
Augustine Spencer: Nauvoo Gentile, Joseph Smith Antagonist

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Daniel Spencer Sr., his wife Chloe, and sons Daniel Jr., Orson, and Hiram Spencer and their families were devoted Nauvoo Mormons. However, in the six months preceding Joseph Smith's death, their eldest son, Augustine Spencer, who also lived in Nauvoo, but who remained aloof from the Church, turned antagonistic toward his family, became an outspoken critic against the Church, and participated in the activities that led to Joseph Smith's arrest and death at Carthage. How and why Augustine's antagonism toward Mormonism developed provides a historical case study that sheds light on the complex religious, cultural, and social dynamics of nineteenth-century society and the Spencer family.

The Daniel Sr. and Chloe Wilson Spencer Family

Daniel Spencer Sr., born August 26, 1764, spent his early years in East Haddam, Connecticut, on the Connecticut River. His ancestors had arrived in Massachusetts during the first decade of the great Puritan migration of the

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1630s. He served for a brief period in the American Revolution near the end of the war; then following the Revolution he moved north and west into the area of the Berkshires in western Massachusetts, where he lived most of the remainder of his life as a blacksmith and farmer in the villages of Rockdale and West Stockbridge. Many of Daniel Spencer's cousins from the Connecticut area migrated at this same time to western Massachusetts and eastern New York for opportunity and land.

In the West Stockbridge area, Daniel Sr. met Chloe Wilson (b. May 24, 1765, Richmond, Massachusetts); they married on January 9, 1788 in West Stockbridge. From that union came eleven children: Augustine (1788-1864), Sophia (1791-1815), Theron (1792-1827), Daniel Jr. (1794-1868), Selecta (1796-1848), Hiram (1798-1846), Claudius Victor (1800-22), Orson (twin, 1802-55), Alvira (twin, 1802-02), Chloe (1804-37), and Grove (1806-45). The Spencer family affiliated with the Baptist Church.¹

In 1776, the township of West Stockbridge consisted of five village settlements: West Center, West Stockbridge, Freedleyville, Rockdale, and Williamsville, with a total population of 370. Daniel Sr. settled in the West Stockbridge area as early as 1782 and was described as being five feet, six inches tall with dark hair and eyes.²

The Williams River was a significant factor in the settlement of the area, as it provided water power for mills and forges. The river flows into the Housatonic River just north of Great Barrington and was often dammed from colonial times along its route to provide water power for mills and forges. The Shaker Mill Pond in West Stockbridge is an example of earlier impoundment. Consequently, besides farming, several industries developed and grew in the area, including several forges, saw mills, fulling mills (a walk mill or a tuck mill), and grist mills. The area was rich in iron ore and marble, and both were mined very successfully. The marble business was so successful that a rail line was built in 1838 connecting West Stockbridge with Hudson, New York, and the Hudson River.

Daniel and Chloe Spencer's children grew up accustomed to village living, work, and education in the village school. All of the children were involved in the family farm, chores around the home, and the Rockdale iron forge. The great majority of Massachusetts families farmed the land for their primary source of income and sustenance. New Englanders worked their land with oxen, which were surefooted on rocky slopes. In general, fathers had both legal and customary claims on their children's labor until they reached maturity at the age of twenty-one.³

Daniel involved all of his sons in farming, but only Hiram and Grove took up the vocation. School attendance was not compulsory, yet most parents wanted their children to receive the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Most children who were old enough to do serious work received their education in the winter months. The Spencer children attended the Williamsville School located one mile south of their Rockdale home.

The economy was very much barter and trade, and many farmers and artisans kept account books which gave transactions a precise monetary value. Exchanges, along with blood and religion, linked neighborhoods together. No national or state paper money existed prior to the Civil War, and a variety of hard money (often foreign specie), both gold and silver, circulated in the country. Trading, swapping, and sharp bargaining became a part of life. Some became proficient, and others were taken advantage of.

Daniel and Chloe's first son, Augustine (sometimes called Augustin, Gust, Gustin, Augustas, and Auggie, but most often Augustine) would outlive all his brothers and sisters, with the exception of his brother Daniel Jr. During his early teens, Augustine began working for others, returning home in the evenings and weekends to work for his father, who, unable to do heavy farm labor, left much of the work to Augustine and his brothers.

In 1814, as the War of 1812 moved into its third year, Augustine and Theron responded to a call of the governor of Massachusetts to assist in suppressing a threatened invasion by the British. They volunteered at Lee, Massachusetts, to serve in the Boston area in the company under the command of Captain J. Nye from the middle of September until the end of October.⁴ The British threat in New England was stymied at Lake Champlain.

In the years following the War of 1812, and as the nation enjoyed peace and growth, the Spencer brothers were engaged in growth and development individually and collectively. Each sought to gain material wealth as they matured along with the nation. Daniel Jr., a freighter, merchant, and investor, was the most economically successful of the Spencer brothers, and he often helped finance the other brothers in their ventures. Orson received more formal education than most of his siblings, and after attending the village school, Lenox Academy, Union College in New York, and Hamilton Theological Seminary, became a successful Baptist minister.⁵ Hiram seemed generally content to farm and stay close to his father in his farming ventures. Another brother, Claudius Victor, lived a short twenty-two years before he died in 1822; his sister Sophia died in 1815 at age twenty-four.

Augustine, the oldest brother, throughout his life never seemed to find his occupational calling. He struggled to make ends meet and seemed always to be in the economic shadow of his more successful siblings. Augustine married Eliza Brown, a local West Stockbridge girl, in 1815. They lived in West Stockbridge among family members and raised eight children: Caroline Cordelia (b. 1817), Alvira (Alvina) Louisa Matilda (b. 1819), Angeline Elizabeth

(b. 1821), Sarah (b. 1823), Daniel (b. 1824), Harriet (b. 1828), Julia (b. 1830), and Charles Boyington (b. 1832).⁶

In the spring of 1816, Daniel Jr. planned an extensive trading trip, and to purchase trading goods for the trip he borrowed nearly \$20,000 from his cousin Joseph Cone. Daniel, who had been a successful trader, purchased more than \$18,000 in goods for his trip. To support a similar trading trip for Augustine and his friend Briggs Hill, Daniel signed notes from other investors for up to \$10,000. Augustine and Hill traveled to New York, where they began to sell their goods. In the midst of this effort, Hill, who was a master mason, decided to lecture about masonry in Masonic lodges, leaving Augustine to sell on his own. Augustine barely made enough to pay Daniel back for his initial investment. Daniel had also hired his brothers Theron, Claudius, and Hiram to sell for him for the next several years. Augustine again tried selling in New York in the autumn of 1816 with financing from his brother Daniel, but was not very successful. Daniel continued to sell on his own in the North during the summer months, and in the South in the winter.⁷

