A Stake in Nauvoo’s Future

Felix and Nancy Louchamp, Milton Morrill, and a land purchase after the exodus

The Hancock County indenture of April 21, 1848

A town still worth buying into

The paper begins with a date, two sellers, and a price. On April 21, 1848, Felix and Nancy Louchamp conveyed two pieces of Hancock County land to Milton M. Morrill for a stated $250. One was a tract of about ten acres. The other was a precise address in the old city’s legal geography: Lot 4, Block 13, in Wells’s Addition to Nauvoo. [1]

For a reader who knows Nauvoo chiefly as the city the Saints left behind, this deed opens a different door. The departure of most Latter-day Saints had not ended the life of its property. Families still possessed land. Purchasers still accepted titles. Witnesses, a justice of the peace, and a county recorder still gave those transactions a lasting written form.

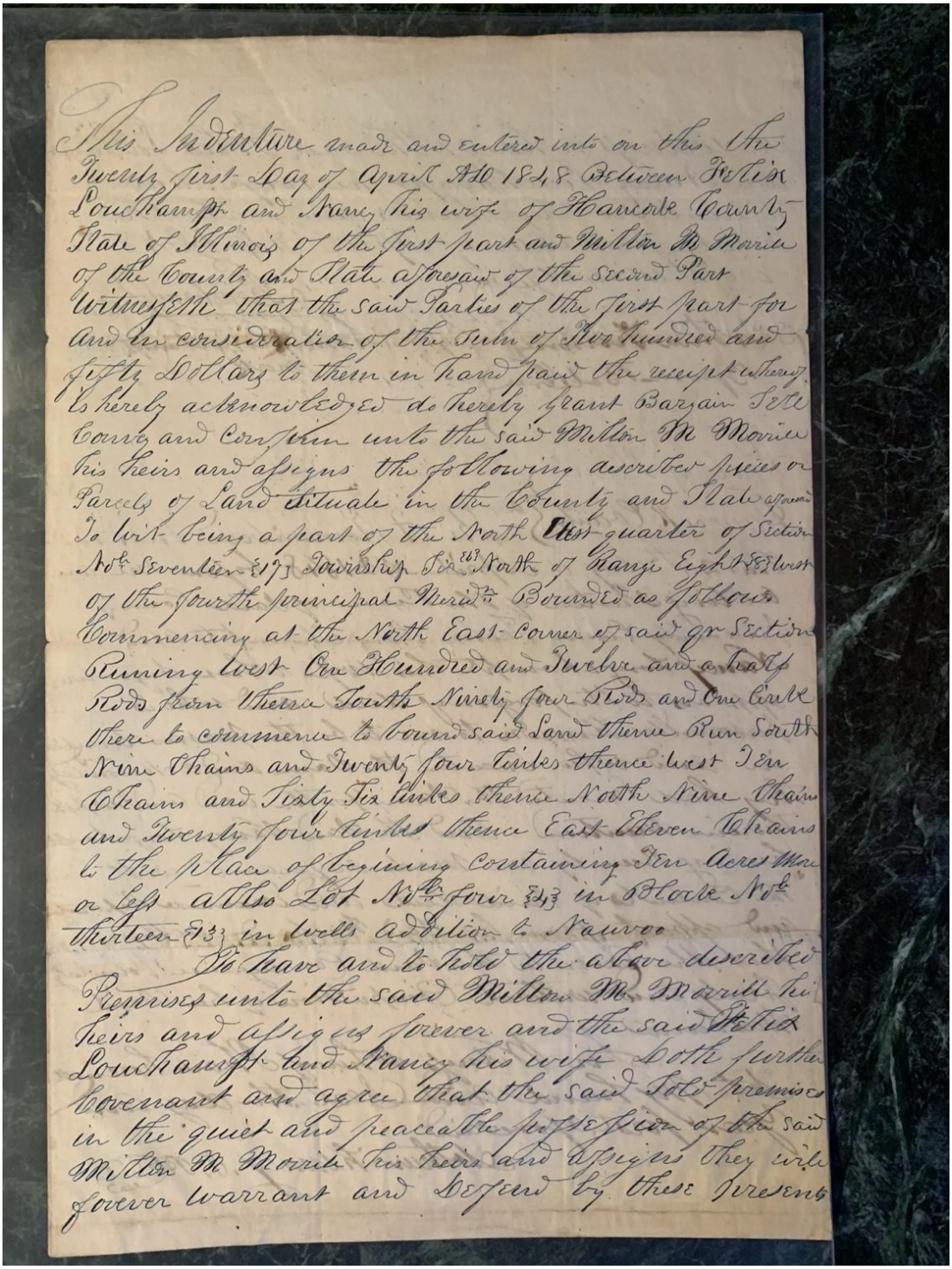
Morrill was twenty-seven, a Maine-born lawyer who had settled in Hancock County in 1845 and married Melvina A. Hibbard in 1847. In this document he appears as the purchaser, acquiring property in his own name. His public career largely lay ahead of him. [1, 2]

The temple still stood when the deed was signed. Its devastating fire would come on October 9, almost six months later; the Icarian settlement would follow in 1849. The transaction belongs to the interval between the main Mormon exodus and that next chapter of Nauvoo’s history. [3]

Highlights

- 1845 — Morrill settles in Hancock County and begins his legal career there. [2]
- 1847 — He marries Melvina A. Hibbard, linking him to a family rooted in early Nauvoo. [2, 4]
- April 21, 1848 — Felix and Nancy convey a rural tract and a Nauvoo lot for $250. [1]
- April 24, 1848 — Nancy’s separate acknowledgment is recorded by the justice. [1]
- August 4, 1848 — John Carlin, civil head of the 1846 posse against Nauvoo, records the deed in Book U, page 501. [1; C1]
- 1849 — Morrill acts in a property conveyance for Lewis and Emma Smith Bidamon. [5]

