Warren, as well as many others, was not. "Morley Settlement Affidavits," Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah. That Warren and Mary Ann's home was burned is nonetheless attested to by other records. Warren wrote that he went "through all of the troubles of Nauvoo and the burning of the houses of Green Plains." Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2. (The area in which Morley Settlement and Green Plains were located was often referred to as the Green Plains Precinct and it was obviously with this in mind that Warren used the term.) Mary Ann's obituary, presumably written by her children, stated that while "living at Nauvoo during the mob violence upon the Saints, she witnessed and suffered trials and hardships but few persons have experienced. She stood guard with her babe in her arms, while [her] husband, Warren S. Snow ate his meals. Several of the places then called home were burned by the mobs, while she fled with her children to some point of safety, while her husband was in hiding to save his life, . . ." Deseret Evening News, December 7, 1907, p. 3. The account of Mary Ann's burning her own home is found in Virginia K. Christensen, The Cheney Garretts Van Burren Family (Provo, Ut.: J. Grant Stevenson, 1962), p. 170.
21. Accounts left by victims of the burners describe the actions of the burners as inhumane. While most of these accounts are one-sided, they nonetheless give a clear picture of how Mormons perceived the burners, and Warren Snow undoubtedly shared these perceptions. Mormons described their tormentors as men of the basest sort who wore "the worst clothes and hats." They painted their faces and acted "like Indians" while surrounding Mormon homes with "wild cries," displaying a "barbarity" that would be hard to excell "even among the canibals." Charles B. Hancock, "Journal of Charles Brent Hancock," pp. 4-5. While the mobbers purposely killed no Mormons, in the initial surge of house burnings at least, they ruthlessly exposed the sick and aged to the elements. The burnings came at what Illinois Governor Thomas Ford described as "the height" of the Mississippi River Valley's "sickly season." Ford, p. 296. According to one Mormon, Morley Settlement was "as badly infested with mosketoes as the Mormons had been with the mob; and a great deal worse." Huntington, p. 47. The mosketoes were carriers of river sicknesses such as malaria and many Mormons were sick in bed, some even delirious

and near death, at the time the burners forced them from their homes. Contained within the affidavits sworn out by Mormons within a month of the burnings, are numerous accounts of the sick being turned out of doors by the burners. "Morley Settlement Affidavits." The Mormon press charged that "many feeble persons, thrown out into the scorching rays of the sun, or wet with the dampening dews of evening, died, being persecuted to death." Times and Seasons, November 1, 1845. The procedure followed by the mobbers in the burnings was a simple one. They would knock on the door and inform the Mormons within that they were going to burn the house down, giving them a short period of time (usually ten minutes) to remove what property they could. While the Mormons quickly dragged their effects from their homes, the burners scattered straw on the floor. At the end of the short time period, they would set fire to the straw with firebrands they carried with them. While waiting for the fire to burn so fiercely that there was no chance of it being doused, they would help themselves to whatever Mormon property they desired. Mormon affidavits allege that the burners stole plows, sickles and other farming utensils, rifles, knives, tools, beds, tables, and other furniture, lumber, horses, cattle, hogs, geese, chickens and wagon load after wagon load of hay, grain, vegetables and other farm produce. "Morley Settlement Affidavits." Typical among the affidavits are those sworn out by James and Gardner Snow. James declared that "an armed mob set fire to his house and burnt it with a part of his household furniture or otherwise took them away, consisting of one bed, bedding etc. also burnt or carried away, a set of Coopers Tools, work finished and materials on hand, they also destroyed a crop of Garden sauce etc. Property destroyed in all worth one hundred and fifty dollars." Gardner Snow stated that "an armed mob burned his house, burnt or carried away his stack of oats, Cow and Calf and about two hundred bushels of Corn, thirty bushels of Potatoes, and other property worth one hundred dollars." "Morley Settlement Affidavits," 46, 54.

22. After leaving Kirtland, Gardner Snow settled with his family in Adam-Ondi-Ahman, Sarah bearing him another son in route. The boy was named Gardner H. Snow for his father. Gardner wrote that in Adam-Ondi-Ahman his "little son Gardner H Died & was Burried by my own hands by reason of Mob violence being so great . . . " Gardner Snow, "Autobiography," p. 1.

23. Warren undoubtedly heard of his brother's death and the burning of the family dwelling in Missouri and shared, to some extent, his family's feelings concerning the two tragedies. But he was nevertheless somewhat removed because he did not personally experience these persecutions for at the time they occurred he was sick in Ohio. The burning of Morley Settlement was his first real experience with this kind of persecution. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 1.
24. Isaac Morley, in giving Warren a patriarchal blessing in 1854, praised Warren's life up to that point by lauding that it had been "the motto of [Warren's] heart to be governed by counsel." "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow."
25. Taylor, September 13, 1845.
26. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2.
27. "Manti Ward Minutes," August 23, 1857.
28. Journal History, September 13-14, 1845.
29. Anson Call, "The Life and Record of Anson Call, Commenced in 1839," pp. 31-32, typescript, UofU.
30. Gregg, p. 341.
31. Journal History, September, 18-20, 1845.

Chapter III:
Nauvoo to Manti

1. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 2. In the fall of 1845 church members worked feverishly to complete the Nauvoo Temple in order to experience "the full ordinance of the endowment" before leaving Illinois the following spring. On December 10, even though only the top floor was completed, the Temple was opened for endowment work and thousands of Mormons experienced the ceremony between that date and February 7, 1846 when Brigham Young suspended the work in order to execute the Saints' removal from the state. Allen and Leonard, p. 210. Warren and Mary Ann participated in the Mormon ritual on January 6, 1846. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," p. 110, GS.
2. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 4-5.