Beginning in 1815, Augustine began to speculate in real estate. Daniel Jr. would become increasingly more successful in buying and trading goods, and Augustine must have believed that with the expansion of the nation and parcels of land changing hands he could also be successful in the real estate business. On January 11, 1815, Augustine, in partnership with his brother Theron, purchased about twenty acres of land, one-quarter interest in a saw mill, and one-half interest in a mill yard located on the Williams River. This entire purchase, which came to five hundred dollars, was from Thomas Benedict, a West Stockbridge resident.⁸ With the growth of industry and other businesses in West Stockbridge, trading and investment in real estate became an important part of the economy of the Berkshire district.

On June 22, 1822, Augustine is listed as a trader in the land transaction that takes place that day in which he agreed to purchase a lot called the Shakers Lot located in West Stockbridge from Thomas Patten and Freeman Stanley of Tyringham, who sold the lot on behalf of the Community of Tyringham Shakers to Augustine for fifty dollars. This lot of land in West Stockbridge was located in the middle of the village on the main street and next door to the inn run by Sybil Griffith, sister of Sopronia Pomeroy Spencer, wife of Daniel Jr. Augustine built a building on the Shaker Lot and in partnership with his brother Daniel established a trading store and mercantile business. Over the summer of 1822, both Augustine and Daniel worked in the store. Augustine was unable to manage the store in such a way to meet his monetary obligations to the Shakers, and on September 7, 1822, the property reverted to the Shakers. Daniel Jr. took over the contract with the Shakers in September of 1822 for \$80.25, and over the next two months was able to turn a profit with

the store. By November 5, 1822, Daniel was able to fully pay the Shakers and took over the store.⁹ Some suspicion came about in the village concerning Augustine's ethics in relationship to this and other land transactions. Daniel too expressed his discontent with Augustine's business practices and ethics.¹⁰

In the 1825 West Stockbridge tax records, Hiram Spencer was listed as having one-half of the farm from the Burghart's family, the John Sink house and lot, two oxen, two cows, four horses, and two hundred pounds of swine. Daniel Jr. was listed as having seven acres of land and one cow. Daniel Jr. is listed as in partnership with his brother Theron in a mercantile store. Daniel also had sheds valued at \$600, which could be a warehouse, and stock in trade valued at \$500. Augustine is not listed on the 1825 tax valuation.¹¹

In 1826, Augustine's youngest brother, Grove Spencer, moved from West Stockbridge to Ypsilanti, Michigan, where he became a successful farmer, lawyer, and politician.¹² Noting the success of Grove in Michigan, Theron moved to the Ypsilanti area, where he settled and purchased property. In November of 1827, Theron returned to West Stockbridge, where he died suddenly on November 9, 1827. Upon his death, Theron's property went to his father, Daniel Sr., who sold Theron's Michigan property to Grove. More than a decade later, Augustine moved to Michigan and purchased some of Grove's and Theron's property.¹³

In 1834, more than a half century after the fighting of the Revolutionary War ceased, Daniel Spencer Sr. applied for a pension for fighting in that war. Nothing ever came of the petition, which solicited monetary help from both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, even though Daniel Sr. was in his seventieth year. Tax records for Augustine in 1837 and 1839 indicate that he was worth between \$500 (1837) and \$800 (1839).

Between 1822 and 1842, Daniel Spencer Jr. purchased real estate in the West Stockbridge area totaling over \$153,533 in value.¹⁴ Compared to his brothers, Daniel was very successful in business, while Orson was a prominent Baptist minister. In contrast, Augustine seemed to be unable to make any kind of a successful economic start or progress.

On June 22, 1839, Augustine and Eliza's daughter Alvira Louisa Matilda Spencer married Ashbel Childs in Lee, Massachusetts. Following this marriage, Augustine, Eliza, and three remaining children moved to Ypsilanti, Michigan, and began to live near Augustine's brother Grove. Augustine was listed as a farmer in Ypsilanti in the 1840 census.¹⁵

The Spencer Family's Conversions to Mormonism

In the fall of 1839, a Mormon missionary visited West Stockbridge, and Daniel Spencer Jr., who was president of the local school board and had ac-

cess to the village school, permitted the missionary to speak there.¹⁶ Three years earlier, in 1836, Mormon missionaries Brigham Young and his brother Joseph, had visited nearby Richmond, Massachusetts, where they converted their cousins Phineas, Levi, and Willard Richards. In January 1840, Stephen Burnham, another Mormon missionary, visited West Stockbridge and baptized Daniel Spencer Jr. a Latter-day Saint in the Williams River, which ran behind Daniel's two main street stores. Following Daniel's baptism, Daniel Sr., his wife Chloe, and Daniel's brother Hiram and his family were all baptized. The conversion of the Spencer family members led to the organization of the Union and West Stockbridge branch of the Church on April 19, 1840, by Phineas Richards and Stephen Burnham. The branch, with thirty members, included the areas of West Stockbridge and Richmond. In addition, Daniel Jr. visited his brother Orson, a Baptist minister living in Middlefield, Massachusetts, where he assisted in the conversion of Orson and his family.¹⁷

To answer the religious call of the gathering as well as to protect their investments in western Massachusetts, the Spencer brothers—Daniel, Hiram, and Orson—carefully planned their relocation to the Mormon gathering place of Nauvoo, Illinois. Orson and his family, leaving Massachusetts in the spring of 1841, set the pattern for the others to follow, traveling by way of Albany, the Erie Canal, and Lake Erie, and arriving in Nauvoo on September 4, 1841. Using Daniel's resources, they began to locate land for the rest of the family who would come later. Although eager to move to Nauvoo, Daniel remained long enough in western Massachusetts to maximize the sale value for their property and other goods. In the spring of 1842, Daniel and Hiram Spencer and their families left West Stockbridge for western Illinois. In Nauvoo, the three Spencer brothers (Hiram, Daniel, and Orson) became much more close-knit economically, socially, and religiously. Although tied together as brothers before their conversion to Mormonism, after joining the Church they began to assume roles and responsibilities and had successes that each of them would not have been able to accomplish alone. From 1842 until their deaths, they worked together for their common good, which unity would cause problems for Augustine, when, beginning in 1843, with his own personal self-interests in mind, he tried to maneuver within the family circle.¹⁸

In Nauvoo, the three Spencer brothers became actively involved in the Church and the Mormon community. They purchased property inside the city (and farming property outside the community), built substantial homes, and were called to positions of leadership. Hiram was the least involved of the three brothers in civic and religious affairs, although he was a faithful Church member. His main responsibilities were to oversee the family farm which the brothers operated jointly in the Nauvoo countryside. Orson played the most prominent role. Following the excommunication and departure of John C.