The deed: land, price, and promise

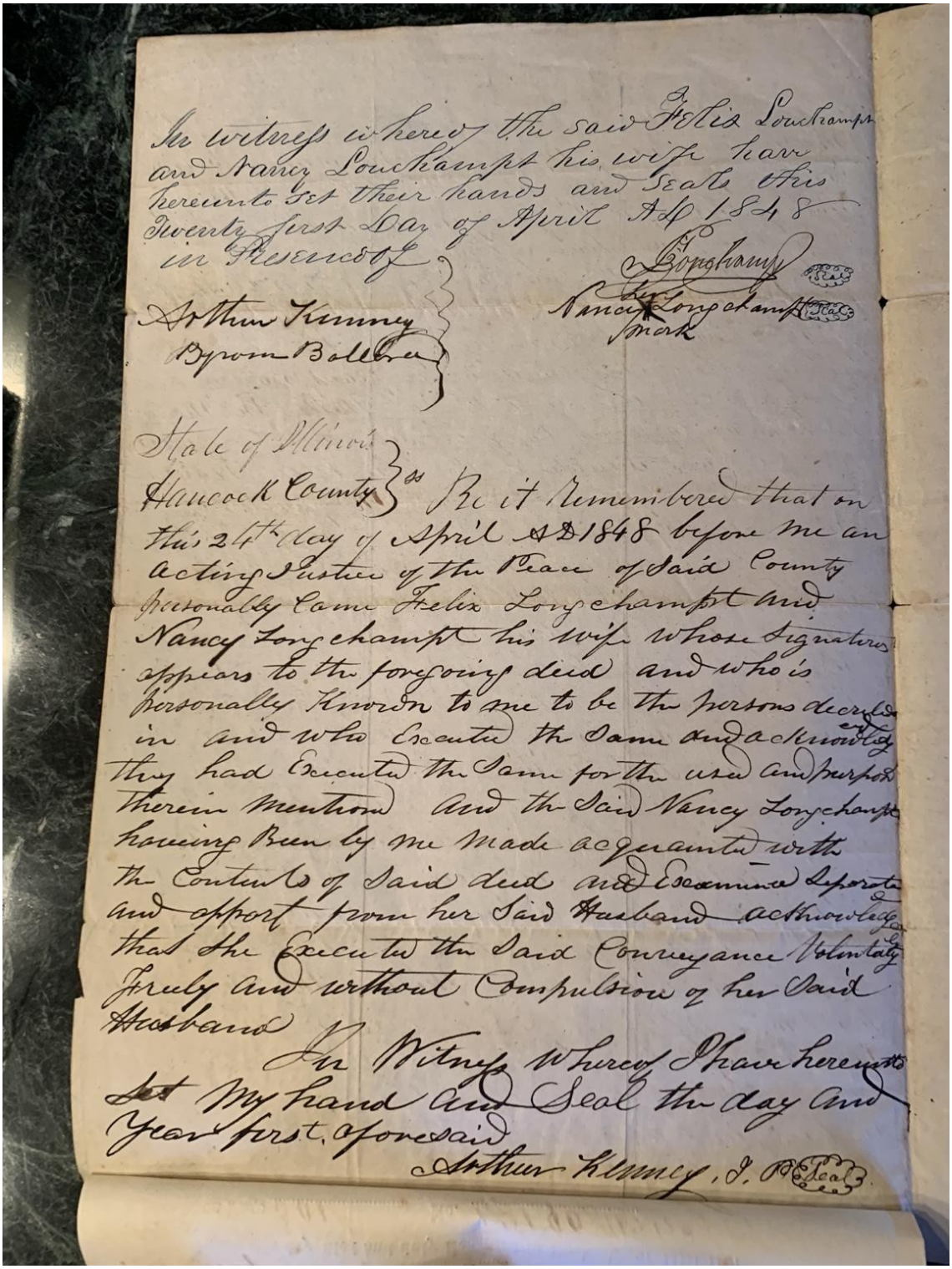


This Indenture made and entered into on this the Twenty first Day of April A.D. 1848 Between Hetick Loudhamph and Nancy his wife of Hancock County State of Illinois of the first part and Milton M. Morrill of the County and State aforesaid of the second Part Witnesseth that the said Parties of the first part for and in consideration of the Sum of Five hundred and fifty Dollars to them in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged do hereby grant Bargain Sell Convey and Confirm unto the said Milton M. Morrill his heirs and assigns the following described pieces or Parcels of Land situate in the County and State aforesaid To wit being a part of the North West quarter of Section No. Seventeen (17) Township Six (6) North of Range Eight (8) West of the fourth principal Meridian Bounded as follows Commencing at the North East corner of said qr Section Running West One Hundred and Twelve and a half Rods from thence South Ninety four Rods and One Link thence to commence to bound said Land thence Run South Nine Chains and Twenty four Links thence west Ten Chains and Sixty Six Links thence North Nine Chains and Twenty four Links thence East Eleven Chains to the Place of beginning containing Ten Acres More or less Also Lot No. four (4) in Block No. thirteen (13) in Wells addition to Nauvoo

To Have and to Hold the above described Premises unto the said Milton M. Morrill his heirs and assigns forever and the said Hetick Loudhamph and Nancy his wife both further Covenant and agree that the said Lots Premises in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said Milton M. Morrill his heirs and Assigns they will forever warrant and Defend by these Presents

Original first page, rotated upright. The body names the parties, states the $250 consideration, describes both properties, and gives the sellers' warranty. Photograph IMG_0698.jpeg. [1]

The people put their names to it



In witness whereof the said Felix Longchampt and Nancy Longchampt his wife have hereunto set their hands and seals this twenty first Day of April A.D. 1848 in Presence of

Arthur Kinney
Byron Ballard

Felix Longchampt [Seal]
Nancy Longchampt [Seal]
her mark

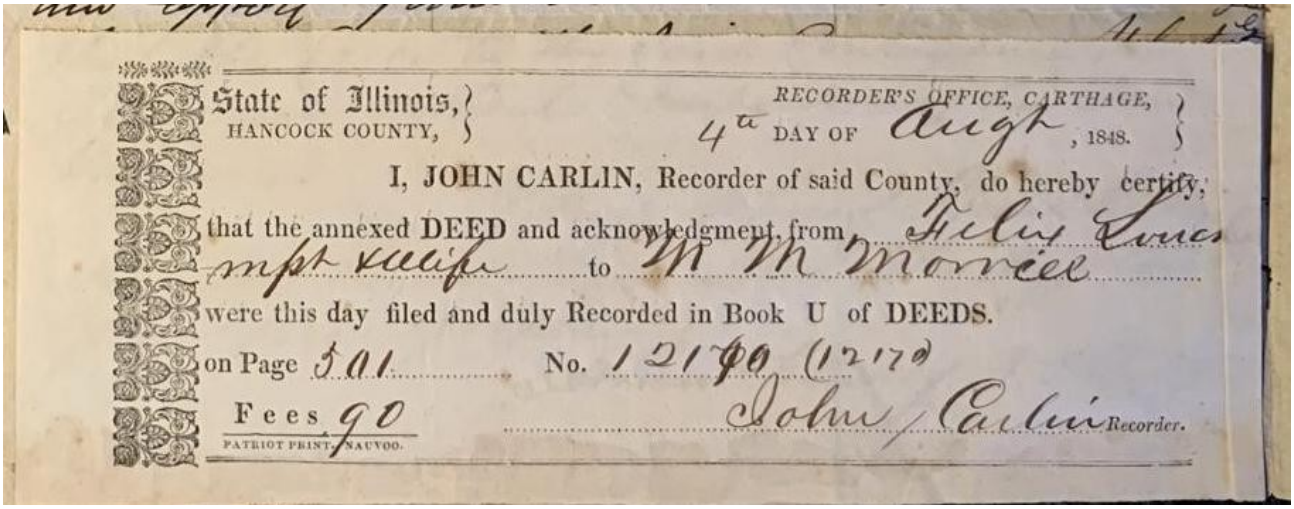
State of Illinois
Hancock County } ss Be it Remembered that on this 24th day of April A.D. 1848 before me an acting Justice of the Peace of said County personally came Felix Longchampt and Nancy Longchampt his wife whose signatures appears to the foregoing deed and who is personally known to me to be the persons described in and who executed the same and acknowledged they had Executed the same for the uses and purposes therein mentioned and the said Nancy Longchampt having been by me made acquainted with the Contents of said deed and Examined Separate and apart from her said Husband acknowledged that she executed the said Conveyance Voluntarily Freely and without Compulsion of her said Husband

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto Set My hand and Seal the day and Year first aforesaid

Arthur Kinney, J. P. [Seal]

Continuation, signatures, and acknowledgment, shown with the recorder's slip lifted. Nancy's name is accompanied by a mark; the lower certificate records her separate examination. Photograph IMG_0700.jpeg. [1]

From a private bargain to the county record



State of Illinois, HANCOCK COUNTY, } RECORDER'S OFFICE, CARTHAGE, } 4th DAY OF Augt, 1848.

I, JOHN CARLIN, Recorder of said County, do hereby certify, that the annexed DEED and acknowledgment, from Felix Lowe mpt wife to M M Morrill were this day filed and duly Recorded in Book U of DEEDS. on Page 501 No. 12170 (12170)

Fees 90 PATRIOT PRINT, NAUVOO. John Carlin Recorder.

Recording slip attached to the deed, photographed in IMG_0699.jpeg. John Carlin's certificate gives August 4, 1848, Book U, page 501. The instrument number has an alteration and is not relied upon here. [1]

The deed has three dates, each doing a different job. April 21 is the date of the bargain and execution. April 24 is the date on which the justice certified the parties' acknowledgment. August 4 is the date the paper entered the county's recorded books. The interval does not establish a dispute or explain why recording waited until summer. [1]

The small printed slip gives the story a second surviving address: Book U, page 501. This is where a researcher can seek the recorder's copy and compare every uncertain name and measurement against another contemporary version. It may also lead backward to the Louchamps' acquisition and forward to Morrill's disposal of the land.

The name on the recorder's slip carries the story back to Nauvoo's violent upheaval. In September 1846 John Carlin had been the special constable and civil head of the force that compelled the remaining Saints to leave; Thomas S. Brockman was its military commander. Less than two years later, Carlin certified this transfer to Morrill. His role gives the paper a connection to the expulsion, but does not establish that Felix and Nancy were expelled or that their sale was forced. His expanded biography follows the deed's main story. [C1, C4]

There is an unusually useful check nearby. The Joseph Smith Papers identifies a deed from Joseph and Elizabeth Williams to John G. Kauffmann on pages 499–500 of Book U, copied by John Carlin on August 4, 1848. That is a different sale, but its position and date fit the recording slip on this manuscript. Page 501 itself still needs examination. [6]

The bargain in plain language

Sellers: Felix and Nancy Louchamp, his wife; the certificate also appears to use Longchampt.

