

“Pronounced Clean, Comfortable, and Good Looking:” The Passage of Mormon Immigrants through the Port of Philadelphia

Fred E. Woods

“We were pronounced clean, comfortable, and good looking.” So wrote LDS voyage leader Matthias Cowley after arriving in Philadelphia with a company of foreign Saints in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ At this time, Latter-day Saint European immigrants, obeying the call to come to Zion, were gathering to America by the thousands on the way to their Mormon Mecca in Salt Lake City. They were obeying the call to come to Zion.

In 1852, the First Presidency issued the following counsel: “When a people, or individuals, hear the Gospel, obey its first principles, are baptized for the remission of sins, and receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, it is time for them



*Matthias Cowley.
Courtesy International Society
Daughters of Utah Pioneers*

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to gather, without delay, to Zion; unless their Presidency shall call on them to tarry and Preach the Gospel to those who have not heard it; and generally, the longer they wait the more difficult it will be for them to come home; for he who has an opportunity to gather, and does not improve it, will be afflicted by the devil.”²

Most British and Scandinavian converts followed the admonition to gather, but depending on the year and varying circumstances, which usually revolved around economics and safety, the route to Zion changed. During the years 1855, 1857, and 1886, eight chartered vessels carrying nearly three thousand Latter-day Saints were directed to migrate through the port of Philadelphia.³ This article examines the circumstances surrounding the designation of the Philadelphia route and its termination, how the converts were perceived by the locals, how the converts gained employment, and what they described as they passed through the City of Brotherly Love.

A sesquicentennial glance back in time presents a view of transitional movements that produced the rippling effect Zion-bound foreign converts experienced once they reached the Eastern shores of America in 1855. In this year, when English churchman and writer Charles Kingsley published his historical novel, *Westward Ho!*,⁴ two transactions directly impacted European converts: The New York State Immigration Commission leased Manhattan’s Castle Garden, and the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad made the decision to push its line to Iowa City, Iowa.⁵ As a result, the bulk of subsequent nineteenth-century LDS voyages flowed through New York (via the Castle Garden Immigration Depot), and the foreign converts who lingered temporarily in Philadelphia were directed to pass through Iowa City during the latter half of the decade of the 1850s. But why were thousands of European Saints rerouted through Philadelphia after 1855?

Rerouting Mormon Immigration for the 1855 Emigration Season

Between 1841–54, the primary port of arrival was New Orleans. However, because of the dreadful effects of yellow fever and cholera, on 2 August 1854, Brigham Young issued the following letter to Elder Franklin D. Richards, British Mission president, who oversaw LDS emigration from Liverpool: “You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston and New York, giving preference in the order named.”⁶

The first large company of Saints to voyage to Philadelphia came on an LDS-chartered packet ship called the *Siddons*, which arrived in the

City of Brotherly Love in the spring of 1855. One convert aboard this vessel was Jane C. Robinson Hindley, who felt the magnetic pull to come to Zion and therefore left her British abode with, as she put it, “the fire of Israel’s God burning in my bosom.”⁷ A company of 430 foreign converts embarked from Liverpool; their voyage lasted fifty-two days.⁸

Liverpool had been the point of embarkation for European converts since LDS immigration to America commenced in 1840. LDS agents at Liverpool had also been in place for over a decade because of the hazards of pickpockets and other undesirables who were always ready to take advantage of unsuspecting travelers.⁹ During the time that Hindley and other Philadelphia-bound converts converged there, Nathaniel Hawthorne described the maritime city of Liverpool in appalling terms after his work there as an American consul for four years (1853–57).¹⁰ Historian Terry Coleman captured Hawthorne’s dismal view of the socioeconomic condition of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century:

Almost every day Hawthorne walked about the city, preferring the darker and dingier streets inhabited by the poorer classes. Women nursed their babies at dirty breasts. The men were haggard, drunken, care-worn, and hopeless, but patient as if that were the rule of their lives. He never walked through these streets without feeling he might catch some disease, but he took the walks all the same because there was a sense of bustle, and of being in the midst of life and of having got hold of something real, which he did not find in the better streets of Liverpool. Tithebarn Street was thronged with dreadful faces—women with young figures but with old and wrinkled countenances, young girls without any maiden neatness, barefooted, with dirty legs. Dirty, dirty children, and the grown people were the flower of these buds, physically and morally. At every ten steps there were spirit vaults. Placards advertised beds for the night. Often he saw little children taking care of little children. . . . At the provision shops, little bits of meat were ready for poor customers, little heaps and selvages and corners stripped off from joints and steaks.¹¹

Perhaps Hawthorne’s most revolting portrayal of the wretched conditions confronting the emigrants during this period resulted when he observed that “the people are as numerous as maggots in cheese; you behold them, disgusting, and all moving about, as when you raise a plank or log that has long lain on the ground, and find many vivacious bugs and insects beneath it.”¹² Yet the sailors loved Liverpool, where they could come into dock and get their fill of lewd living and ample grog. Naive emigrants had to be continually on their guard to avoid corrupt runners and rogues who lay in wait to take advantage of them:

Before the emigrants even got on board ship they had to have dealings with ship brokers, otherwise known as emigration agents or recruiters; with runners, otherwise called crimps, touts, and man-catchers; with boarding-house keepers, who overcharged them and delayed them as long as they had money to pay for more lodg-

ing; and the keepers of spirit vaults and provision stores, who sold them bad food and drink at high prices. Runners were almost always boarding-house keepers, and boarding-house keepers often ran spirit vaults or food shops on the side. It was all confused and disorderly, and almost always a racket. Each man took his cut, and the first and biggest cut went to the broker. . . . As a policeman put it, there was a general impression that the emigrants were defrauded from the day they started from their houses. There was no remedy.¹³



Panorama of Philadelphia looking east, 1870.

“The old city as viewed from Sparks’ shot tower, located not far from Old Swedes’ Church in Southwark. The tall ship houses and dry dock of the Navy Yard and the waterfront warehouses and docks are visible.”

Photograph courtesy Print and Picture Collection, The Free Library of Philadelphia.

Once immigrants had landed in Philadelphia, they also met potential hazards in this cosmopolitan city boasting about half a million people, the second largest metropolis in the United States.¹⁴ But Hindley was safely guided through, traveling by rail to Pittsburgh and then down the Ohio River on a steamboat to St. Louis. Here she paid \$13 for cabin passage aboard the steamer *Polar Star*, which took her on a five-day voyage up the Missouri River to Atchison, Kansas. From Atchison, she traveled a few miles west to Mormon Grove, which served as the frontier outfitting post selected for the LDS emigrants in 1855, before completing her journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Each step of the way she was secure

with her fellow travelers, under the direction of competent emigration companies and Church leaders.¹⁵ Hindley was one of the fortunate ones who had sufficient money to continue her journey on to Zion. However, a number of those who made the Atlantic crossing did not have the funds to complete their journey west and were thus forced to remain in Philadelphia to seek employment.

LDS periodicals published in Liverpool, the *Millennial Star*, and in New York, *The Mormon*, made public the arrangement between Church leaders Franklin D. Richards and John Taylor regarding the immigrating Saints. Elder Richards (president of the British Mission) was instructed to send Elder Taylor (president of the Eastern States Mission) information concerning each voyage sent to the East Coast, along with a list of passengers and their occupation:



Franklin D. Richards.
Courtesy Joseph Grant
Stevenson

Whenever you ship a company, whether it be small or large, be careful to forward to Elder John Taylor, at New York City, a correct list of the names of the persons in each company, with their occupation, and appropriate amount of property or means, and forward it in season for Elder John Taylor to receive it before the company arrive in port, that he may be so advised as to be able to meet them, or appoint some proper person to do so, and counsel them immediately on landing as to the best course for each and all in every company to pursue—viz., whether to tarry for a season to work in the place or immediate neighborhood of their land, or proceed to Cincinnati and its region, &c.¹⁶