3. Brooks, Hosea Stout 1:100, 61, 81, 84, 107, 84, 100, 111.
4. Allen and Leonard, pp. 220-221.
5. Brooks, Hosea Stout 1:111-112; and Journal History, February 9, 1846.
6. John R. Young, Memoirs of John R. Young: Utah Pioneer of 1847 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1920), p. 337.
7. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 6-7. Works providing information regarding the Mormon exodus are Allen and Leonard, chapters 7 and 8; and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), chapter 5.
8. Journal History, February 18, and February 28, 1846; and Brooks, Hosea Stout 1:112-138.
9. Ibid.; and James Palmer, "James Palmer's Travels and Ministry in the Gospel," pp. 86-88, microfilm of holograph, CHD.
10. Brooks, Hosea Stout 1:121.
11. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," pp. 6-7. Col. Scott and the Artillery were engaged to remove "dirt from a coal bed at 12 1/2 cents per yard, and to cut and split two thousand rails for which they were to be paid in flour at two dollars per hundred pounds, pork at six dollars and cash; fifty men commenced the job." Journal History, March 4, 1846.
12. Between March 9 and March 14, John Scott, Warren and others buried the balls and shot as instructed and soon delivered a description of the cache to Brigham Young. Warren's signature, along with that of Col. Scott and a few others, appeared at the bottom of the description. See Brooks, Hosea Stout 1:136-138.
13. Ibid., 1:150-151; and John D. Lee, "Camp of Israel," April 10, microfilm of holograph, CHD.
14. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 7; and John Scott to Brigham Young, June 5, 1846, Brigham Young Collection.
15. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 7.
16. Ibid.

17. B.H. Roberts described that "purchasers for the property of such [Mormons] as remained, and also of those who had departed without selling their houses and lands, became fewer, and prices lower, since prospective buyers from a distance and the people immediately surrounding Nauvoo saw no need of purchasing property at a fair price, which inevitably must become theirs at their own price. The result of this condition was that it became impossible for this remnant consisting, for the most part, of the destitute, the aged, infirm and sick, to remove." Roberts, 3:1, 2-4. Thomas Bullock, one of the Mormons still in Nauvoo, described conditions there in a letter early in September 1846. He stated that "there have been many Saints who were preparing as fast as they could to go to the west--who have gone to the grave, many literally dying for want--whole families are sick--and not one to help the other two or three dying in a house--great difficulty in getting coffins and then to be burried by strangers--there is not one house in this neighborhood, but there has been sickness in it--there appears to me to be more sick now than when Nauvoo was crowded with Saints." Bullock and his family were stricken themselves with the symptoms of the river diseases so common to settlers on the Mississippi River during the summer months. The entire family had been "'shake, shake, shaking' more or less for the last five weeks," and at one point "were not expected to live thro [sic] the day." Bullock, still sick as he wrote the letter, claimed that he was then "shaking at ten or twelve knots an hour" and that were someone to see his family they would say the Bullocks "had either been whitewashed" or "risen out of [their] graves." In addition to being ill, the Bullock family, like most other Mormons in Nauvoo, were poor. Having been unable to sell his home, Thomas wrote that had it "not been for a little charity" and his wife selling much of her clothing, the family "should all have died of starvation." In utter frustration Bullock declared that he had not "the least idea" where the family's next meal was to come from, let alone how he would obtain sufficient means to move his family West. Thomas Bullock to Willard Richards, September 10, 1846, original CHD.
18. For additional information regarding the rise of mob violence during the summer of 1846 and descriptions of the "battle" that resulted, see Roberts, 3:1-22; David F. Wilcox, ed. Quincy and Adams County, History and Representative Men, 2 vols. (Chicago and New York: the Lewis Publishing Co., 1919) 1:206-210; The History of Adams County, Illinois (Chicago:

- Murray, Williamson and Phelps, 1879), pp. 114-117; William Clayton, William Clayton's Journal: a Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake (Salt Lake City: Clayton Family Association, 1921), pp. 64-67; Rowena J. Miller, comp., "Nauvoo Battle, Compilation of Accounts," typescript in the possession of James L. Kimball, Jr., CHD; Philo Johnson, "Autobiography," CHD; and Hiram G. Ferris to John T. Burnett, September 13, 1846, typescript, CHD.
19. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 7; and "List of Battle of Nauvoo Participants," photocopy in the possession of James L. Kimball, Jr., CHD. This is a copy of an original list created by Battle of Nauvoo participant Robert L. Campbell. The list appears to be very comprehensive, containing not only the names and ranks of the participants, but also some scant information concerning their activities as well as delineating the individual participants which were "new citizens," and members of Major Clifford's small force of state militiamen. The list clearly demonstrates that William Cutler was the highest ranking officer present and shows both Warren and Daniel H. Wells as serving in the position of "aide-de-camp."
 20. Ibid., and Roberts, 3:11-15.
 21. The History of Adams County, Illinois, pp. 116-117; Clayton, p. 65; and Roberts, 3:13.
 22. "Manti Ward Minutes," September 15, and August 23, 1857.
 23. Ibid., April 6, 1857.
 24. William Clayton quoting the non-Mormon Mayor of Quincy, Illinois. Clayton, p. 67.
 25. Warren S. Snow, "Autobiography," p. 7; and minutes of a sermon delivered by James C. Snow, found in "Minutes of the Utah Stake," pp. 539-540.
 26. Hiram G. Ferris to John T. Burnett, September 13, 1846; Philo Johnson; Clayton, pp. 64-67; and Roberts, 3:11-15.
 27. For example see minutes of a sermon delivered by James C. Snow, found in "Minutes of the Utah Stake," pp. 539-540. James Snow indicated that Warren had told him how he witnessed what he considered to be a miraculous event. "The Mob shot [sic] many scores

of Balls," Warren told him, "which flatted upon striking" rather than exploding, bouncing or other wise doing the damage they should have.