Buyer: Milton M. Morrill of Hancock County, Illinois.

Consideration: $250 for the combined conveyance; no separate price is given for either parcel.

Country property: About ten acres in the northwest quarter of Section 17, Township 6 North, Range 8 West, Fourth Principal Meridian.

Town property: Lot 4, Block 13, Wells's Addition to Nauvoo.

Reading the first page

Working transcription from the photographs. Line endings follow the manuscript approximately; superscript figures are set on the line. Brackets mark uncertain readings or editorial descriptions. The manuscript's varying surname forms are retained. [1]

This Indenture made and entered into on this the
Twenty first Day of April AD 1848 Between Felix
Louchamp and Nancy his wife of Hancock County
State of Illinois of the first part and Milton M Morrill
of the County and State aforesaid of the Second Part
Witnesseth that the said Parties of the first part for
and In consideration of the Sum of Two hundred and
fifty Dollars to them in hand paid the receipt whereof
is hereby acknowledged do hereby Grant Bargain Sell
Convey and Confirm unto the said Milton M Morrill
his heirs and assigns the following described pieces or
Parcels of Land situated in the County and State aforesaid
To wit being a part of the North West quarter of Section
No Seventeen {17} Township Six {6} North of Range Eight {8} West
of the fourth principal Meridn Bounded as follows
Commencing at the North East corner of said qr Section
Running West One Hundred and Twelve and a half
Rods from thence South Ninety four Rods and one link
there to commence to bound said land thence Run South
Nine Chains and Twenty four links thence West Ten
Chains and Sixty Six links thence North Nine Chains
and Twenty four links thence East Eleven Chains
to the Place of Beginning containing Ten Acres More
or less Also Lot No four {4} in Block No
thirteen {13} in Wells Addition to Nauvoo
To have and to hold the above described
Premises unto the said Milton M Morrill his
heirs and assigns forever and the said Felix
Louchamp and Nancy his wife doth further
Covenant and agree that the said [lot?] premises
in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said
Milton M Morrill his heirs and assigns they will
forever Warrant and Defend by these Presents

The westward and eastward boundary distances differ in this reading: 10 chains 66 links versus 11 chains. This should be checked against Book U, page 501 before drawing an exact parcel outline. No measurement has been silently corrected.

Signatures, acknowledgment, and recording

Working transcription of the continuation, using IMG_0700.jpeg for the text concealed by the slip in IMG_0699.jpeg. Arthur's surname and the second witness's surname remain provisional. [1]

In witness whereof the said Felix Louchamp
and Nancy Louchamp his wife have
hereunto Set their hands and Seals this
Twenty first Day of April AD 1848
in Presence of
Arthur [Kinney] [F. Longchampt, signature] {seal}
Byron [Ballou] Nancy [Longchampt] {seal}
[her mark]

State of Illinois }
Hancock County } ss Be it Remembered that on
this 24th day of April AD 1848 before me an
acting Justice of the Peace of said County
personally came Felix Longchampt and
Nancy Longchampt his wife whose signatures
appears to the foregoing deed and who is
personally known to me to be the persons described
in and who Executed the same and acknowledged
they had Executed the Same for the use and purposes
therein Mentioned And the said Nancy Longchampt
having been by me Made acquainted with
the Contents of said deed and Examined Separate
and apart from her said Husband acknowledged
that she Executed the said Conveyance Voluntarily
freely and without Compulsion of her said
Husband
In Witness Whereof I have hereunto
Set My hand and Seal the day and
Year first aforesaid
Arthur [Kinney] J. P. {seal}

The recorder's slip

State of Illinois, Hancock County; Recorder's Office, Carthage, 4th day of August, 1848. John Carlin certifies that the annexed deed and acknowledgment from Felix [Louchamp] & wife to M. M. Morrill were filed and recorded in Book U of Deeds, page 501. Fees: 90 [cents implied]. Imprint: "PATRIOT PRINT, NAUVOO." Instrument number uncertain owing to alteration. This paragraph is a reading summary, not a line-for-line transcription.

Milton Morrill: making a life in the city that remained

For Morrill, this purchase came early. Born in Maine in 1820, he studied law with his brother Lot and moved permanently to Hancock County in 1845. His 1847 marriage to Melvina A. Hibbard placed him within a local family whose ties reached back into Mormon Nauvoo. He would become associate county justice in 1849, prosecuting attorney in 1851, and later a state legislator. [2, 4]

The distinction matters here: he was not yet the veteran public figure remembered in later county histories. He was a young married lawyer accepting a deed. The paper does not say whether he intended to live on either parcel, rent it, farm it, or resell it. But it does show him taking a tangible interest in the community's continuing life.

His family connection gives that act added depth. Melvina's father, Davison Hibbard, had belonged to Nauvoo's Latter-day Saint community and remained in the area after the principal exodus. Our earlier study centered on the trust Hibbard placed in his son-in-law when he appointed Morrill to collect claims in 1850. This deed catches Morrill two years earlier, conducting a purchase of his own. [4]

There is also a direct connection with the Smith family's continuing property affairs. In June 1849 Morrill acted on behalf of Lewis C. and Emma Smith Bidamon in their conveyance to Michael R. Casey. That later deed does not connect the Louchamp parcels to Emma's land, but it places Morrill within the legal world through which her family managed property after Joseph Smith's death. [5]

A later newspaper adds another connection. The Warsaw Signal of June 12, 1852 lists John Carlin and M. M. Morrill in the same Democratic congressional-convention delegation. The local context strongly suggests Milton M. Morrill, although the newspaper gives only initials. This places the purchaser and recorder within a shared political circle four years after the deed; it does not explain the circumstances of the 1848 bargain. [C19b]

Nancy's part of the bargain

Nancy appears first as Felix's wife, but the document does not end with her husband's signature. Beside her written name is a mark. Then, three days after the execution date, the justice records a separate examination: she had been told the contents and acknowledged the conveyance freely, apart from her husband. [1]

This is the closest the paper comes to preserving her individual voice. The words are the official's formula, not a verbatim account of what she said. They establish what he certified; they cannot tell us whether she welcomed the sale, regretted it, or had other plans for the money. Her mark records the manner of execution, not an explanation of her education or language.

Felix's more elaborate signature, Nancy's mark, and the official acknowledgment give the story different kinds of human evidence. None supplies their birthplace or date of arrival. A French-looking surname alone cannot establish that they were French immigrants, members of the Icarian community, or Latter-day Saints.

Two pieces of land, two ways into the story

The country tract is described by a chain of directions and distances beginning from the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of Section 17. The writer first locates the starting point, then traces the intended boundaries. The town lot needs only three identifying details: Wells's Addition, Block 13, Lot 4. The difference reflects two ways of locating property, both made part of one sale. [1]

Wells's Addition is a meaningful connection with Mormon-era Nauvoo. Daniel H. and Eliza Wells conveyed the temple site in that same addition to Joseph Smith as trustee-in-trust in 1843. But their deed concerned Block 20, not Block 13. The shared addition places the Louchamp lot in the city's earlier land-development story; it does not make it temple property. [7]

The Joseph Smith Papers' reconstructed map of Nauvoo's plats, blocks, and lots provides a starting point for locating Block 13. A precise modern address, a house identification, and the lot's chain of ownership require comparison with the actual Wells plat and subsequent deeds. No building is named in this indenture. [1, 8]

The stated $250 covers the conveyance as a whole. Dividing it by ten acres would misleadingly ignore the town lot; calling it a distressed-sale price would assume circumstances the paper does not give. The sellers promise to warrant and defend Morrill's possession, but there is no statement here that a competing claimant had appeared. [1]

The people still just beyond the page

Felix and Nancy can be placed in Hancock County on the deed's own terms, but their earlier and later histories remain open. The acknowledgment's apparent "Longchampt" supplies another spelling to test alongside Louchamp, Louchampt, Longchamp, and Lonchampt. Their sale is not evidence by itself that they were leaving the county.