Bennett from Nauvoo in May 1842, Orson became chancellor of the University of Nauvoo (which functioned more on paper than it did in reality). In November, he began a series of letters that would become important missionary tracts for the early Church, *Spencer's Letters*. In the February 6, 1843 Nauvoo city elections, Orson, along with Daniel H. Wells, George A. Smith, and Stephen Markham, was elected alderman. Still later, on December 2, 1843, Orson, along with Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith, received his temple endowment in Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store. Three weeks later on December 23, 1843, Orson's wife Catharine was anointed and initiated into the "quorum" (males and females who had received their temple endowment and marriage sealing). Following the martyrdom, beginning in February 1845, Orson also served as Nauvoo's mayor.¹⁹

The 1843 Nauvoo tax valuation lists indicate that Daniel Jr. was one of the wealthiest individuals in the community. In the February 1843 municipal election, Daniel Jr. was elected as a Nauvoo city councilor. (Later, following the martyrdom, from August 1844 to February 1845, he filled the remainder of Joseph Smith's term of mayor of Nauvoo. His brother Orson succeeded him in that office.) However, both Daniel and Orson's service on the Nauvoo city council was short-lived. In April 1843, Brigham Young and the Twelve called a special conference, appointing 138 missionaries to serve in various parts of the United State and Canada. Daniel was assigned to Canada, and Orson to New Haven, Connecticut. When Orson returned from this mission to Connecticut after a few months, he brought his parents, Daniel Sr. and Chloe, to Nauvoo, where they lived the rest of their lives with Orson and his family.²⁰

On November 27, 1843, after having lived in Nauvoo only a few months, Daniel Spencer Sr. died at the age of seventy-nine.²¹ When word of Daniel Sr.'s death reached Augustine and Grove in Ypsilanti, Augustine traveled to Nauvoo, arriving in mid to late December. Significantly, soon after his arrival, Augustine signed one of the Mormon redress petitions (the scroll petition), along with many hundreds of others, asking Congress for relief from the wrongs the Mormons had suffered in Missouri. The signing of this document by Augustine, coming shortly after his arrival in Nauvoo, indicates his initial sympathy for the Mormons (although he did not join the Church), and his efforts to draw close to his brothers and their common cause.²² However, over the next several months, Augustine's relationship with his brothers and the Mormon Church changed dramatically.

Daniel Spencer Sr. left no will at the time of his death, and because of his lifelong difficulty to acquire wealth, Augustine was hopeful that as the eldest child he could become the administrator of the estate and personally capitalize on his father's assets. On February 9, 1844, with the assistance of Daniel H. Wells, Augustine put up a bond at Carthage, the county seat, to the amount

of \$1,600, guaranteeing that he would administer the estate to the best of his ability, whereupon David Greenleaf, a justice of the peace, appointed him administrator. Five days later, February 14, Augustine hired W. R. Jackson, P. A. Goodwin, and W. H. Rottospoon to appraise the goods, chattels, and personal estate of Daniel Spencer Sr.²³ More than likely, in executing the bond, Augustine did not consult with either of his brothers or his mother, because on February 20, charges were brought in Carthage against Augustine as administrator of the Daniel Spencer Sr. estate by his mother Chloe and his brother Orson. The three charges were: “1st that said Spencer is not a resident of the State of Illinois 2nd That he has obtained the administration of said Estate by false pretenses 3rd His habits and management disqualify him to administer.”²⁴

The three charges filed by his mother and brother Orson were strong indictments against Augustine and his character. However, after hearing the charges by Chloe and Orson, Justice of the Peace David Greenleaf found that “the charges are not sustained and the case is dismissed.”²⁵ Augustine reacted quickly with accusations of his own. On February 28, 1844, he charged his brother Orson with withholding and/or concealing “goods, chattel, monies or effects & papers and evidence of debits, belonging to the Estate of said Daniel Spencer Sen deceased.”²⁶

Augustine continued as the executor of his father’s estate, despite the objections of his brother and mother. On March 6, 1844, he published the following notice in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*:

Administrator’s Notice, All persons having claims against the estate of Daniel Spencer Senior, late of Hancock County, Ill, Deceased, are hereby requested and notified to exhibit the same before the Probate Justice of said county on the first Monday in April, next for adjustments and allowance, and all those indebted to said estate are requested to make immediate payment to the undersigned. Augustine Spencer—Adm’r, Nauvoo February 14, 1844.²⁷

On April 1, 1844, Augustine filed with the probate judge in Carthage the inventory and bond papers of the estate of Daniel Spencer Sr. The inventory was quite specific in terms of material goods (household items, clothing, furniture, and other items), as well as expenses charged to Daniel Sr. and Chloe. Of most value in the Daniel Sr. estate were the following: “Specie [hard money] on Hand, \$307.65; Housatonic Bank Paper, \$85; Hartford Bank Papers, \$30; and two promissory notes of monies owed Daniel Sr, one for \$300 (from Seth A. and Thomas Barnes) and a second for \$130 (from Martin Hendrix).”²⁸ Not surprisingly, to ensure that whatever assets remained at the time of her own passing were properly distributed according to her own desires, Chloe made out a detailed will to be executed upon her death.