28. Non-Mormon Hiram Ferris, writing the second day of the fighting, described that Brockman's cannons fired at intervals through out the day, at one time firing as many as twenty shots in one "half hour." He also indicated that "skirmushes [sic] occasionally [took] place between [the] parties," and that "both sides" were feverishly "throwing up breastworks." Hiram G. Ferris to John T. Burnett, September 13, 1846.
29. Wilcox, pp. 206-210; and Roberts, 3:11-16.
30. Philo Johnson; and Wilcox, p. 206.
31. "Manti Ward Minutes," March 22, 1857.
32. Letter of Erastus Snow, Journal History, December 11, 1849. For further information on the Mormon settlements in Iowa and Nebraska, see Ernest W. Shumway, "Winter Quarters, Nebraska, 1846-1848" (Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953).
33. Henry Robinson, "James C. Snow Emigrating Company Journal," CHD.
34. "Warren S. Snow Family Group Sheet."
35. Robinson, passim. See especially entries for August 30, September 1, 5, and October 10, 1852.
36. "U. States of America vs James Bridger, Bench Warrant, charge treason," First District Court, Criminal Court Cases, July 1853, pp. 737-748, Utah State Archives--Research Center, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as State Archives). See also the roster and record of Heywood's posse attached to the bench warrant.
37. Ibid.
38. Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), 4:188-189; and Major N. Higgins to James Ferguson, Adjutant General, Nauvoo Legion and Utah Militia, January 2, 1854, Territorial Militia Correspondence, State Archives. See also "Certificate of election," photocopy in my possession.

39. "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow," February 22, 1854.
40. Journal History, July 15, 1854, April 6 and 9, 1855, January 8, 1860; and Whitney, 4:188-189.
41. For example see James Tillman Sanford Allred, "Diary," January 5, 1856, BYU.
42. See Warren's letters to Brigham Young during the years 1854-1861, Brigham Young Collection.
43. See for example, Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, April 24, and July 14, 1855, Brigham Young Collection. For five full years Warren was almost overwhelmed by the tremendous amount of time and effort it took to regulate the county's tithing and feed the many poor saints who were "daily asking" him "for bread." Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, July 14, 1855.
44. One of Warren's tithing trains was composed of "75 waggons," and carried about "25 hundred bushel of Tithing oats and wheat." For the lack of means of transportation "enough for 100 waggons" was "left behind." Samuel Pitchforth, "Diary," February 5, 1857, photocopy of typescript, CHD. Warren drove 311 head of tithing sheep to Salt Lake late in June, 1856. Journal History, June 28, 1856.
45. Journal History, April 11, 1857.
46. Brigham Young to Warren Snow and Presidnet Chapman, March 3, 1856; and Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young July 14, 1855, February 26, March 9, July 18, 1856, and March 15, March 22, and August 10, 1857, Brigham Young Collection. Warren's influence with Arapeen was so great that he prevailed upon the chief to consecrate "his property . . . including the County of Sanpete," to the Church. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, December 23, 1856, Brigham Young Collection. Arapeen, on at least one occasion spoke in the Sunday meetings in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. He spoke in his own language and Warren interpreted. Winslow Farr, Jr., "Diary," February 15, 1857, typescript, BYU.

Chapter IV:
The Utah War

1. Journal History, April 11, 1857.
2. Journal of Discourses 4:324; and Journal History, May 26, 1857. For more information on the trip, which was known as the Fort Limhi Expedition, see Roberts, 4:8-10.
3. Ibid., 4:9.
4. Journal History, July 4, 1857.
5. These events were the precursors of the major confrontation between the United States Government and the Mormon Church which is commonly referred to as "the Utah War." For more detailed descriptions of the events that led up to the conflict as well as studies of the confrontation itself, see Roberts, 4:198-440; Norman F. Furnis, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960); LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: A Documentary Account (Glendale, Ca.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1958); and Paul Bailey, Holy Smoke: A Dissertation on the Utah War (Los Angeles: Westernlore Books, 1978).
6. Journal of Discourses 5:226-227.
7. This dispatch is partially reprinted in Roberts, 4:239-240.
8. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, August 10, 1857, Brigham Young Collection.
9. "Manti Ward Minutes," August 30, and August 16, 1857.
10. Ibid., August 30, August 2, September 20, and August 16, 1857.
11. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, August 10, 1857, and June 27, 1863.
12. Ibid. With these sentiments in mind, Warren wrote a letter to Brigham Young on August 10, 1857 and closed it with a prayer that God would "bless . . . all the people of the Lord [in] preserving [Brigham and other leaders] from the grasp [of their] enemies [that their lives might] be spared long upon the earth to see the Kingdom full established . . ." Warrn S. Snow to Brigham Young, August 10, 1857.

13. "Manti Ward Minutes," August 23, 1857.
14. On August 15, a force of seventy-five Nauvoo Legion riders was mobilized under the leadership of Robert T. Burton. They were instructed to protect Mormon emigrants on their way to Utah and to "learn the location, strength and equipment of the United States forces approaching Utah; and report their progress and all their movements to Utah headquarters." Roberts, 2:246-247. A month later another group of Mormon spies was sent out under the direction of Andrew Cunningham. In late September, General Daniel H. Wells and some 1250 legionnaires traveled to Echo Canyon and began preparing a defensive battleground. On October 3, a council of War was held at Fort Bridger and the Mormons determined to begin active operations against the government troops. Colonel Robert T. Burton, Major Lot Smith, Porter Rockwell and others were ordered to "proceed at once to annoy [the army] in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them, and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprises; blockade the road by felling trees or destroying the river fords where you can." Roberts, 4:247, 274-275, 278-280. They continued this work for some three weeks when they were relieved by Major Warren Snow and Captain Ephraim Hanks.
15. Warren S. Snow to Daniel H. Wells, August 17, 1857, Territorial Militia Correspondence; and Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, September 21, 1857, Brigham Young Collection.
16. Journal History, October 8, 1857.
17. Azariah Smith, "Journal," October 11, 1857, microfilm of original, CHD.
18. While Nephi is not in Sanpete County, it was nonetheless part of the Sanpete Military District as well as part of the area Warren presided over as presiding bishop. "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow."
19. Ibid.; and Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, undated, and text pp. 28-29.
20. Journal of Discourses 5:111.
21. "Manti Ward Minutes," August 30, 1857.