Arthur, whose surname is provisionally read Kinney, served both as witness and as the justice taking the acknowledgment. The other witness appears to be Byron Ballou. Those roles are visible; full biographical identifications are not yet secure. John Carlin is more firmly anchored by the recorder's slip and the neighboring recorded deed. [1, 6]

The next chapter lies in the deeds

The most valuable next document is Book U, page 501. From there, the grantor and grantee indexes can connect both parcels to earlier and later owners. Census and marriage records can then test the Louchamps' identities against a specific couple, while justice-of-the-peace records can settle Arthur's name. The story already has a clear beginning: in the spring before the temple burned, a couple sold land and a young lawyer acquired a stake in Nauvoo's future.

John Carlin: the man behind the recorder's slip

Expanded biography • Civil authority, the Nauvoo expulsion, and public life in Hancock County

John Carlin was a Hancock County civil officer whose name joins two sharply different kinds of historical evidence: the armed expulsion of the remaining Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo in September 1846, and the routine recording of deeds that preserved the city's property history afterward. The September 16 surrender agreement names him as special constable and civil head of the posse, while naming Thomas S. Brockman as its commander. The distinction matters: Carlin supplied the asserted civil authority behind the force; Brockman directed its military operations. Carlin was a participant in the successful coercion of Nauvoo, but describing him simply as the general who won the battle would obscure the offices the agreement itself assigns. [C1]

The immediate anchor for this biography is the recording certificate on the April 21, 1848 Felix and Nancy Louchamp or Longchampt deed to Milton M. Morrill. Carlin certified its recording on August 4, 1848, in Hancock County Deed Book U, page 501. His official appearance on that paper is not incidental to the larger history: the man associated with the 1846 expulsion subsequently participated in preserving the legal record of Nauvoo land transfers. This does not show that he engineered this particular sale, met its sellers, or shared in its proceeds. [C4]

This is a cumulative biographical record. The public career of 1846–1850 is substantially documented; the complete life history remains open. An 1850 household supplies a strong candidate for his age and family, and an 1860 Masonic directory offers a valuable later lead. Neither an authenticated portrait nor a securely connected death or burial record has yet been established.

Identity and present findings

Field	Present finding and evidentiary status
Preferred name	John Carlin; no middle name established for this subject
Principal place	Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois; operations at Nauvoo in 1846
Birth	Probably about 1817–1818 in Illinois, conditional on the 1850 census identification; exact date and parents unresolved
Civil offices	Special constable in 1846; recorder securely attested in 1848–1849; newspaper identifies him as elected recorder August 2, 1847, and as sheriff in February 1850
Earlier recording work	Joseph Smith Papers attributes entries copied May 1 and May 4, 1846 to his handwriting; this alone does not establish his formal office then
Household candidate	John, 32; Martha J., 26; James William, 2; Mary Ad, 10 months; additional Smith and Flood residents, 1850
Political activity	Anti-Mormon leader in 1846; Democrat in the August 1847 election report and March/June 1852 convention reports
Military status	Civil head of a posse; no verified militia commission or personal Carthage Greys enrollment in the evidence assembled
Fraternal lead	John Carlin listed as master of Hancock Lodge No. 20, Carthage, in an 1860 directory; continuity with the subject remains probable rather than proved
Religion	Personal denominational affiliation unresolved
Death and burial	Unresolved; no exact date should be assigned
Portrait	No authenticated likeness identified; namesake portraits excluded

Origins and the household question

The strongest new lead toward Carlin's private life is the 1850 federal census transcription for Hancock County, page 278A, dwelling and family 123. It records John Carlin, age thirty-two, Illinois-born, occupation “Sheriff.” The next entries are Martha J., twenty-six, born in Kentucky; James William, two, born in Illinois; and “Mary Ad,” ten months, born in Illinois. The last name reading must be checked against the original image rather than expanded to a guessed name. [C6]

The same household also contains Elinor Smith, forty-eight, Georgia-born; Dennison Smith, seventeen, a stage driver born in Illinois; Ella Smith, fourteen, Illinois-born; and William Flood, seventeen, a Kentucky-born laborer. These names are useful for tracking the household, but they do not establish Martha's maiden name or any kinship. The 1850 census does not state relationships to the head of household. Martha is a probable wife and the young Carlins probable children, not yet proved as such by this schedule alone. [C6]

A later county history independently identifies John Carlin as sheriff at the openings of the April 15 and September 16, 1850 circuit court terms. That unusual occupational agreement makes the census match considerably stronger than a same-name match alone. Nevertheless, the household should remain a probable identification until the original census, marriage register, and later household or probate evidence can be connected. The county history's online text is a machine-generated transcription and deserves comparison with the printed page and court orders. [C7]

No defensible account of his childhood, schooling, parents, arrival in Hancock County, marriage date, or early business can yet be supplied. Nor has a relationship to Governor Thomas Carlin been established. Sharing the surname, county connections, or anti-Mormon political associations is insufficient to construct a family relationship.

Recording work before and after the crisis

The Joseph Smith Papers provides a series of independently cataloged examples of Carlin's handwriting in the Hancock deed books. A Joseph Smith-to-Hezekiah Sprague deed was copied May 1, 1846, in Book O, page 612; a Smith-to-William McIntire deed was copied May 4, 1846, in Book O, page 633. These are recording dates, distinct from the original deeds' 1843 execution dates. They place work attributed to Carlin in the record books before the September battle. [C5a–b]

This creates an important qualification to Governor Thomas Ford's account. Ford wrote that Carlin had been appointed special constable under a promise that he would be elected recorder in place of a recorder sympathetic to the Mormons. Ford's statement is evidence of a contemporary political allegation, not by itself a certified election history. Earlier copying by Carlin could be compatible with deputy or clerical service before election to the principal office; it could also require closer review of the dates and handwriting attribution. Until commission, bond, and election records are examined, neither a precise beginning date for his recordership nor a simple reward-for-expulsion narrative should be treated as settled. [C2, 5a–b]

His later record work is extensive enough to establish more than a single isolated appearance. The LeBaron-to-John Seller deed was copied October 31, 1846, in Book Q, pages 501–502. Emma Smith's deed to Benjamin P. VanCourt was copied December 23, 1847, in Book T, pages 352–353. The nearby Williams-to-Kauffmann deed in Book U, pages 499–500, was copied August 4, 1848, the same date shown on the Louchamp recording slip for page 501. [C5c–e]

An especially useful comparison is a surviving printed recorder's certificate attached to Joseph Smith's 1842 deed to Alonzo LeBaron. It names John Carlin as recorder and certifies recording on March 29, 1849, in Book V, pages 385–386. The Joseph Smith Papers identifies its manuscript additions as Carlin's handwriting. This is a better comparison for the 1848 certificate than an unrelated signature collected without provenance. [C5f]

In August 1849 he also copied a deed executed by Milton M. Morrill on behalf of Lewis C. and Emma Smith Bidamon. Thus Morrill and Carlin reappear within the same property-record system after the Louchamp conveyance. Their official contact does not establish friendship or complicity in the earlier expulsion. A newly located June 1852 newspaper report independently places Carlin and M. M. Morrill in the same Democratic congressional-convention delegation. [C19] [C5g]

Appointment and mobilization in 1846

Thomas Gregg's 1880 county history places the immediate origin of Carlin's expedition in warrants issued by John Banks, a magistrate in Rocky Run Township, against Clifford, Furness, and Pickett. Gregg calls Carlin a deputy sheriff of Carthage and dates his initial visit to Nauvoo to August 7. In that account, Furness furnished bail, Clifford became ill, and Pickett resisted arrest. Gregg then dates Carlin's call for a posse to August 17, directing men to assemble at Carthage on August 24. The August 11, 18, and 25, 1846 Warsaw Signal pages now provide contemporary newspaper counterparts to this sequence, including Carlin’s proclamation and debate about his authority. These partisan accounts still require comparison with the original warrants and appointment. [C16] [C3, pp. 347–348]

Ford describes the special constable and his assembling force in connection with the beginning of September. The difference between his broad chronology and Gregg's August sequence should remain visible. It need not mean two different Carlins or two incompatible campaigns: an initial effort to serve process, a call for assistance, and the later concentration of hundreds of men could have occurred at different stages. The original appointment instrument is still essential to settle the exact date and scope of the special commission. [C2–3]

