

the governor of the State, who relied in sentimental language, but gave no promise of protection. A communication from the secretary of war, in behalf of the President of the United States, was filled with like expressions. For five years the inhuman work of the mobocrats went on. Whether as a mere rabble of citizens with self-chosen leaders, or as a sheriff's posse with vague authority, or as the militia of the State, acting under orders of the executive, the process was the same. The brand of the incendiary and the musket of the assassin enforced the original demand. Five counties of Missouri were in turn abandoned by the best citizens of the State. Their thriving settlements were a smoking ruin—the soil had drank their blood.

In all the correspondence preceding the completion of the expulsion, which took place in the dead of winter, 1838-39, and under circumstances at once pitiful and shocking, there is not a single charge officially made against the exiles. It is true the mobocrats laid numerous offenses at their doors. Cunning villains have always been ready with stories calculated to inflame the ignorant mind and appeal to popular clamor. It was at first charged against the Mormons that their religion was an imposture—they believed in revelation from on high. Another offense was that in their domestic affairs they were "peculiar,"—they were reserved in their deportment and dealing; they did not mix with the wild elements of mankind which surrounded them; in short they minded their own business. These were atrocious crimes, indeed! For these were they outraged, plundered and butchered! Many of them came from New England, where the anti-slavery movement was beginning. They were recognized as "Yankees," were accused of secreting and "stealing" negroes, and were hated as abolitionists with all the bitterness that the men who lived on the border of the slave States at that time felt for adherents of that doctrine. This was held up as a most grievous offense, and they were driven out at the point of the bayonet. No charges of immorality then! No talk of *inperium in imperio*! No holy abhorrence of polygamy! No loyal anxiety to repress violations of law, for there were charges neither of misdemeanor nor of felony! No high-voiced hypocrisy about disloyalty or treason; for they were law-abiding, obedient to judicial summons and patriotic. Because they did not have slaves and did not want them, they were abolitionists. Because they cultivated their land

and attended their own affairs, with no taste for lawless forays and no love for frontier excesses, they were exclusive. Because their religion was strange and claimed the inspiration of divinity, they were fanatics. And because they were said to be "abolitionists," and "exclusive" and "fanatical," they were unworthy of place or protection within the State. Missouri washed her hands of them and did it in blood.

The distinguishing traits of thrift and industry which had attended the efforts of the Mormons in Missouri and Ohio, were again admirably presented in their new home in Illinois. They founded and built a city which was the pride and wonder of the State. What little had remained to them after their repeated drivings furnished them no capital save a terrible experience with which to begin again. But they shrank not before obstacles, and set to work courageously on the bank of the mighty Father of Waters. Nauvoo grew as if by magic. It was beautiful beyond any town in all the region. There was no brawling, no violence, no disturbance of any kind to hinder the progress of business or the enjoyment of the favors which a kindly Providence supplied in recompense of honest toil. But if peace reigned within, it was not because the old hostility without was dead. If the crime of minding their own business made the people exclusive, the same heinous charge could still be brought against them. If it was fanaticism to believe in the revelations of heaven, leaving others to believe what they chose, they were still fanatical. But these alone were slight pretexts for further atrocities. The word abolitionism had not such terrors in Illinois as in Missouri. A new objection must be sought against the prosperous community, and, as usual, one was quickly found. The members believed that in union there is strength. They carried the theory into practice—not only in religion, but in commerce and politics. It was a great stumbling block to their neighbors. The independence which made them free to select the best candidates, and the good sense which caused them to cast a united vote for them, gave their enemies a weapon which has ever been readily used against them. The politicians of the neighborhood, offended at the course they took in this matter, seized this pretext and magnified its dangers in every possible way. Of course when men seek excuses they will always find them. Having started out to give the Mormons a bad name, it was easy to charge them with the prevailing

crimes of horse-stealing, counterfeiting, harboring vile characters, and of living, as a community, by a system of plunder. Lawless persons, from up and down the river, found it to their advantage to shield their own practices and divert suspicion from themselves by attaching it to the unpopular citizens. The world is always ready to believe the most unreasonable falsehoods against those who already, whether deservedly or not, have received a bad name. An absurd charge of riot, of which the participants had been legally acquitted, was magnified into the crime of resisting the process of law, and hence, by a long stride in sophistry, to rebellion. One pretext now followed another in quick succession, and it seemed that nothing but blood would satisfy the enmity which was raging on every side. The threats made against the leaders of the people, but especially against the Prophet Joseph Smith, were of the most murderous kind. His surrender was demanded, not so much to satisfy the law as the clamors of a bloodthirsty mob. Joseph foretold what would be his fate should he fall into their hands. But to save the people, and to comply with the demand of Governor Ford, who demanded that he stand trial on the charges preferred against him, he surrendered himself, not, however, until the governor had pledged his own honor and the honor of the State that he should be protected. How foully this pledge was violated the massacre at Carthage proclaims. It has been more than suspected that Ford had knowledge of the intentions of the plot to murder the unarmed inmates of the jail at Carthage. Whether guilty of this knowledge or not, certain it is that he was a poor, weak creature who took no precautions to guard the prisoners or to preserve his own or the State's honor. He knew the threats which had been made against the men who confided their lives to his keeping; and he was warned in advance of the attack which was to be made upon the prisoners; yet on the day the bloody deed was accomplished he took a large detachment of the militia from Carthage to Nauvoo. At the very moment he was in Nauvoo counseling submission on the part of the people and making vain promises to them, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were assassinated and John Taylor was nearly shot to death. The indifference of Governor Ford and other authorities may be illustrated by a single remark: Though several of the mob were well known, and their part in the terrible crime was never disputed, not one was punished