As the enmity widened between Augustine and his mother Chloe and his three younger brothers, so did his animosity toward the Church and its leaders. By April 1844, Augustine had clearly aligned himself with the leading Nauvoo dissenters—William Law (Joseph Smith’s second counselor in the First Presidency), his brother Wilson Law, Chauncey and Francis Higbee, and Charles A. and Robert D. Foster.²⁹

On Friday, April 26, Augustine and Orson became involved in a heated argument at Orson’s home, which escalated to a physical confrontation in which Augustine assaulted his younger brother and knocked him down. Augustine left the scene, but was found in the office of Mr. Marr an attorney. The city marshal, O. P. Rockwell, was called and pursued Augustine, and as he resisted arrest, told him that he was going to be taken to Mayor Joseph Smith’s office to be charged. Eventually Rockwell succeeded in taking Augustine to the mayor’s office where a crowd converged on the scene. Ex-Mormons Charles Foster and Chauncey Higbee came to Augustine’s defense, drew pistols, threatening “they would be G— d—d if they would not shoot the Mayor.” Following the hearing, Joseph Smith fined Augustine Spencer \$100 and required him to give bonds of \$100 to keep the peace for six months, whereupon he appealed the case at once to the municipal court. Charles and Robert Foster, and Chauncey Higbee were also fined for resisting the authorities and “breathed out many hard threatening and menacing sayings. They said they would consider themselves the favored of God for the privilege of shooting or ridding the world of such a tyrant (referring to the Mayor).” Robert Foster said that “there was Daniteism in Nauvoo.”³⁰

Augustine Spencer’s involvement and subterfuge in Nauvoo took a strange twist, as described by Parley P. Pratt in a letter to Joseph Smith and Orson Spencer, dated May 3, 1844, from Richmond, Massachusetts:

Dear Brother Joseph and Brother Orson Spencer, or whom it may concern:

This is to forewarn you that you have a snake in the grass—a base traitor and hypocrite in your midst, of whom perhaps you may not be fully aware. You may think these hard terms, but I speak from good evidence and speak the truth.

Mr. Augustine Spencer, brother to Elder Orson Spencer, has written a letter from Nauvoo, which is now going the rounds in this neighborhood, and is fraught with the most infamous slander and lies concerning Joseph Smith and others, and which is calculated to embitter the minds of the people who read or hear it. It affirms that Joseph Smith is in the habit of drinking, swearing, carousing, dancing all night, &c., and that he keeps six or seven young females as wives, &c., and many other such like insinuations.

At the same time he cautions the people to whom he writes to keep the letter in such a way that a knowledge of its contents may not reach Nauvoo, as he says he is on intimate terms and confidential friendship with the “Prophet Joe” and the Mormons, and that he hopes to get into office by their means. This is his own acknowledgement

of his own baseness, imposition and hypocrisy. I have not seen the letter myself, but have carefully examined the testimony of those who have, and I have also seen and witnessed its baneful effect upon the people here.

Now, I say to the Saints, Let such a man alone severely; shun him as they would the pestilence; be not deceived by a smooth tongue nor flattering words; neither accept of any excuse or apology until he boldly contradicts and counteracts his lying words abroad; but rather expose and unmask him in your midst, that he may be know and consequently become powerless, if not already so. I am well and expect to be in Boston tomorrow.

I remain, as ever your friend and brother, in the love of truth,
P. P. Pratt³¹

Augustine probably wrote this letter sometime in February 1844, perhaps after he was challenged in probate court by his mother and brother for the administratorship of his father's estate. In addition, by that time he had been in Nauvoo for about two months giving him time to associate with a number of Mormon dissenters.

Although Parley P. Pratt stated he had not actually seen the letter, the letter obviously existed and was circulating in the area of West Stockbridge and Richmond, Massachusetts, where a number of Augustine's relatives and friends lived, as well as some members of the Church who had not yet moved to Illinois. Furthermore, the letter is in keeping with Augustine's character, portraying himself as a wise and knowledgeable individual who in this situation is essentially duplicitous—attempting to gain position and wealth from his family and the Mormons, at the same time stating that he is their friend and is sympathetic to the cause, while never being taken in by Mormonism and its claims. Augustine's two main competitors for fame and fortune are his brother Daniel and Joseph Smith. This evidence, along with other rumors that he will spread over the next decade, tend to give credence to Pratt's assessment of Augustine's letter.

On June 7, 1844, the one and only issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* appeared. The paper contained an article concerning the April 26 altercations between Augustine and Orson Spencer. This article, like much of the rest of the paper, also attacked Mormon practices and control in Nauvoo:

The regular session of the Municipal Court of this City came off on Monday last. The cases of R.D. Foster, C.L. Higbee and C.A. Foster on appeal from the Mayor's court, where in they had each been fined in the sum of one hundred dollars (for the *very enormous* offense of refusing to assist the *notorious* O.P Rockwell and his "*dig-nity*" John P. Green, in arresting a respectable and peaceable citizen, without the regular process of papers) and of A. Spencer, wherein he was fined in the same sum on a charge of assault and battery, were all taken up and gravely discussed; after the most mature deliberation, with the assistance of the ex-tinguished City Attorney, this honorable body concluded to dismiss the suit and issue a *procedendo* to the lower court, which was accordingly done.

The cases referred to above, afford abundant reason both for complaint and comment. We intend as soon as our time will allow, to express our views fully and freely upon this feature of Mormon usurpation; first, enact a string of ordinances contrary to reason and common sense, and then inflict the severest penalties for not observing them.³²

The *Nauvoo Expositor*, its supporters, and the incidents surrounding the destruction of the press and the paper on June 10, 1844, greatly heightened tensions in Nauvoo and Carthage. By this time, Augustine had cast his lot completely with the Nauvoo dissenters, and had laid aside temporarily the issues related to his father's estate and his brothers. Hereafter, his personal antagonism against Joseph Smith became his driving force.³³

Late in the evening on June 24, 1844, Joseph Smith and his entourage arrived at Carthage to appear before the district court to answer to the charge of riot in connection with the destruction of the *Expositor*. That night, both the Mormon Prophet and his company, and a group of his Nauvoo antagonists, including William and Wilson Law, Francis and Chauncey Higbee, Robert and Charles Foster, Henry O. Norton, John A. Hicks and Augustine Spencer, were quartered at the Hamilton House. Hicks was reported to have told Cyrus H. Wheelock: "It had been determined to shed the blood of Joseph Smith by not only himself [Hicks], but by the Laws, Higbees, Fosters, Joseph H. Jackson, and many others, whether he [Joseph Smith] was cleared by the law or not." Wheelock reported this conversation to Illinois Governor Thomas Ford, who was also present in Carthage, noting that the governor treated it with perfect indifference, and allowed "Hicks and his associates to run at liberty and mature their murderous plans."³⁴