The central historical problem is the expansion of an asserted arrest power into an organized campaign to remove a religious population. A posse comitatus was presented as assistance to a civil officer, but Carlin's force acquired military commanders, regiments, artillery, and a demand for collective departure. His adversaries denied that the legal form justified what the force was doing. His supporters maintained that civil process had to be executed. The biography should preserve both the asserted authority and the coercive acts, rather than allowing the official title to decide the legitimacy of the expedition. [C1–3]

Ford reports that Carlin admitted prisoners would be murdered if taken out of Nauvoo. That is a serious allegation and should always be attributed to Ford. Ford was governor during the crisis and had direct knowledge of official measures, but his published account also defended his own administration and criticized political opponents. Fullmer, a church trustee and participant, wrote from the position of the threatened community. Their agreement on Carlin's central role is important; their judgments of motive are not interchangeable with an original court finding. [C1–2]

Governor Ford sent Major Parker to preserve the peace. Gregg reproduces an August 21 order and describes Parker's August 25 proclamation demanding the dispersal of Carlin's force. Carlin responded that he was a civil officer performing a lawful duty and warned that, if Parker interfered, he would regard Parker's men as a mob. That exchange illustrates competing claims to public authority. Parker's initials vary across the texts: the agreement printed by Fullmer gives J. R. Parker, while Gregg's narrative gives James E. Parker. The original commission should control a final expansion of the name. [C1, pp. 30–35; 3, pp. 347–349]

The Singleton Chittenden Parker agreement

The agreement associated with James W. Singleton, John B. Chittenden, and Major Parker is real, but it is not the final surrender of Nauvoo. It belongs to the failed negotiations preceding the main fighting. Fullmer prints a Singleton letter dated September 7, 1846, followed by an undated proposed settlement. He expressly says his version is the outline published in the Quincy Whig and that he had not inspected the actual agreement. Accordingly, September 7 securely dates the letter; it should not automatically be assigned as the execution date of the separate agreement. [C1, pp. 33–35]

The proposed settlement required the Mormon population to begin leaving immediately and depart from the state or disperse within sixty days, with a business exception. Twenty-five men authorized by the

governor would remain to protect residents and preserve peace. Nauvoo residents and those outside the city would divide their expenses, secured by bonds. A governor-selected attorney would supervise writs. The Saints' arms would be deposited with Brayman and returned upon departure, and Singleton's force would disband after certification that the arms had been surrendered. Hostilities and independently raised armed posses were to cease. [C1, pp. 34–35]

Fullmer's printed signatories on the anti-Mormon side are James W. Singleton of Brown County, J. B. Chittenden of Adams, N. Montgomery of McDonough, James King of Schuyler, and J. H. Sherman of Hancock. On the other side are Major J. R. Parker and Messrs. Smith, Reynolds, and Edmons of Nauvoo. Although styled as acting for the Mormons, Fullmer says the civilian signers on that side were non-Mormon new citizens friendly to them. Their full identities should not be silently supplied. John Carlin is not among these printed signatories. [C1, p. 35]

The force rejected the settlement. Ford describes rejection by a small majority; Gregg says officers and men rejected it unanimously. Both accounts agree on failure and the withdrawal of the earlier leaders, but their descriptions of the vote cannot both be used as a single precise fact. Fullmer likewise describes rejection and the departure of Singleton and Parker. Carlin remained, and Brockman became the military commander. This is the institutional continuity that makes the failed agreement central to Carlin's biography: the general changed, but the civil officer around whose writs the force had assembled did not. [C1–3]

From the September 8 demands to battle

Fullmer prints a new set of propositions dated September 8, signed by John Carlin and Thomas S. Brockman. They required execution of Carlin's writs if the named persons could be found, surrender of arms until their owners left the state, a march through Nauvoo, departure of the Mormons within thirty days, and a force stationed in the city at the anti-Mormon leadership's discretion. This was a separate and more demanding proposal, not a mere alternate name for the earlier sixty-day settlement. [C1, pp. 35–36]

By September 10 the force was near Nauvoo. Accounts differ about numbers: Gregg describes six hundred to eight hundred at an earlier camp and roughly seven hundred advancing; Fullmer says the force had grown beyond one thousand near the city. Richard E. Bennett's 1996 account summarizes an early strength of six hundred to one thousand. These figures reflect estimates and stages, not a surviving consolidated muster roll. The safe description is a force of several hundred that expanded during the crisis. A precise total must specify its date, source, and whether it counts armed men alone. [C1, p. 36; 3, pp. 349–350; 10]

Nauvoo's defenders included Latter-day Saints and non-Mormon new citizens. Their interests overlapped without being identical: some defended their religious community and ability to depart safely; others defended homes, investments, and civil security. The presence of non-Mormon defenders prevents the conflict from being understood as two completely uniform religious armies. [C1, 3]

The important engagement occurred September 12, following earlier exchanges. Fullmer describes the defenders repulsing an attack; the ensuing pressure and negotiations nevertheless ended in surrender on September 16. Consequently, the statement that Carlin led a force “to victory” requires definition. His side achieved its strategic objective of possession and expulsion, but that does not establish his personal tactical command or a clean battlefield victory in each engagement. Brockman is the officer named as commander in the surrender instrument. [C1, pp. 36–39; 3, pp. 350–353]

Later recollections can supplement this sequence, but they require testing. John Dee Stevens's published biography connects him with Carlin's force while calling the commander “Thomas Muckman” and dating the episode to October. Those errors make it unsafe to adopt all of that recollection literally. An anti-Mormon recollection by Hawkins Taylor, quoted in Laban B. Fleak's 1882 autobiographical material, also describes the use of writs and opposing posses. It offers a valuable perspective from the other side but was written decades after the event. [C11, 15]

The surrender of September 16

The final “Articles of accommodation, treaty, and agreement” explicitly joined three parties: the church trustees Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood, and John S. Fullmer; Brockman as commander and Carlin as special constable and civil head of the posse; and Andrew Johnson as chairman for the Quincy citizens. The reproduced text distinguishes these roles with unusual clarity. “Johnson” is the spelling in Fullmer's printing; other accounts use “Johnston.” No identification with the later United States president is implied. [C1, p. 39]

Nauvoo was to surrender, with Brockman's force entering September 17 at three in the afternoon. Arms would be placed with the Quincy committee and returned when their owners crossed the river. The committee and the occupying force pledged protection of persons and property; the sick and helpless were to be treated humanely. The Mormon population was to leave the state or disperse as soon as it could cross the river. Five men including the trustees, and five clerks with their families, could remain to dispose of property; William Pickett was specifically excluded. Hostilities were to cease immediately. [C1, p. 39]

Carlin's printed subscription makes him a party to these terms, including the promises of protection. It does not establish that he alone drafted the agreement or personally negotiated every clause. The surviving published text supports a precise statement: he ratified the surrender as the civil head of the force. [C1]

Fullmer pointed out the contradiction between the original justification of arresting Pickett and the final provision excluding Pickett from the city. Gregg also observed that execution of the writs had disappeared from the final articles. This does not settle every disputed criminal allegation behind the conflict, but it clearly shows the change from an ostensible arrest operation to compulsory population removal. [C1, p. 40; 3, p. 353]

Ford and Fullmer describe abuse and insecurity surrounding the city's subjection, and Bennett summarizes the occupation's violence and displacement. Those accounts justify discussing the humanitarian consequences of the campaign. They do not authorize attributing every individual act of plunder or assault personally to Carlin without further evidence. His documented leadership and signature are serious enough to describe accurately without enlarging them by inference. [C1–2, 10]

Sheriff and later community connections

The 1850 sheriff evidence suggests that Carlin continued to occupy a recognized place in county government after his recordership. Charles J. Scofield's county history lists him at two court openings alongside Judge William A. Minshall, clerk David E. Head, and state's attorney Robert S. Blackwell. It lists William A. Patterson as sheriff by the June 2, 1851 term. Those entries establish reported officeholding at particular dates; they do not by themselves give exact inauguration and retirement dates. [C7]

A Carthage Township officials table lists John Carlin as assessor in 1858. The name, place, and civic occupation make this a plausible continuation, but the office entry alone does not prove continuity with the recorder and special constable. It belongs in the chronology as a probable later match pending township records and census confirmation. [C8]

Leon Hyneman's World's Masonic Register, published in 1860, lists Hancock Lodge No. 20 at Carthage and names John Carlin under the heading “Master.” This is contemporary printed evidence for a Carthage Masonic officer of that name. It is a significant route into lodge minutes, annual returns, obituary notices, and possibly a lodge-held portrait. It does not yet establish this subject's initiation date, a continuous term of service, or that every year surrounding publication had the same master. The identification with the subject is probable and should retain that qualification. [C9]

No verified Missouri militia service, Nauvoo Legion service, regular military commission, Carthage Greys enrollment, Masonic initiation record, personal church membership, or later party conversion is

established here. The campaign included men associated with other organizations, but an association of the force must not automatically become a personal affiliation of every leader.