22. "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow."
23. Daniel Burbank, "Journal," October 23 and 24, 1857; and Andrew Love, "Journal," October 10, 23, and 24, 1857. Both Love and Burbank were members of Warren Snow's mounted command during the Utah War. Both kept almost daily accounts of their activities. While the entries are short and sketchy, they nonetheless provide a good record of the command's movements. Both of these small journals can be found in Journal History under the date of December 2, 1857.
24. Love, October 6, 1857. For contemporary descriptions of Mormon efforts to create a defensive battle ground in Echo Canyon, see Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:642; and Lewis Barney, "Journal," p. 111, typescript, USHS.
25. Daniel H. Wells wrote dispatches almost every day to Brigham Young which contained detailed accounts of the movements of the army as well as those of the Mormon scouts. The dispatches were sent so fast that Brigham often had them at his breakfast table the next morning. These dispatches make it clear that Warren moved in with his fresh command, while Smith, Burton, and Rockwell moved their men away from the army to take a rest. Dispatches of Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, Nauvoo Legion Correspondence, Brigham Young Collection, microfilm reel 75; see also Love and Burbank journals.
26. Roberts, 4:278-299.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., pp. 279-280.
29. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 2, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Correspondence, Brigham Young Collection; Burbank, November 1, 1857; Love, November 1, 1857; and Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:644.
30. Ibid., Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 2, 1857; Burbank, November 1, 1857; and Love, November 1, 1857. Warren and his Mormon raiders had strict orders to do no killing, but the U. S. Soldiers did not. A special correspondent of the New York Tribune who was with the army covering the story for his paper noted the fact that the Mormons were not shooting at the soldiers. He then pointed out that "no such scruples exist on the side of the army; and on the first occasion on which a soldier's musket

can be levelled at any of the banditti (the Mormon raiders), the trigger will certainly be pulled. In the present crisis there is not longer room for child's play." Millennial Star 20(1858): 93-94.

31. Love, November 1, 1857; and Burbank, November 1, 1857.
32. Love, November 1-5, 1857; statement of David Cazier, a member of Warren's command, found in Martha Cazier Eagar, The Life and History of William Cazier (Provo, Ut.: J. Grant Stevenson), p. 31; and Burbank, November 10, 1857.
33. Love, November 1-5, 1857; and Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:644.
34. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 10, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Correspondence, Brigham Young Collection.
35. Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:645.
36. Burbank, November 6, 1857; Love, November 6, 1857; and Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 7, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Correspondence, Brigham Young Collection.
37. Ibid.
38. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 7, 10, 14, 16 and 20, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Correspondence, Brigham Young Collection.
39. Ibid., November 7 and 14, 1857.
40. Ibid., November 16 and 10, 1857; and Lot Smith, "The Story of Lot Smith," p. 23, pamphlet, UofU.
41. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 16, 1857; Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:646; and Lot Smith, p. 22.
42. Ibid.; Brooks, Hosea Stout 2:646; and Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 16, 1857. On just such a night, the scouts at the base camp heard a shot ring out somewhere off down the "Muddy" some distance from their camp. Warren and another man each "took a pistol" and walked out in the cold, still night to see "what was the matter." They found two men from Manti, part of Snow's command, who had become lost and were "rolled up in the snow . . . freezing to death." Warren and his companion got the two cold men "to camp and saved their lives." Burbank, November 9, 1857.

43. Daniel H. Wells to Brigham Young, November 20 and 16, 1857.
44. Ibid., November 21, 1857.
45. Ibid., November 21, and 16, 1857.
46. Burbank, December 1-2, 1857; Love, November 30-December 2, 1857; and Journal History 2, 1857.
47. This statement was attached to Burbanks journal and is found in Journal History, December 2, 1857.
48. Philo Johnson.
49. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, June 27, 1863.
50. Journal History, December 27, 1857.

Chapter V:
"A_Very_Rough_Sea_to_Ride_On"

1. "Manti Ward Minutes," December 6, 1857.
2. Journal History, January 4, 1858. The legislature was in session from December 23, 1857 to January 22, 1858. For a description of "the Standing Army of Utah" see George A. Smith to John L. Smith, found in Journal History, February 5, 1858.
3. Roberts, 4:350-365.
4. "Manti Ward Minutes," March 28, 1858. This mass migration is commonly referred to as "the Move South."
5. For a detailed description of the negotiations for peace, the entry of the army, and the peace commission, see Roberts, 4:342-446.
6. "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow," p. 8.
7. Brigham Young described Warren as "a good and a talented man." Minutes of a "Meeting of the first presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve [sic] and the Presidents of the First Quorum of Seventy," Journal History, October 23, 1859. Sometime later he characterized Warren as "a pushing man," one who could be counted on to energetically push assignments to their conclusion. Brigham Young, John W. Young and Daniel H. Wells to Bishop John B. Maiben, April