At this time, Elder Taylor was also serving as the editor of *The Mormon*, which served members of the Church in the East. He had an office in New York between 1855 and 1857, where he supervised the affairs of the Eastern States Mission. His responsibilities for Eastern congregations and missionaries also included assisting LDS immigrants.¹⁷

Elder Taylor used *The Mormon* a number of times to assist incoming converts. When *The Mormon* was first launched in the winter of 1855, Taylor made it known that in his editorial role, he intended to make the topic of emigration a central concern by advising the incoming migrants on seasonal routes and giving other necessary instructions.¹⁸ In another article published a few months later, *The Mormon* emphasized emigration

information as a primary purpose for establishing their East Coast LDS periodical:

We shall endeavor to be always prepared to impart the latest information relative to the best course to be pursued by Emigrants on their arrival in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Our emigrations have heretofore, almost exclusively gone by the way of New Orleans, but will hereafter land in the Eastern cities, and one of the principal objects of establishing “The Mormon” is for their information, as well as other emigration arriving in this country.

We shall take special interest in seeking out the cheapest, best and most convenient mode of conveyance from this and other points, as well as to observe the course pursued by agents in the accommodation for travelers on the routes and make of “The Mormon” a directory, to which all Emigrants and Travelers may refer with some degree of safety.¹⁹

And we have traveled over the road several times and know from experience the wants of those seeking a home in the West. We have sought with diligence, at the several points for outfitting, the various and best kind of establishments, and as the spring opens shall fill all our business columns with advertisements, for the conveyance and direction of Emigration in making their purchases, &c.²⁰

Throughout its existence (1855–57), there is evidence that *The Mormon* reported both the arrival of LDS chartered voyages as well as passenger lists.²¹ Four LDS sailing voyages were chartered to Philadelphia in 1855; each took anywhere from thirty to fifty days, depending on the winds:

Vessel	Dep. Date	LDS Leader	Passengers	Arrival Date
<i>Issac Jeans</i>	February 3	George C. Riser	16	March 5
<i>Siddons</i>	February 27	John S. Fullmer	430	April 20
<i>Juventa</i>	March 31	William Glover	573	May 5
<i>Chimborazo</i>	April 17	Edward Stevenson	432	May 21 ²²

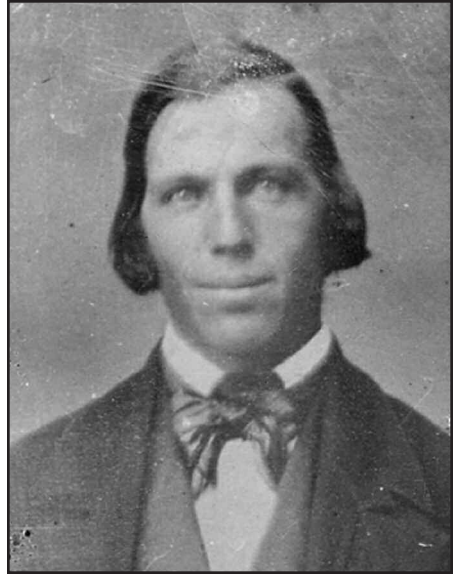
Having crossed the Atlantic, these companies of Saints were soon met by a pilot who escorted them up the Delaware. For example, this account from the *Chimborazo* relates a tugboat ride up the river: “Today a pilot from Philadelphia came on board to the great joy of the Saints. . . . Land seen, and we make Cape May; and the breakwater and lighthouse. We pass beautifully up the river Delaware—land on both sides, which cheers the hearts of the Saints.” This record also observed that after having sailed five weeks across the Atlantic and about half way up the Delaware, with their vessel anchored, “the Saints [were] sewing today.”²³

A letter written by voyage leader Edward Stevenson at the same time the *Chimborazo* had “cast anchor sixty miles from port, in the Delaware” clarified what the European converts were sewing as they were coming