Documentary chronology

Date	Event	Status
About 1817–1818	Possible birth in Illinois, inferred from age 32 in 1850	Conditional on census identity
May 1 and 4, 1846	Deed-book copying attributed to John Carlin	Institutional handwriting attribution
August 7, 1846	Attempt to execute warrants at Nauvoo	Gregg's later chronology
August 17 and 24, 1846	Posse proclamation and intended assembly	Gregg's later chronology
Early September 1846	Singleton–Chittenden–Parker settlement fails	Multiple accounts; agreement itself undated in Fullmer
September 8, 1846	Carlin and Brockman issue demands	Dated text printed by Fullmer
September 10–12, 1846	Force approaches; exchanges and major engagement	Participant and later accounts
September 16, 1846	Carlin subscribes surrender terms	Printed agreement
September 17, 1846	Scheduled entry into Nauvoo	Agreement specifies 3 p.m.
October 31, 1846	LeBaron-to-Seller deed copied in Book Q	Joseph Smith Papers source note
August 2, 1847	Elected recorder as a Democrat	Contemporary Signal election report [C17]
August 4, 1848	Louchamp-to-Morrill deed recorded, U:501	Owner's document and project record
March 29, 1849	Recorder's certificate on LeBaron deed, V:385–386	Surviving certificate reproduced by JSP
April and September 1850	John Carlin listed as county sheriff	County history; census corroborates occupation
1858	John Carlin named Carthage assessor	Probable later match
1860 publication	John Carlin listed as Hancock Lodge master	Probable later match; term dates unresolved

The contemporary newspaper findings below add his 1849 sheriff candidacy, February 1850 office listing, March and June 1852 Democratic appointments, May 1852 land advertisement, and August 1855 agricultural-fair appointment to this chronology.

Portrait and documentary images

No authenticated portrait of this John Carlin has been located in the accessible sources searched. Images of John Carlin the Philadelphia-born artist, 1813–1891, and John W. Carlin the twentieth-century governor and archivist belong to different men. Museum records also commonly name Carlin as the artist of a portrait whose sitter is someone else. None should be used as the subject's likeness. [C12]

The attached facsimile of Fullmer's 1855 page 39 is documentary illustration, not a portrait and not the original signed treaty. Its signature block is typeset. It preserves an early participant's printing of Carlin's name and official role, together with the surrender provisions. The lower-left portion of the scanned page is damaged; the caption preserves that limitation. The complete public-domain pamphlet is retained with this project. [C1]

The original Louchamp recording slip remains another suitable documentary illustration and signature-comparison lead. A portrait should be added only with a repository description, inscription, publication context, or reliable family provenance identifying the Hancock official. The Hancock County Historical Society's card files and the records of Hancock Lodge are the most concrete next repositories to consult. [C4, 9, 14]

Source assessment and remaining research

The evidence supports a strong identification of the special constable with the later Hancock recorder, but it is not a complete birth-to-death identity proof. Ford explicitly connects the constable with an expected recorder position; the name, county, time, and surviving certificates fit. The May 1846 copying evidence complicates the office chronology without disproving that identity. The census, assessor, and lodge entries form successive research leads rather than permission to fill all remaining gaps from unrelated family trees.

B. H. Roberts's Comprehensive History, volume 3, remains a specified source to verify directly. A secondary burial compilation points to volume 3, chapter 70, pages 13–14 for battle casualties. The linked HathiTrust volume could not be inspected in this research pass. No quotation or page-specific Carlin claim in this biography is therefore attributed to that volume as though it had been read. The six-volume Comprehensive History must be kept separate from the seven-volume History of the Church and from Roberts's earlier Rise and Fall of Nauvoo. The latter was located but does not substitute for the requested volume. [C13]

The dictated reference “Wade Mae” has not been securely identified. It may be an author's name or a misheard title; no candidate has been adopted. The exact spelling, title, or a photograph of the passage would allow that source to be assessed without risking a false attribution.

Priority records are the original 1850 census image and 1860 household; the Hancock marriage entry for John and Martha; recorder and sheriff election returns, commissions, bonds and deputy appointments; Carthage assessor records; Hancock Lodge No. 20 returns and minutes; and probate, cemetery and newspaper records connecting the later family. Each should be searched with the household associates as well as Carlin's name. The occupation and local associates provide better identity controls than the surname alone.

For the 1846 campaign, the priority is the original special-constable appointment, John Banks's docket and writs, Carlin's August proclamation, the September 1846 Quincy Whig and Warsaw Signal, and the original or earliest copies of the three negotiating documents. Particular questions are the date of the rejected settlement, the manner of its rejection, the scope of Carlin's actual warrant, and his personal actions during occupation. An authenticated signature comparison should use original certificates, not names copied into deed books by later clerks.

No record request or message has been sent to a repository. Public web searching is not equivalent to examination of unindexed manuscript holdings. Birth, parentage, marriage, death, burial, complete office dates, and portrait authentication remain open objectives in this permanent record.

Contemporary newspaper evidence: new findings

A search of the Warsaw Public Library archive for Carlin over 1840–1870 returned 71 indexed page hits. These are not 71 references to this man: many concern Governor Thomas Carlin, other Carlins, or duplicate and reprinted material. Searches for Carvan and Carlen returned no hits in that date range; Karlin returned one ambiguous 1849 hit. OCR omissions mean none of these counts measures the complete historical record. The following findings distinguish inspected scans from leads retained for further examination.

The August 1846 crisis in the Warsaw Signal

The August 11 issue, archive page 2, describes an attempt by Carlin, styled acting sheriff, to execute writs involving Clifford, Furnace and Pickett. The August 18 issue, archive page 2, contains Carlin’s

account of the arrests and resistance, as well as discussion of his proclamation. The August 25 issue, archive page 2, argues over his appointment as special constable and the legal authority for assembling a posse. These pages are contemporary evidence of what Carlin and his supporters claimed. The Signal's openly anti-Mormon position makes comparison with the Hancock Eagle especially important. [C16]

October 13 and October 20, 1846 search results contain extensive correspondence and battle narratives, including Carlin's letters, appointment of Brockman, and negotiating documents. Their archive numbering includes multiple apparent versions or supplemental pages. Exact printed pagination and textual relationships require further comparison before citing them as separate independent accounts. The October 20 archive page 3 also contains election discussion involving Carlin, Smith and Sharp; the office and result should not be inferred from its isolated search excerpt. [C16]

Recorder election and party affiliation, 1847

The Signal of August 14, 1847, archive page 2, under "The Elected," reports officers elected on Monday, August 2, and lists Carlin as recorder with the Democratic designation. The original page was visually checked. This supplies a firm election date and party identification, although it does not establish when he first entered the recorder's office or whether he had served earlier as a deputy. The November 20 issue also lists him among county officers as recorder. [C17]

Sheriff candidacy and the road-tax controversy

On October 27, 1849, archive page 1, the Signal discussed Carlin as a sheriff candidate. Its editorial conceded his likely competence but criticized his alignment with a local political faction and his persistent pursuit of office, advocating A. W. Stevenson instead. Its claim that Carlin had held office ever since arriving in the county is political rhetoric, not an independently established arrival date or complete service list. [C18a]

The February 23, 1850 Signal, archive page 3, lists John Carlin as sheriff. On September 13, 1851, archive page 2, "The End of a Case" recalled his collection of over $1,600 in township road taxes. The editorial said about $700 had been tendered in county orders and approximately $900 initially refused, then accepted by the supervisors by a one-vote majority. It questioned possible profit from using discounted orders but acknowledged disagreement among lawyers about legality. This establishes a contemporary public controversy and the newspaper's account of an administrative resolution; it establishes no criminal conviction. Its uncertain recollection of the year, 1849, must be preserved as uncertain. [C18b–c]