On June 25, 1844, Joseph and Hyrum Smith and members of the Nauvoo city council surrendered themselves in Carthage to Constable David Bettisworth, who held the arrest warrant sworn out by Francis M. Higbee relating to the destruction of the *Expositor*. The charge of riot was one for which the defendants could post bail and be released from custody. Bail was set at five hundred dollars for each individual, and Joseph Smith and the fourteen other defendants posted the amount (\$7,500 total).³⁵ Later, while Joseph Smith was in conversation with William G. Flood of Quincy, Constable Bettisworth arrested Joseph and Hyrum Smith on a charge of treason against the state of Illinois. Significantly, the treason charge against Joseph Smith had been granted on the oath of Augustine Spencer:

State of Illinois,
City of Nauvoo

The People of the State of Illinois, to all sheriffs, coroners, and constables of said state greeting:

Whereas complaint has been made before me, one of the justices of the peace in and for said county aforesaid, upon the oath of Augustine Spencer, that Joseph Smith,

late of the county aforesaid, did, on or about the nineteenth day of June. A. D. 1844 at the county and state aforesaid, commit the crime of treason against the government and people of the State of Illinois aforesaid.

These are therefore to command you to take the said Joseph Smith if he be found in your county, or if he shall have fled, that you pursue after the said Smith into another county within this state, and take and safely keep the said Joseph Smith, so that you have his body forth with before me to answer the said complaint, and be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of June A. D. 1844

R. F. Smith, J. P.³⁶

Hyrum Smith was arrested at the same time on a warrant for treason sworn by Henry O. Norton and also issued by Robert F. Smith.³⁷ Regarding the events of June 25, John Taylor wrote: “The accused men appeared before Captain-Justice Robert F. Smith, and were released on \$500 bond to appear at the next session of the county court. However, two of the Expositor clique, Augustine Spencer and Henry Norton, ‘whose words would not be taken for five cents,’ made affidavit that Joseph and Hyrum were guilty of treason, ‘and a writ was accordingly issued for their arrest.’”³⁸

By issuing the charge of treason, Joseph and Hyrum Smith’s adversaries had succeeded in having them arrested on a charge that was much more difficult to arrange for bail. Since the charge of treason was a capital crime, bail could be set only by a circuit court judge; therefore Joseph and Hyrum Smith were committed to jail until such a hearing could be held.³⁹ On June 27, two days after issuing the treason charge, while awaiting their hearing, the Mormon Prophet and his brother were shot and killed by an angry mob in Carthage Jail.

It seems likely that someone other than Augustine Spencer—someone with a knowledge of legal matters—drafted the treason charge against Joseph Smith, then influenced Augustine, whose knowledge in legal matters was minimal, to sign the charge. The same may have been true regarding Henry Norton’s charge against Hyrum Smith. However, surely both men must have known that by issuing the charge, given the intense opposition and death threats made against the Smith brothers, the Mormon leaders’ lives were in danger and they would probably be killed.

Following the martyrdom, Willard Richards made a list of the Nauvoo dissidents who took an active part in the events associated with the Smith murders. His list includes the names of ten men—Wilson and William Law, Francis and Chauncey Higbee, Robert and Charles Foster, Joseph H. Jackson, Sylvester Emmons, Henry Norton, and Augustine Spencer. It is fairly certain that none of the Nauvoo antagonists were members of the rabble that stormed the jail and killed the Mormon leaders. The Law brothers and Robert Foster left Carthage on the morning of June 27, and were in Ft. Madison, Iowa, at

the time of the killings. The whereabouts of the others, including Augustine, is not known, but they had also likely left Carthage.⁴⁰

Within a few weeks following the Smith murders, Augustine Spencer returned to Massachusetts, where he had old friends and relatives and where he might have some opportunity to administer some of the remaining affairs of his father's estate. Significantly, on August 13, 1844, Augustine filed in the probate court in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, to become the administrator and executor of the estate of his late father, Daniel Spencer Sr., who had died in Nauvoo the year previous. Over the next several months, Augustine made an inventory of Daniel Spencer Sr.'s estate in Massachusetts, which came to a total of \$366.16. He also succeeded in becoming the sole beneficiary of his deceased father's Massachusetts estate.⁴¹

In late July 1844, Daniel and Orson Spencer traveled to Carthage to testify that their brother Augustine was not in the state and had failed to perform his duties as administrator of their father's estate. Jack Miles, county court constable, who had searched Hancock County for Augustine, affirmed that he could not be found in the area. Furthermore, Miles noted that Augustine had failed to perform his duties as administrator on behalf of the widow and her family. On August 6, David Greenleaf, the probate justice of the peace in Carthage, ordered that because of Augustine's conduct in relationship to the estate and his disappearance, his right to act on behalf of his father's estate was revoked.⁴²

On August 13, 1844, Orson Spencer was appointed administrator of the estate of Daniel Spencer Sr. and charged to prepare an inventory of the estate.⁴³ The new inventory was prepared on September 19, 1844, and charges were filed in the probate court in Carthage by Orson against his brother Augustine. Orson noted that \$162.68 in money and goods were missing from the earlier inventory, and he charged that they had been taken by his brother.⁴⁴

On January 22, 1845, Chloe Wilson Spencer died in Nauvoo at the age of eighty. Cause of death was listed as inflammation of the lungs.⁴⁵ Chloe was buried in the Nauvoo Cemetery next to her husband, Daniel Spencer Sr. Less than a month earlier, she had made her mark on her newly written will. To her son Augustine she left "my washtub valued at one dollar" and to her son Grove, living in Michigan, "my family Bible." The remainder of her worldly goods, combined with what remained in the Daniel Spencer Sr. estate (approximately \$600), were to be divided equally among her sons, Daniel, Hiram, and Orson.⁴⁶ On February 13, 1845, the brothers met to settle their mother's affairs.