- 25, 1877, as found in Moses F. Farnsworth, "History of Manti," pp. 72-73, GS. Brigham Young's personal letters to Warren repeatedly reveal the president's respect and confidence in Warren's abilities to fulfill important assignments. Brigham Young Collection.
8. "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow," p. 8-9.
 9. "Manti Ward Minutes," March 22, 1857.
 10. Ibid., April 6, 1857.
 11. Ibid., April 6, 1857, and January 31, 1858; and "Minutes of the Utah Stake," November 16, 1856. The Mormon Reformation, beginning in the latter part of 1856 and lasting less than a year, was a period of intense spiritual excitement designed to recommit complacent Mormons to live their religion. While it served its purpose to some extent, it tended to go to extremes, and the violent spirit of early Mormonism reached a high point that is evident in Warren's sermons and actions.
 12. Journal of Discourses 4:53, 219.
 13. Deuteronomy 22:22.
 14. Journal of Discourses 4:219.
 15. Ibid., 4:219 and 3:246. To make sure the Saints understood this, Brigham said, "From what is at times said here, it might be inferred that every one who did not walk to the line was at once going to be destroyed, but who has been hurt? Who is about to be killed? Who is about to be taken out of the way?" He then asked the people, "do we enforce" the "strict penalty of the law?" His answer was "not yet." Ibid., 3:245-247.
 16. Ibid., 4:49-51. In this same sermon Grant said "that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood."
 17. Samuel Pitchforth, "Diary of Samuel Pitchforth, 1857-1868," May 31, 1857, typescript, CHD. No minutes of any civil or church trial for Thomas Lewis' crime have been found. But Pitchforth makes it clear that Lewis was "under arrest and on the way to the City (Salt Lake City) to be taken to the

penetentiary [sic]." The writers of The Life and Confessions of the late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee and others who were far removed from the incident, both in time and space, have mistakenly identified the issue of the emasculation as being the result of a fight over a girl between Warren and Thomas Lewis. The Account in Life and Confessions is so absurd in so many of the incident's details that it disqualifies itself as a serious source. For example, the authors state that the emasculation occurred before the entire congregation, and that after Bishop Snow did the deed with a "bowie knife," he allegedly "took the portion severed from his victim and hung it up" on a nail on the Manti Ward House wall "so that it could be seen by all who visited the house afterwards." See John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled: or The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand and Co., 1877), pp. 285-286. This work, much of which was put together after John D. Lee's death by non-Mormons attempting to debunk the Church, contains much that Lee, or any other Mormon would have known to have been false. The absurd qualities of its account of the emasculation of Thomas Lewis identifies itself as a collection of folk beliefs regarding the affair gathered and written by hostile persons many years after its occurrence. The only other account of the event that I am aware of is found in Murray Averett, "History of Johanna Christina Neilson Averett, as known by her son Murray Averett . . .," CHD, and was written by a son remembering what his mother told him her mother told her. Its details do not match up with either those presented in Life and Confessions or Samuel Pitchforth. Pitchforth, the clerk of the Nephi Ward, was privy to the dealings of his presiding bishop and wrote his account soon after the incident occurred. It is clearly the only reliable source of the three discussed. The Sermons delivered in the Manti Ward, the spirit of the times, the form of punishment itself and the record of Brigham's reaction to it, make it clear that Lewis had committed a sexual crime. See text around footnote 19. Pitchforth considered the fact that Lewis lived a "mirricale" and lamented that Lewis "now is gone crazy."

18. Pitchforth, May 31, 1857. From the tenor of Joseph Young's railings in Nephi, Pitchforth was convinced that "Bro W Snow will loose some influence through the affair."
19. Scott G. Kenney, ed. Wilford Woodruff's Journal 1833-1898, 9 vols. (Midvale, Ut.: Signature Books,

- 1984) 5:55; and Matthew 19:12, which states, ". . . and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs, for the kingdom of heaven's sake."
20. Brigham Young to Warren S. Snow, June 10, 1857, and July 7, 1857, Brigham Young Collection.
 21. For a discussion of Judge John Cradlebaugh's crusade and the problems it caused in Utah, see Davis Bitton, "The Cradlebaugh Court (1859): A Study in Early Mormon-Gentile Misunderstanding," in Clark Knowlton, ed. Social Accommodation in Utah (Salt Lake City: the University of Utah for the American West Center, 1975), pp. 71-97; and Charles S. Peterson, "A Historical Analysis of Territorial Government in Utah Under Alfred Cumming, 1857-1861," (MS Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), pp. 143-166.
 22. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, April 10, 1859, Brigham Young Collection; Delaun Mills Cox, "History of Delaun Mills Cox," p. 8, typescript, USHS; Journal History, April 13, 1859; and George Peacock, "The Journals of George Peacock," 1:59-60, typescript in my possession.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, April 10, 1859. Warren's letters to members of the First Presidency often contained expressions of his concern for their safety. For example, in 1858, he wrote "May God Bless you [Brigham], Bro. Heber & Br. Daniel & families & preserve your lives and save you from the hands of the Gentiles, & that you may be as free as the air that blows over the mountain tops, which is my prayer." Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, July 14, 1858, Brigham Young Collection.
 25. Journal History, April 13, 1859; Peacock, 1:60; and Bitton, p. 81-82.
 26. Journal History, April 27, 1859; and Peacock, 1:61.
 27. Journal History, June 7, 1859.
 28. Hans Jensen Hals, "Hans Jensen Hals Journal," microfilm of original, CHD (see entry for 1859).
 29. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, March 19, 1872, Warren Stone Snow Collection, BYU (See both typescript and original).