Democratic activity and the Morrill connection, 1852

The March 13, 1852 Signal, archive page 2, reports a Democratic meeting at Carthage on March 1. John Carlin and J. M. True served as secretaries. Carlin was also selected as a delegate to the state convention, alongside Jacob C. Davis, John M. Ferris, Amos Curtis and James Irwin. The scanned text reads John M. Ferris; the search excerpt's John L. is an OCR error. [C19a]

The June 12, 1852 Signal, archive page 2, lists both John Carlin and M. M. Morrill among twenty-one delegates selected for a Democratic congressional convention. This is a documented political association between the recorder and a man with the purchaser's initials. In the Hancock context, identification of M. M. Morrill with Milton M. Morrill is highly plausible, but the newspaper does not expand the initials. It does not prove a personal friendship or explain the Louchamp transaction four years earlier. [C19b]

Land advertising and agricultural activity

The Warsaw Commercial Journal, May 1, 1852, archive page 4, carried a land-sale advertisement directing inquiries to John Carlin at Carthage. It offered prairie land near Warsaw and Hamilton and additional tracts. The adjacent advertisement for property in Nauvoo is a separate notice and must not be attributed to Carlin merely because it follows his. This is evidence of his involvement in offering land for sale, not proof that he owned every advertised parcel. [C20]

The Warsaw Express, August 30, 1855, archive page 2, reports appointments made at a Hancock County Agricultural Fair managers' meeting in Carthage on August 18. John Carlin of Carthage appears as one of the horse judges. The locality supports identification with the subject, but the notice alone does not supply his family or prove an occupation as a horse dealer. [C21]

Nauvoo and Carthage: holdings located, examination incomplete

The Illinois Newspaper Project identifies surviving 1846 Hancock Eagle issues at several repositories. Quincy Public Library's holdings include August 14–28; Carthage Public Library lists April 10–August 28 with missing issues; other copies are at the University of Illinois, Knox College, Southern Illinois University, and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. These August issues are the most direct next comparison for the Signal's claims about resistance, warrants, and the new citizens. The Eagle pages on microfilm have not been examined in this research edition. [C22]

Carthage Public Library lists the Carthage Republican from June 8, 1854 and the Carthage Gazette from June 29, 1865 on microfilm. They offer promising later-life, property, family, lodge, and obituary coverage; these holdings cannot supply a Carthage newspaper account published during the 1846 battle. Repository holdings are leads, not negative search results. No claim is made that these runs have been searched page by page. [C23]

Additional indexed Warsaw leads preserved for follow-up include an August 18, 1846 legal notice styling Carlin elisor, a June 29, 1854 list, December 15, 1859 county proceedings, July 12, 1860 land-tax material, and a July 22, 1858 list naming J. Carlin. Names, roles and identities must be read in context before adding them as established biography.

Present historical assessment

Carlin belongs in the Hancock biographical collection because his career links coercive local politics with the civil machinery that continued to govern property and courts. His place in the 1846 crisis is well supported: he was the civil head of the force, remained through its change of military commanders, joined the September 8 demands, and subscribed the September 16 surrender. His later recorder's certificates place his name on the documentation of the community that survived that crisis. [C1–5]

The expanded biography can therefore say considerably more than "a recorder who signed a deed," while resisting a falsely complete life story. Its strongest conclusions concern conduct and office at particular dates. Its weakest areas are origins and later family history. Future additions should strengthen those areas without erasing the distinctions among contemporary records, partisan participant accounts, later histories, and provisional family identifications.

The surrender agreement in an early printed account

miles, the train did not return till some time on Monday. This battle, and especially the way in which the mob were handled, had something serious in it, and awakened the sensibilities of the *legal* men in that town, most of whom had been prominent in getting up this mob. The idea now of forming a committee of mediation was acted upon; hence, what was called the Quincy Committee of *one hundred*, waited upon the belligerent parties, during the time that preparations were making for further hostilities. This committee did not mediate for the *rights of man*, but to spare the effusion of blood, which they represented would inevitably flow in case of failure to settle on some terms, and perhaps a general massacre and conflagration, the responsibility of which must come upon our own heads, if we should refuse to treat. We had been summoned, before the last engagement, to surrender at discretion, *without terms;* now, however, terms were again offered, and perhaps through the influence of the committee. The mob was also daily swelling in numbers, while the force in the city was materially diminishing. Several hundred men, who had been stationed on the west side of the river before the last battle, with *red* flags, denoting no quarter, and to cut off our retreat, still occupied that threatening position. Under these trying circumstances the Trustees of the Church were called upon to accept or reject the best and last proposition—the *ultimatum* of General BROCKMAN. This was a fearful responsibility; to treat upon the terms offered seemed cruel, but when it was considered that the cruelty attached itself to those who had the power to impose such terms, and that to reject them would, in all probability, be followed by a general massacre, it was deemed folly to hesitate. The following are the terms of the *ultimatum*, to wit—

Articles of accommodation, treaty, and agreement, made and entered into, this sixteenth of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood, and John S. Fullmer, Trustees in trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, Commander of the posse, and John Carlin, Special Constable and civil head of the posse of Hancock County, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, Chairman of the Citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

1st. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman, to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock p.m.

2nd. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3rd. The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4th. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5th. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6th. Five men, including the Trustees of the Church, and five Clerks, with their families, (William Pickett not one of the number,) to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7th. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

e undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of ac-
n, treaty, and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABBITT,
EPH L. HEYWOOD, and
S. FULLMER,
rust for the Church of Jesus
ist of Latter-day Saints.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Chairman
of the Committee of Quincy,
THOMAS S. BROCKMAN, Com-
manding posse,
JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.

www.LatterDayTruth.org

John S. Fullmer, 1855, p. 39. The printed September 16, 1846 agreement names Carlin as special constable and civil head of the posse. This is an early printed text, not an autograph original. Damage at lower left affects the signature block; Carlin's name and title remain visible at lower right. Scan: LatterDayTruth.org. [C1]

Sources and document notes

[1] Original indenture, Felix and Nancy Louchamp to Milton M. Morrill, April 21, 1848; acknowledgment April 24; recorder's certificate August 4, 1848. Photographs IMG_0698.jpeg, IMG_0699.jpeg, IMG_0700.jpeg. The two continuation photographs show the same page with the recording slip down and lifted. Manuscript readings control the account; bracketed names remain provisional.

[2] Papers of Abraham Lincoln, "Morrill, Milton M." Biographical entry with citations to county histories, census records, marriage index, and obituaries. https://papersofabrahamlincoln.org/persons/MO40446

[3] Don F. Colvin, "The Fate of the Temple," Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith (2002), pp. 253–287. Used for the October 9, 1848 fire and the Icarian arrival in 1849. https://rsc.byu.edu/nauvoo-temple-story-faith/fate-temple

[4] The Davison Hibbard Power of Attorney to Milton M. Morrill, expanded project report, October 1, 2026, especially "Milton Morrill and the family that remained" and the original July 3, 1850 instrument. This companion study supplies the Hibbard family relationship and collection matter; it is not evidence that Hibbard owned the parcels in this deed.

[5] Joseph Smith Papers, deed from Lewis C. and Emma Smith Bidamon to Michael R. Casey, June 19, 1849, source note; Hancock County Deeds W:28–29. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-lewis-c-and-emma-smith-bidamon-to-michael-r-casey-19-june-1849/1

[6] Joseph Smith Papers, deed from Joseph and Elizabeth Williams to John G. Kauffmann, July 24, 1848, copied August 4, 1848; Hancock County Deeds U:499–500. This adjacent entry supports the recording context, not the unexamined contents of page 501. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-joseph-and-elizabeth-williams-to-john-g-kauffmann-24-july-1848/2

[7] Joseph Smith Papers, deed from Daniel H. and Eliza Robison Wells, February 4, 1843, historical introduction and deed, identifying the temple site as Block 20 of Wells's Addition. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-from-daniel-h-and-eliza-robison-wells-4-february-1843/1

[8] Joseph Smith Papers, "Nauvoo: Plats, Blocks, and Lots, 31 August 1842," map. Research by Brandon Plewe and Jordan T. Watkins; cartography by Jonathan West. A reconstruction of the earlier plat geography, not an 1848 ownership map. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/bc-jsp/content/jsp/images/content/library/pdf/D10_Nauvoo-Plat.pdf

John Carlin: sources and document notes

References prefixed C belong to the expanded Carlin biography. All numbers grouped inside a C reference refer to this list. The deed narrative retains its original numbered notes.