In 1845, preparations began to relocate the main body of the Church in the West. One of the preparations made by the Spencer brothers in Nauvoo was to have Claudius Spencer, Daniel's son, return to West Stockbridge and

investigate if he could sell some of the remaining family-owned property in the area. In June, Claudius traveled to western Massachusetts, where he found his uncle Augustine, and his aunt Eliza, living in Munser's old tailor shop in West Stockbridge. Up until this time, Augustine's whereabouts had been unknown to his Nauvoo family members. On July 5, 1845, Claudius wrote a very detailed three-page letter to his father in which he described his feelings of seeing old friends and family members and how they treated him as a Mormon: "I feel that I have a great burden on me and I need all your prayers—to enable me to bear it up but I strive to do my duty and I believe all will come out right. . . . I never see the time before when I needed more brass than I do now." Concerning his visit with Augustine, Claudius wrote, "Augustin[e] has reported very bad stories about Nauvoo and some appear to believe them, it is a current report here that you (Daniel) are poor. Augustin[e] has got very sore eyes and drinks very hard." Claudius also noted that there were several Mormons in the area who had not been able to emigrate to Nauvoo. He described his interactions with friends and family, noting that most appeared friendly and treated him well, but others poked fun at him. "But when I am talking with 2 or 3 at a time I can peek out from my old wide brimmed hat and see them wink and laugh." Augustine told Claudius that he had secured the rights to administer the estate of his father in West Stockbridge and had property in his hands from the estate. Augustine also asked his nephew if his letters concerning the administratorship of the Daniel Spencer Sr. estate in Illinois had been revoked. Claudius informed Augustine that his letters had been revoked and that Augustine's mother, Chloe Spencer, had died in January 1845, leaving him the family washtub (valued at one dollar). Concerning the remaining property of Daniel Spencer Sr. in the West Stockbridge area, a Mr. Reese told Claudius "that he thinks that you will never get anything out of Gust [Augustine] without a lawsuit."⁴⁷

On December 31, 1845, Augustine's wife Eliza died in West Stockbridge at the age of fifty. The cause of her death was listed as a hemorrhage of the lungs.⁴⁸ Following her death, Augustine never remarried, and he often lived with family members (his daughters and their families), and for a time with Isabella Childs, mother-in-law of his daughter Alvira Louisa Matilda Spencer. He did not remain in close contact with his family members living in Utah, but his younger brother Daniel, who was in the British Mission presidency and an LDS immigration agent from 1854 to 1856, visited him and his family in Great Barrington in 1855 and 1856. On the occasion of his 1856 visit, Daniel noted in his journal that he traveled on foot the six miles from West Stockbridge to Great Barrington in mud and snow and got quite tired on the journey. He wrote: "Proceeded to Great Barrington and found Mr. Briggs and Brother Augustin[e]. All well and overjoyed to see me."⁴⁹

During the two decades following his departure from Nauvoo, Augustine struggled to get along. Census records list him as a laborer. Although he continued to try to capitalize on the property his father had left in western Massachusetts and his father's Revolutionary War service, he was generally unsuccessful. He died at Tarrytown, New York, on March 24, 1864, at the residence of his daughter and son-in-law Austin and Angeline Briggs.

Notes

1. Daniel Spencer Sr. had his name listed in the Act of 1793 as an incorporating member in the County of Berkshire, First Baptist Church of Sandsfield, Massachusetts. The First Baptist Society of West Stockbridge was organized in 1794 and a meeting house was erected.

2. In 1787, Daniel Spencer Sr. was arrested in Great Barrington for horse stealing, and his physical description given by the Great Barrington jailer was printed in *The Hampshire Gazette* (Northampton, Massachusetts), July 11, 1787.

3. Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 12–20.

4. Augustine (he enlisted as Augustus) began his enlistment on September 14, 1814, and served through October 30, 1814. Augustine and Theron served in Lieutenant Colonel S. K. Chamberlin's Regiment. See Gardner W. Pearson *Records of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia: Called Out by the Governor of Massachusetts to Suppress a Threatened Invasion during the War of 1812–'14*, reprint of the 1913 ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1993), 33.

5. For a scholarly examination of Orson Spencer see Richard W. Sadler, "The Life of Orson Spencer" (MA thesis, University of Utah, 1965).

6. Eliza Brown was born in 1796, the daughter of Jonathan and Esther Brown. Jonathan Brown was a brother to Stephen Brown, who was involved in ironworks in the area. For a time in his later teenage years, Daniel Spencer Jr. was in love with Matilda Brown, daughter of Stephen Brown. At the time of their marriage, Augustine was twenty-seven and Eliza was nineteen. One family group sheet lists three more children—a daughter (Laina) born in 1834, an unnamed daughter born in 1836 who died in 1838, and a son (Henry) born in 1838. Our research, however, suggests that only eight children were born to Augustine and Eliza.

In her biography of Willard Richards, Author Claire Noall notes that as a boy, Richards lived in the village of Richmond in western Massachusetts not far from West Stockbridge, where the Spencer family also lived. Noall fleshes out Augustine Spencer as someone who, after learning of the Mormons, came out against them. But it was not until Nauvoo that Augustine becomes problematic. Noall has created an interesting portrait of Augustine Spencer, but much of it is invented and thereby fictionalized. See Claire Noall, *Intimate Disciple: A Portrait of Willard Richard, Apostle to Joseph Smith—Cousin of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957).

7. See Daniel Spencer Jr., Journal, typescript, original in the possession of David J. Farr, copy in the possession of the authors.

8. Although the purchase took place on January 11, 1815, it was not recorded until January 27, 1815. In the purchase documents, Augustine and Theron are listed as husbandmen. See Land Records, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1815. The source of monies for

this and later land purchases for Augustine and his partners has not been identified. It appears that the funds must have been borrowed in anticipation of rising land prices and making a profit from the later land sales. Between 1815 and 1820, Augustine and his brother Theron engaged in several additional land transactions (both purchasing and selling) in the West Stockbridge area under the following dates: January 27, 1815; July 24, 1818; February 26, 1820; July 17, 1820; and July 18, 1820. See Land Records, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1815, 1818, 1920. Copies of all land records cited in this article are in the possession of the authors.

9. See Land Records, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1822; tax records for Berkshire County, 1822; and Spencer, Journal. The purchase by Daniel Spencer Jr. of the land and the store was his first acquisition in West Stockbridge. On January 21, 1823, Daniel Spencer Jr., married to Sophronia Eliza Pomeroy, who came from a wealthy Berkshire County family.

10. Daniel Spencer notes of his early life, "In closing up my brother's [Augustine's] business he could not pay his debts. Accordingly I had to take them in order to secure my own money. This created suspicion with his creditors, but it was all right in respect to myself but not exactly so with him. He secured money and defrauded his creditors." Spencer, Journal, 11–12.