30. "Patriarchal Blessing given under the hands of Isaac Morley on the head of Warren Stone Snow."
31. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, March 19, 1872.
32. Ibid.
33. Roberts, 4:497-498.
34. "Minutes of a 'Meeting of the first presidency, Twelve [sic] and Presidency of Seventies,'" as found in Journal History, October 23, 1859.
35. Ibid.
36. "Nephi Ward Minutes," February 14, 1858, CHD; and Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, December 23, 1856, Brigham Young Collection.
37. Journal of Discourses 3:244.
38. See text pp. 74-76.
39. Warren married Mary Ann Vorhees December 23, 1841 and by her had at least eight children. On May 16, 1855 he married Druzilla Higgins, who apparently bore him three children. During the Mormon Reformation in the last part of 1856 and the first part of 1857, Warren took at least three more wives. He married Maria Baum on December 2, 1856 who bore him two children. On April 20, 1857 he married Sarah Elizabeth Whiting and they produced three children. Sometime that same year he married Mary Ann Brown by whom he sired another child. There is some evidence that he married still other women. Maria Baum and Mary Ann Brown divorced him quite early, later raising their children with other husbands. But during the period discussed in the text he was married to and had the obligation of caring for all five families. Snow family genealogical records in my possession.
40. Brigham Young to Warren S. Snow, July 7, 1857 and July 28, 1856, Brigham Young Collection.
41. Journal of Discourses 8:316-318.
42. Ibid.
43. As early as December 1857 "rumours" were in circulation concerning Warren and his first counsellor George Peacock "having made wrong use of goods got in S L City" during their expedition

against the army." And while they declared that "they had got nothing for themselves only what they intended paying for" the rumors were so prevalent that Warren and George Peacock asked "several bretheren" to testify to thier honesty before the entire Manti Ward and then "it was voted" for the Saints to "put a stop to slandering each other." It is interesting to note how Warren dealt with those who were spreading the rumors. After the vote, Warren called upon a Brother Bunce to make confession of "bad conduct." After he did so, Warren threatened that if "Bunce fell again into transgression his wife and family would be taken from him." "We must," Warren declared, "put away enemies within before we [can] meet enemies without." "Manti Ward Minutes," December 31, 1858 (underlining mine). This same Brother Bunce was among Warren's most outspoken accussers in 1860.

44. Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, November 19, 1860; Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, November 28, 1860; and Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, December 2, 1860, Brigham Young Collection (underlining Hyde's).
45. "Manti Ward Minutes," December 16, 1860, January 6, 20, February 3, and 10, 1861; and Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, December 15, 1860, Brigham Young Collection. In this same letter Hyde described the rumors in regard to George Peacock: "he has been in the habit of hunting up strays to pay for cattle lost out of his herd that he has been required to pay for. If what the people say of him is true, he eats stolen beef and with his train about him, is much mixed up with strays."
46. Peacock, 1:91-92; and "Manti Ward Minutes," January 20, 1861.
47. Ibid., January 20, and February 3, 1861. It is interesting to note that in one Sunday sermon Hyde suggested that "wives who knew their husbands to have been guilty of . . . stealing would be justified in getting Devorced from them and children would be justified in forsaking them etc. He (the speaker) [gic] warned such wives and if they went to distruction with theives he shook his garments clear of their blood." Ibid., December 16, 1860.
48. George Peacock to Brigham Young, January 6, 1861, Brigham Young Collection; and Peacock, 1:98.
49. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, February 3, 1861, Brigham Young Collection.

50. Peacock, 1:104.
51. "Manti Ward Minutes," March 14, 1861.
52. Brigham Young finally directed that the investigation be held and that detailed minutes be kept and sent to him in order that he might get to the bottom of the problem. Warren was examined on April 15, and George Peacock on the two following days. See "Investigation of the acts and character of Warren S. Snow."
53. Ibid., pp. 1-11, especially 8-9.
54. Ibid., pp. 9-10. It is interesting to note that while Warren was examined not one person mentioned the emasculation of Thomas Lewis. The following day, however, as the "Investigation" examined George Peacock, the issue was brought up. A statement was made claiming that Peacock had said that in the "settling up of the tithing . . . there was more fault found with J. Eager [Warren's Clerk John Eager] than there was with Bishop Snow & that Eager had used all his influence to put snow down and that he [Eager] went to far." Peacock allegedly threatened to ride Eager "on a rail out of town." After this statement was made, Eager used the threat to demonstrate the hard-handed nature of the bishopric's leadership. "Many of the people have been afraid," he said. "Peacock," he went on, "said it would [take] 2 or 3 such cases as T Lewis a week to keep the people down on straight." He also claimed that Peacock had threatened, "If any one heard any noise in the street to keep in their houses, they would serve others so and would not go to Willow Creek neither." "Many armed themselves through fear," he said. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
55. The minutes of the investigation which were sent to Brigham Young clearly show that Warren emphatically denied any criminal guilt with the exception of the two army cattle that he unlawfully gave the Mormon spies in 1858. To all other charges he responded with "It is false as hell is false[!]" After hearing the confused testimonies of the Manti Saints, which seemed to be made up mostly of hearsay, the judges accepted Warren's denial. In spite of this, the Manti Ward clerk displayed the mind set of much of the community when he wrote in the Ward minute book that it had been proven that Warren was guilty of "encouraging" cattle stealing and that he had confessed as much. This was in direct contradiction to the official and detailed minutes of the investigation. See "Manti Ward

Minutes," April 15 and 16, 1861. This view of the situation was so prevalent that Warren, writing from his mission in England over a year later, asked one of his wives to give his love to his friends in Manti, sadly adding, "if any there be." Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, October 20, 1862, Warren S. Snow Collection. (This is not to say that all of the Manti Saints turned away from Warren. Hans Hals, for example, a danish convert, wrote that during this period "many sorrows" came upon Manti church members "because of the conditions there between the Bishop and the counselors." "But," Hals said, "I and many others had sense enough not to get mixed up in it, took no part in it and minded our own business and enjoyed ourselves in our work and the principles of the gospel." Hals, 1859-1862.) That church leaders felt Warren was guilty, at least to some extent, is evident in Daniel H. Wells to Warren S. Snow, March 5, 1861; and A. Milton Musser to Brigham Young, October 2, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.

56. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, February 3, 1861, and January 17, 1865.
57. Writing from his mission almost three years after the problems began, Warren, referring to his head clerk John Eagar, wrote: "sometime he [again] will smell fire and will want someone to throw snow to put it out." Warren closed his writing on the matter with the hope that God would "bless the honest in heart in every land and clime, for every man's work will be tried as by fire, and he that is righteous will be righteous still . . ." Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, September 24, 1863, Warren S. Snow Collection.
58. Peacock, 1:108 and 2:8.
59. Ibid., p. 9; and Journal History, August 21, 1861.
60. Daniel H. Wells to Warren S. Snow, March 5, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, Letter Press Books.