[C1] John S. Fullmer, Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith … Also a Condensed History of the Expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855), especially pp. 30–40. Participant account; proposed settlement pp. 33–35; September 8 demands pp. 35–36; final articles p. 39; criticism of the arrest rationale p. 40. Scanned original inspected for the final agreement. https://www.latterdaytruth.org/pdf/100901.pdf

[C2] Thomas Ford, A History of Illinois (Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1854), pp. 415–420. Governor's retrospective narrative; political-reward and threatened-murder allegations require attribution. Digitized transcription: https://www.solomonspalding.com/docs/frd1854c.htm

[C3] Thomas Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman, 1880), pp. 347–354. Later county history, including reproduced correspondence and partisan battle reports. https://www.olivercowdery.com/smithhome/1880s-1890s/1880Greg.htm

[C4] Felix and Nancy Louchamp or Longchampt to Milton M. Morrill, April 21, 1848; acknowledgment April 24; recording certificate August 4, 1848, Book U, p. 501. David Larsen project photographs IMG_0698, IMG_0699 and IMG_0700; associated Louchamp_Morrill_1848_Indenture_Story. Recorded page 501 remains to be independently examined. The project reading, not automated image OCR, supplies the page number.

[C5a] Joseph Smith Papers, Deed to Hezekiah Sprague, 4 August 1843, as Recorded in Hancock County Deeds, source note: copied May 1, 1846, O:612, handwriting of John Carlin. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-to-hezekiah-sprague-4-august-1843-as-recorded-in-hancock-county-deeds/1

[C5b] Joseph Smith Papers, Deed to William McIntire, 25 April 1843, as Recorded in Hancock County Deeds: copied May 4, 1846, O:633. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-to-william-mcintire-25-april-1843-as-recorded-in-hancock-county-deeds/1

[C5c] Joseph Smith Papers, Alonzo and Clarissa Bostwick LeBaron to John Seller, 2 June 1846: copied October 31, 1846, Q:501–502. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-alonzo-and-clarissa-bostwick-lebaron-to-john-seller-2-june-1846/1

[C5d] Joseph Smith Papers, Emma Smith to Benjamin P. VanCourt, 21 December 1847: copied December 23, 1847, T:352–353. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-emma-smith-to-benjamin-p-vancourt-21-december-1847/1

[C5e] Joseph Smith Papers, Joseph and Elizabeth Williams to John G. Kauffmann, 24 July 1848: copied August 4, 1848, U:499–500. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-joseph-and-elizabeth-williams-to-john-g-kauffmann-24-july-1848/2

[C5f] Joseph Smith Papers, Deed to Alonzo LeBaron, 2 July 1842, page 3; Carlin certificate dated March 29, 1849. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-to-alonzo-lebaron-2-july-1842/3

[C5g] Joseph Smith Papers, Lewis C. and Emma Smith Bidamon to Richard M. Mills, 13 July 1849; Morrill acting for grantors; copied August 24, 1849, W:202–204. https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/deed-lewis-c-and-emma-smith-bidamon-to-richard-m-mills-13-july-1849/1

[C6] 1850 Hancock County, Illinois, census transcription, p. 278A, dwelling/family 123, ILGenWeb. Original census image not yet compared; the transcriber warns of difficult readings. https://hancock.illinoisgenweb.org/1850p3.html

[C7] Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Hancock County, vol. II (Chicago: Munsell, 1921), circuit court terms, p. 1414, in online part 153. Online text explicitly identified as machine-generated; printed page and court orders remain checks. https://ldsgenealogy.com/IL/books/Historical-encyclopedia-of-Illinois-and-history-of-Hancock-County-Volume-II-part-153.htm

[C8] Carthage Township officials, assessor table, Genealogy Trails, Hancock County township histories. https://www.genealogytrails.com/ill/hancock/history_townships.html

[C9] Leon Hyneman, World's Masonic Register (Philadelphia: printed for the author by J. B. Lippincott, 1860), p. 131, Illinois subordinate lodges, Hancock No. 20. https://archive.org/details/cu31924015970811

[C10] Richard E. Bennett, “Battle of Nauvoo Was Final Chapter in the Expulsion from Beloved City,” Deseret News, September 14, 1996. Modern synthesis; calls Singleton “John,” whereas the early document gives James W. https://www.deseret.com/1996/9/14/20770603/battle-of-nauvoo-was-final-chapter-in-the-expulsion-from-beloved-city/

[C11] Laban B. Fleak, autobiographical sketch, 1882, Caleb F. Davis scrapbooks, vol. 2, State Historical Society of Iowa, MS 275, quoting Hawkins Taylor's 1879 Brighton Sun account; edited transcription in John W. Welch and Brooke R. LeFevre, Views from the Iowa Side of the Mississippi River, manuscript pp. 139–140 (scrapbook pp. 477–478). https://byustudies.byu.edu/online-book/views-from-the-iowa-side-of-the-mississippi-river/the-life-of-l-b-fleak-in-caleb-f-davis-collection-118

[C12] Namesake controls: National Park Service, “The Carlin Brothers: John and Andrew,” identifies the photographed artist as born Philadelphia, 1813, died 1891. https://www.nps.gov/people/carlinbrothers.htm ; Wikimedia Commons, File:John Carlin.jpg, identifies the modern archivist. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Carlin.jpg

[C13] Source awaiting direct verification: B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3 (1930), ch. 70. Volume link: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b2903499 . Indirect p. 13–14 lead in Mormon Nauvoo Area Burials of the 1840s: https://s3.amazonaws.com/researchties-uploads-553de69e5551e9.40089907/18/56306-Lisonbee-Mormon%20Nauvoo%20Area%20Burials%20of%20the%201840s.pdf

[C14] Hancock County Historical Society, “Surname Indexes,” describes its extensive card-file resources and incomplete online indexing. https://www.hancockcountyhistory.com/surname-indexes

[C15] “Hon. John Dee Stevens,” Portrait and Biographical Record of Hancock, McDonough and Henderson Counties, Illinois, pp. 145–146; online transcription contains the problematic October dating and commander name discussed above. https://adams-ilgw.genealogyvillage.com/bios/family_stevens_john_dee.html

[C16] Warsaw Signal, August 11, 18 and 25, 1846, archive page 2 in each issue. Downloaded original page scans with OCR; portions visually compared. Public archive: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/ . Direct scans: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188120 ; https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188124 ; https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188128 . October material remains incompletely examined.

[C17] Warsaw Signal, August 14, 1847, archive p. 2, “The Elected,” original scan visually inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188320 . November 20, 1847, archive p. 1, officers list: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188373 .

[C18a] Warsaw Signal, October 27, 1849, archive p. 1, sheriff election editorial, original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188735 .

[C18b] Warsaw Signal, February 23, 1850, archive p. 3, officers list, downloaded scan and OCR: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188789 .

[C18c] Warsaw Signal, September 13, 1851, archive p. 2, “The End of a Case,” original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188836 .

[C19a] Warsaw Signal, March 13, 1852, archive p. 2, “Democratic Meeting,” original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188933 .

[C19b] Warsaw Signal, June 12, 1852, archive p. 2, congressional-convention delegation, original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31188985 .

[C20] Warsaw Commercial Journal, May 1, 1852, archive p. 4, “For Sale,” original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31137871 .

[C21] Warsaw Express, August 30, 1855, archive p. 2, “Hancock County Agricultural Fair,” original scan inspected: https://warsaw.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/GetPdfFile?31189365 .

[C22] Illinois Newspaper Project, Hancock Eagle holdings record, OCLC 12327128: https://www.library.illinois.edu/inp/results_full_public_wp.php?oclc=12327128 . Holdings checked October 5, 2026; listed microfilm and print pages not examined.

[C23] Carthage Public Library District, Reference and Resources, historical newspaper microfilm: https://www.carthagepubliclibrary.com/reference--resources.html . Holdings checked October 5, 2026; historical runs not examined.