11. In 1823, Augustine was involved in a complex land transaction. On February 19, 1823 (recorded May 11, 1823), he is listed as a merchant in a transaction in which he purchased a three-acre piece of land with a house on it from John Sink, a stonecutter, for \$500 in West Stockbridge. On May 11, 1823, Augustine sold to his brother Hiram the property purchased from John Sink for \$400. On October 9, 1823, Augustine deeded to Thomas Robbins the John Sink lot and house in West Stockbridge which Hiram had purchased; then later that day, Hiram purchased the Sink property from Thomas Robbins for \$1, who had purchased the property earlier in the day from Augustine. Finally, on June 11, 1825, Daniel Spencer Jr., purchased the Sink property from Hiram Spencer for \$450. See Land Records, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1823, 1825.

Theron obtained a peddlers' license in the state of Georgia in 1825, where he was trading in Georgia and working for his brother Daniel Spencer Jr. The peddler's license record indicates he was thirty-one years of age and six feet tall. See Robert Scott Davis, *A Researcher's Library of Georgia History Genealogy, and Records Sources*, vol. 1 (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1987), 315.

12. Land in Michigan in the early republic was very available, particularly to Revolutionary War veterans. Grove Spencer purchased a farm in Ypsilanti, where he was one of the early settlers in the area. He remained active until 1844, when his health began to fail. He was born in 1806 and died in 1854 at the age of forty-eight. His Ypsilanti farm consisted of 560 acres. He was a director of the state agricultural society, and twice a candidate for the state board of education. In politics, Grove was a Whig and served in several local offices, including representing Washteneaw County in the Michigan state legislature. In 1835, he married Emily Millington, a daughter of Dr. Millington, who settled in the area in 1826. The couple had eight children. One of their sons, Clinton Spencer, was a captain in the Union Army during the Civil War. See *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan* (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman, 1881), 1231, see also *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* 26 (1896): 118–19.

13. Theron Spencer is buried in the South Cemetery in Rockdale, the same cemetery where his sister Sophia is buried. This cemetery is located less than one mile from Daniel Spencer Sr.'s Rockdale home site.

14. The Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Land Records document Daniel Spencer Jr.'s real estate acquisitions. Copies of these acquisitions are in the possession of the au-

thors.

15. U.S. Federal Census, 1840.

16. Spencer, Journal; also Edna Bailey Garnett, *West Stockbridge Massachusetts 1774–1974: The History of an Indian settlement, Queensborough or Qua-pau-kuk* (n.p., 1976), 69.

17. The details of the Spencer brothers in Nauvoo are contained in an unpublished paper by Richard W. and Claudia S. Sadler titled “The Spencer Brothers in Nauvoo” (paper written in 2007). This article focuses on Augustine Spencer and his activities and does not contain many of the details of the brothers, particularly in Nauvoo.

18. Sadler and Sadler, “The Spencer Brothers in Nauvoo.”

19. Sadler and Sadler, “The Spencer Brothers in Nauvoo.”

20. Sadler and Sadler, “The Spencer Brothers in Nauvoo.”

21. Daniel Spencer Sr. died of inflammation of the lungs on November 26, 1843. See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, November 29, 1843.

22. Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions, Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992), 580. Augustine signed his name Augustin, and follows the signatures of Orson Spencer and Catharine Spencer. The scroll petition is dated November 28, 1843, but it took several weeks for the scroll to circulate for people to sign.

23. Carthage Probate Court Records, February 9, 1844, Book G, 13, Carthage, Illinois. It is noted in the court minutes that Daniel H. Wells, Lyman Hinman, and Daniel Hendrix refused to act as Augustine’s appraisers, so he engaged Jackson, Rotospoon, and Goodwin on February 14, 1844. Wells, Hinman, and Hendrix were Mormons, and friends of Daniel, Orson, and Hiram Spencer. The refusal of Wells, Hinman, and Hendrix to act as appraisers may be an indication of the difficult feelings that had emerged between the three Spencer brothers and Augustine.

24. Letters and Bonds of Daniel Spencer Sr., LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. A February 1844 inventory of the Daniel Spencer Sr. estate noted that he had one note against him for \$100 and a second note for \$63. By March 5, 1844, the inventory noted that the Daniel Sr. estate was worth \$781.49. The estate inventory was completed by Jackson, Rotospoon, and Goodwin.

25. Carthage Probate Records, February 20, 1844, Carthage, Illinois.

26. Carthage Probate Records, February 28, 1844, Carthage, Illinois.

27. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 6, 1844.

28. Carthage Probate Records, April 1, 1844, Carthage, Illinois.

29. Chauncey L. Higbee was excommunicated on May 24, 1842; William and Wilson Law, and Robert D. Foster on April 18, 1844; and Francis M. Higbee, May 18, 1844. See Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 5:18; 6:341, 398 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). No date is given for Charles A. Foster’s excommunication.

30. See *History of the Church*, 6:344; and *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 1, 1844. For additional examinations of the April 26, 1844, altercation see Sadler, “The Life of Orson Spencer,” 22–23; Richard Lyman Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 531; Noall, *Intimate Disciple*, 403–405; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 118–19. The May 25, 1844 issue of *The Prophet* related the April 26 altercations, noting that Augustine Spencer was not a Mormon.

31. *History of the Church*, 6:354–55. In his published autobiography, Parley P. Pratt notes that he was on a mission in the East (including Massachusetts) at the time Augustine

wrote the letter from Nauvoo. See Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 290. The original copy of Pratt's letter is in the Joseph Smith Papers, Church History Library. In the original letter Pratt writes to his wife Mary Ann the following: "Dear Wife, the subject I am about to write upon this page I wish you to show to Br. Joseph Smith and afterwards to Br. Orson Spencer without Delay." The original letter was edited by B. H. Roberts for inclusion in the *History of the Church*.

32. *Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844, 3.

33. Mormon historian B. H. Roberts wrote: "Augustine Spencer was an unworthy member of a very worthy and honorable family (a brother of Orson and Daniel Spencer), that received the New Dispensation of the gospel at West Stockbridge, Berkshire county, Mass., 1838–1840. Evidently, Augustine fell under the influence of the seceders from the church at Nauvoo." B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:254, note 1 (hereafter cited as *A Comprehensive History of the Church*).