Chapter VI:
The Black Hawk War

1. Warren S. Snow to Sarah Elizabeth Whiting Snow, February 12, 1862, Warren S. Snow Collection.

2. Ibid. For further evidence of the good feeling toward Warren on behalf of the British Saints see Journal History, January 2, 1864.
3. Millennial Star 26(1864):51-52.
4. Journal History, December 31, 1863.
5. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, June 27, 1863.
6. Brigham Young to Warren S. Snow, September 1, 1863, Brigham Young Collection.
7. Journal History, March 16, August 24, and November 2, 1864.
8. In spite of Brigham's letter to Warren in 1863, it seems Brigham did not welcome Warren with open arms when he arrived in Utah. Perhaps he did not see him at all for several months, and on January 17, 1865, after having been home for two-and-a-half months, Warren wrote a short and business like letter to the president. It simply stated: Dear Brother, knowing that you are well acquainted in relation to my business as a Bishop in Sanpete before leaving on my mission what do you desire me to do in the matter any council that you may feel to give will be cheerfully complied with by me, yours truly in Christ, W. S. Snow." Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, January 17, 1865. The account of Hyde taking Warren by the hand and urging the people to forget the past is found in Peacock, 3:27.
9. Ibid., p. 29; and Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah, 2 ed. (Salt Lake City: Merlin G. Christensen, 1969), pp. 129-130, 335-338. This event is viewed as the beginning of the Black Hawk Indian War. There is no definitive study of the war itself or of the issues that led up to it and while incomplete and generally shallow, the best works available are Gottfredson; Carlton Culmsee, Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences of Participants (Logan, Ut.: Utah State University Press for the Western Text Society, 1973); and Deloy J. Spencer, "The Utah Black Hawk War 1865-1871," (Report submitted in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Social Science, Utah State University, 1969). Perhaps the greatest historical source for the war are the letters and dispatches found in Territorial Militia Correspondence, State Archives.
10. Gottfredson, pp. 130, 338; and Kate B. Carter, comp., Daughters of the Utah Pioneers--Our Pioneer

Heritage_1965 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1965), p. 176.

11. Peacock, 3:29.
12. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, April 22, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.
13. Ibid., and Reddick N. Allred to Brigham Young, April 13, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.
14. Ibid., and Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, April 22, 1865.
15. Andrew J. Moffitt to Brigham Young, April 20, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.
16. Gottfredson, pp. 140-144.
17. Ibid., pp. 151-156.
18. Culmsee, pp. 53-54; Peacock, 3:32; "Warren S. Snow Nauvoo Legion Certificate of Commission," photocopy in my possession; and Andrew J. Moffitt to Brigham Young, July 23, 1865, Brigham Young Collection. John Taylor summed up Brigham's "hunt and chastise" policy while speaking to the Sanpete Saints during the authorities' visit: "Some want to kill the Indians promiscuously, because some of them have killed some of our people. This is not right. Let the guilty be punished, and the innocent go free." Culmsee, pp. 53-54. Perhaps he made this statement to tempor one Brigham made the day Warren was elected brigadier general. "Use up thes [sic] wicked Indians who are killing the inhabitants," he intstructed the Manti Saints, "& if these indians who profess to be friendly will not help bring them to justice, do not let them stay with you but treat them as Enemies." Woodruff, 6:235.
19. Culmsee, p. 54; Andrew J. Moffitt to Brigham Young, July 23, 1865; and Gottfredson, pp. 161-163.
20. Ibid., pp. 161-163; and Carter, p. 178.
21. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, September 24, 1865, Brigham Young Collection; Gottfredson, pp. 167-169; and Culmsee, pp. 56-58.
22. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, September 24, 1865.
23. Ibid.

24. George A. Smith to Orson Hyde, October 22, 1865, typescript found in Journal History, October 22, 1865.
25. Peacock, 3:33; and Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, October 3, 1865, Brigham Young Collection. Warren sent his adjutant, who happened to be George Peacock, and Eric Ludvigsen, the father of Peter Ludvigsen, the war's first casualty, to the various settlements in the Sanpete Military District. Their assignment was to explain Brigham's policies to the people. Peacock described that their message "was one of peace." Peacock, 3:33.
26. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, October 3, 1865.
27. Gottfredson, pp. 169-176; and George A. Smith to Orson Hyde, October 22, 1865.
28. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, of the fifteenth Annual Session, For the Years 1865-1866 (Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, 1866), p. 5; and Farnsworth, p. 83.
29. For example, see Journal History, April 14, 1879.
30. A. Milton Musser to Brigham Young, October 2, 1865, Brigham Young Collection. Musser ended his letter recommending Warren's reinstatement with this comment: "I dont suppose he [Warren] could work with Bro. Hyde." Orson Hyde resided in Sanpete County and perhaps Brigham, all too aware of Warren's past difficulties with the apostle, felt it would be unwise to act on Bishop Musser's recommendation.
31. Thomas Callister to Brigham Young, October 22, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.
32. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, February 20, 1866, Brigham Young Collection.
33. Culmsee, pp. 80-82; Gottfredson, p. 181; and Warren S. Snow to George A. Smith, March 14, 1866. This letter is found in Journal History, March 14, 1866. Journal History indicates that this event took place on March 14, but other sources clearly put the date as March 12. For example, see Peacock, 3:39.
34. Gottfredson, p. 181; and Warren S. Snow to George A. Smith, March 14, 1866.
35. Warren shared Brigham's feelings about the Indians. In a letter to Warren, the church leader had written: "We do not want to kill the Indians; it is

painful and repugnant to our feelings to have to recourse to violence against them; but it will not do for us to sit down and see our brethren and Sisters killed by them, and not take measures to prevent such occurrences." Concerning the Indians who professed friendship to the Mormons but actually aided Black Hawk, Brigham wrote: "I had a long talk with Kanosh a day or two ago, . . . I asked him, what could we do. It would never do for us to let the Indians who profess to be friendly stand between us and those who are hostile. The professedly friendly Indians never tell us where the hostile Indians are; but they can go to them and tell them all about us. If they did not cease to take this course, I told him, we would have to cut them all off. He assented to my views and statements, and said we could do no less." Brigham Young to Warren S. Snow, April 25, 1866, Brigham Young Collection; Warren S. Snow to George A. Smith, March 18, 1866; and Warren S. Snow to William B. Pace, March 18, 1866, Territorial Militia Correspondence.

36. Warren S. Snow to Major Sutton, March 20, 1866, Territorial Militia Correspondence.
37. Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, March 22, 1865, Brigham Young Collection.
38. Warren S. Snow to Daniel H. Wells, April 13, 1866, Territorial Militia Correspondence; and Gottfredson, pp. 185-187.
39. Warren S. Snow to Daniel H. Wells, April 14, 1866, Territorial Militia Correspondence; Ray P. Dyreng, et al., Song of a Century (n.p., 1949), pp. 143-144; Gottfredson, pp. 187-188; Culmsee, pp. 84-85; and Peacock, 3:40.
40. Warren S. Snow to Daniel H. Wells, April 14, 1866, and April 21, 1866, Territorial Militia Correspondence.
41. See Territorial Militia Correspondence for 1866. For detailed lists of the companies, officers and the literally hundreds of men that were mobilized during 1866, which delineate the number of months each man was engaged in active service, see "Indian Depredations in Utah, Document No. 19, Containing the pay rolls of a number of Companies that served in the Black Hawk Indian War in the years 1865-1866 and 1867 inclusive," CHD. This should not be confused with Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah.

42. Peacock, 3:39-45; and Territorial Militia Correspondence for 1866. Warren frequently complained of poor health in his letters to Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells and others. For reference to Warren's second anointing, see Peacock, 3:53.
43. Ibid., 3:53-54; and Gottfredson, pp. 256-257.
44. Ibid., pp. 257-261; and James Van Nostrand Williams, "Life Sketch," pp. 106-107, typescript, USHS.
45. Peacock, 3:54.
46. George Washington Bean to William B. Pace, July 29, 1867. "Record of Provo Military District Command 1857-1858 and Campaign Record of expedition to Sanpete and Piute Military District 1866-1867 under the command of William B. Pace," pp. 223-224, BYU.
47. Culmsee, pp. 140-141.

Conclusion

1. Farnsworth, p. 75; and Brigham Young, John W. Young and Daniel H. Wells to John B. Maiben, April 25, 1877.
2. Deseret Evening News, October 13, 1896.
3. Anthon H. Lund, "Journal," September 26, 1896, microfilm of original, CHD.

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Abbreviations

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- CHD Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- GS Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- USHS Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- UU University of Utah, Western Americana, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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WARREN STONE SNOW, A MAN IN BETWEEN:
THE BIOGRAPHY OF A MORMON DEFENDER

John A. Peterson


Department of History

M.A. Degree, December 1985

ABSTRACT

Warren Stone Snow was an early convert to the LDS Church who during the Church's first four decades was often involved in defensive roles as Mormonism encountered various conflicts on the American frontier. While he protected the lives of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young and defended Illinois Saints from houseburning mobs and took a leading role in the Battle of Nauvoo, his greatest defensive contributions took place after the Mormons settled in Utah. As commander of the Sanpete Military District, he was one of the leading figures in Mormon defensive efforts during the Utah War in 1857 and later as brigadier general in the Nauvoo Legion he was the single most important Mormon military leader during Utah's longest and most intense Indian War, the Black Hawk War of 1865-1867. This thesis is a biography of Snow's life during his protecting years and examines his background and character as well as his motivations and defensive activities.

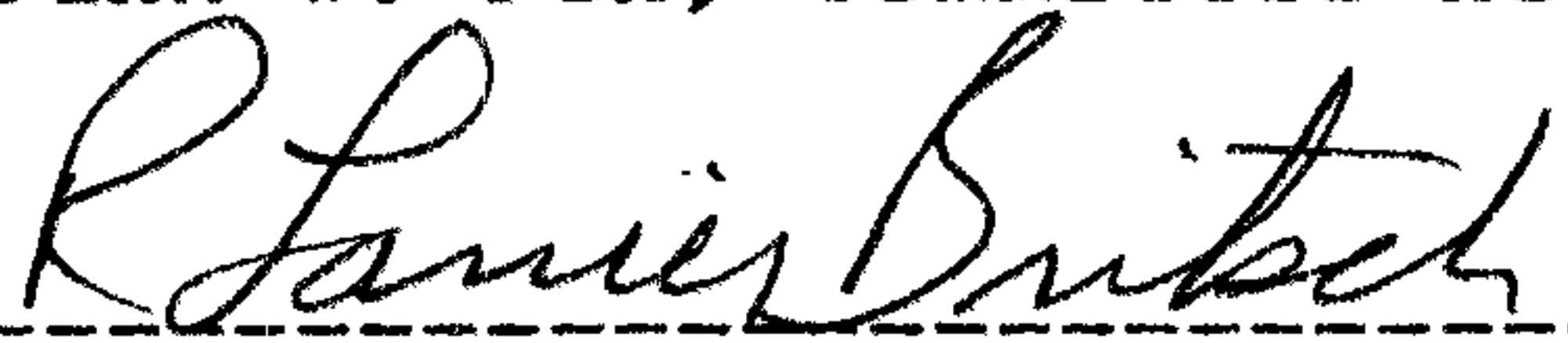
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