34. *History of the Church*, 6:560.

35. *History of the Church*, 6:567–68. See also Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; and Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 383; and David E. and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara, CA; and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 157.

36. *History of the Church*, 6: 561–62. See also the mittimus issued by Justice Robert F. Smith in *History of the Church*, 6:569–70. Justice Smith was also a captain of the Carthage Grays militia unit and an outspoken antagonist of the Smith brothers.

37. *History of the Church*, 6:562; see also Ronald D. Dennis, translator, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his Brother Hyrum by Dan Jones," *BYU Studies*, 24, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 87.

38. Samuel W. Taylor and Raymond D. Taylor, eds., *The John Taylor Papers: Records of the Last Utah Pioneer; Volume 1, 1836–1877* (Redwood City, CA: Trust Publisher, 1984), 81.

39. See Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 18.

40. See Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:318–20; and Lyndon W. Cook, *William Law* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1994), 31, 60. Sylvester Emmons, one of the accused Nauvoo dissidents, was a non-Mormon, a member of the Nauvoo City Council, and editor of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. In 1875, Emmons' reminiscences of the events leading to the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were published in the *Carthage Republican*. The full text of the 1875 article by Emmons follows:

"As before stated in my former communication, I was absent at Springfield when the press of the "Nauvoo Expositor" was destroyed. On my way home I met Judge Skinner and others at Rushville on their way to Springfield to ask Gov. Ford for assistance to keep the peace in Hancock. When I arrived at Carthage I found the people in a high state of excitement. In a day or two there was a force of some eight hundred men in town partially armed, ready for emergencies. Gen. Deming took command of the troops. The object was to make the prophet and his immediate counselors amenable to the law. Jo. Smith had refused to obey the demand of a warrant and appear at Carthage before a justice, and it was reported that he was in Iowa preparing to emigrate westward. During this suspended state of affairs, Mr. Grover of Warsaw, myself and another whose name I have forgotten, were appointed a committee to prepare charges against the two Smiths, Joseph and Hiram. It was the policy of most of the anti-Mormons at that time to force the Smiths to Carthage, and make them answer to charges as all other citizens were obliged to do. I with some others, wished to pursue a line of policy that would frighten the prophet and drive him off, as he was already

badly demoralized. In that event, the body of the church would have followed their leader, and the necessity for any further war would be removed. In the then state of excitement, I was afraid that the lives of the Smiths would not be safe at Carthage, and in preferring charges, which were bailable offenses, I feared that the Smiths might be induced to appear, supposing they could give bail and return home. So the committee, upon the affidavit of Mr. Spencer had a warrant issued against them for treason, or levying war against the state, which was in a technical sense true. I urged the officer to start with the warrant immediately for Nauvoo; but it was too late. He only got about half way to the city when he met the Smiths with an escort on their way to Carthage. He turned around and returned with them, and did not read his warrant to the party until they were in town. Had that warrant been read to the Prophet at Nauvoo, he was smart enough to have seen at once the danger of his incarceration, and would have started westward instead of eastward, and in all probability would not be living instead of his more talented, but more scrupulous successor.

Upon the arrival of the Smiths at the county seat, they were brought before the justice, and after a partial hearing, the case was continued and the prisoners lodged in jail. In the meantime Governor Ford and his staff had arrived on the ground, and he, with the best intentions assumed control of the contending parties, with a view of vindicating the law and preserving peace. It must be confessed that both parties badly needed a governing power; the one to curb its blind zeal and lessen its contempt for state authority and the other to restrain its lawless tendencies. I have never seen the full force of undue excitement as I saw it then. Men of amiable characteristics, and who would in their calm moments, shudder at the idea of being a party to any lawless acts, were so overcome by the general contagion, as to render them powerless to prevent mob violence.

One great element of trouble in the drama of Mormonism in Hancock county, was national, state, and local politics. Gov. Ford was accompanied by several of his democratic friends; the whig [sic] party was represented by some leading men of the state. The Mormons always cast their vote as a unit, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. In local politics they held the balance of power, and there were several defeated candidates who had old grievances to settle, and many aspiring politicians who were shaping their course for the future; hence the difficulty that Gov. Ford found in obtaining full obedience to his counsels." "Reminiscences of Mormonism," *Carthage Republican*, May 28, 1875.

41. Augustine Spencer's involvement with the Daniel Spencer Sr. estate in Berkshire County in western Massachusetts is found in the probate court records of Berkshire County, located in Pittsfield, beginning with Augustine's initial filing on August 13, 1844, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

42. Hancock County Court Records, July 30 and August 6, 1844, Carthage, Illinois. Jack Miles, the constable, is also listed as Joel S. Miles in court records.

43. Hancock County Probate and Court Records, August 13, 1844, Carthage, Illinois. The \$1500 bond required for Orson Spencer as administrator was put up in Carthage by Daniel Spencer Jr. and Orson Spencer with security approved by the court. In preparing a new estate inventory, Orson Spencer had as a resource the estate inventory done by Goodwin, Rottospoon, and Marr in the late winter of 1844 and presented to Probate Justice Greenleaf by Augustine Spencer on April 1, 1844. This inventory set the value of Daniel Spencer Sr.'s estate at \$781.49.

44. The charges concerning the missing items were made before David Greenleaf, Probate Justice of the Peace in Carthage, on September 19, 1844. The \$122.65 of specie missing was the major item although the other items missing included the following: a buck saw, an ax, a cot bedstead, a hat, a coat, a dress coat, a cloth vest, a cloth cloak, a pair of pantaloons, a box coat, 4 pair of socks, 8 flannel dresses, two flannel shirts, 3 cotton shirts, suspenders, a vest, 1 pair boots, 1 pair high shoes, 3 coverlids, 2 pair sheets, 2 pair

pillow cases, 2 pillows, 1 piece cotton cloth, and 1 iron.

45. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 29, 1845.

46. Chloe Wilson Spencer's will is located in the Hancock County Probate Records, Carthage, Illinois. The assumption that the goods were combined at her death with what remained in the estate of her husband, Daniel Spencer Sr., is one made by the authors.

47. Claudius V. Spencer to Daniel Spencer Jr., July 5, 1845, in possession of the authors.

48. Vital Statistics of West Stockbridge, Massachusetts, town clerk's office, West Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

49. Spencer, Journal, August 14, 1855 and April 8, 1856, copy in possession of the authors.