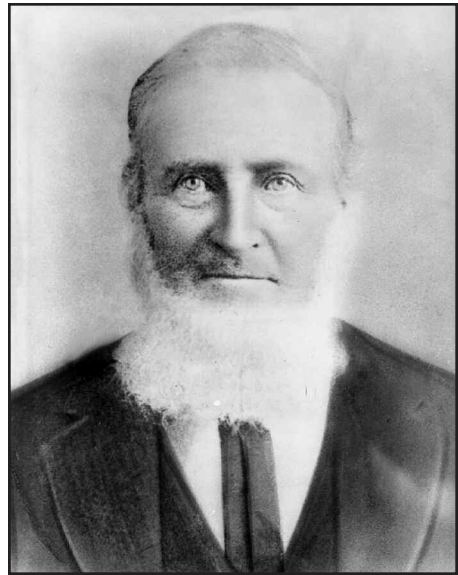
up the river. "The Saints employed their extra time in making [sewing] tents and wagon covers for the plains."²⁴ The company account further remarks that "a small party, as we lay idly in the river, went ashore, under the direction of the president, and enjoyed themselves on terra firma for a short season and visited two farmhouses. They brought with them a few fowl & eggs & milk, which they were quite a treat to a few of the passengers."²⁵

A health inspection was the next order of business for these Latter-day Saint immigrants. The historian for the *Chimborazo* wrote three days later that "about 1/2 past nine the doctor came on board all were assembled and passed, as thank God, no sickness was amongst us."²⁶ William Glover, who presided over the *Juventa* voyage and who had arrived with a company of Saints two weeks earlier, recorded that "we all landed safe and in good health in Philadelphia, May 6th. The Dr. who inspected, said our decks smelled as sweet as his sitting room."²⁷

John Taylor and others also met the incoming Saints at the docks of Philadelphia, ensuring that newly converted Church members like Hindley were soon transferred by rail and trail to Zion. The local Philadelphia newspaper, the *Public Ledger*,



*Edward Stevenson, leader on the Chimborazo.
Courtesy Joseph Grant Stevenson*



*John Solomon Fuller, leader on the Siddons.
Courtesy International Society
Daughters of Utah Pioneers*

noted, "The 408 passengers landed from the ship *Chimborazo* are Mormons, and bound for Salt Lake City. The emigration to Utah, if continues as at present, will soon enable the Territory to demand its admission into the Union as a State."²⁸ Those who remained and were short of funds were assisted in finding proper lodging and employment during their temporary stay in the East.

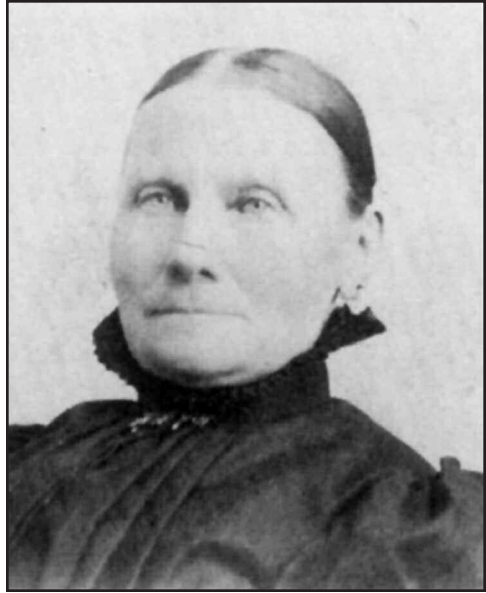
One delightful account retrieved from Charles Gouilding Shill at the disembarkment of the *Chimborazo* in the spring of 1855 describes the bold arrival of John Taylor: "We landed at Philadelphia. I was stationed on Deck to keep anyone from coming aboard when a man with a dignified look came up the ladder and was coming aboard when I stopped him. I asked him his name, and I was surprised when he said, 'I am John Taylor, a Yankee Mormon and citizen of the world.' I passed him."²⁹

Sylvester Henry Earl, who crossed the Atlantic aboard the *Juventa* that same month, recalled that "we arrived in the great city of Philadelphia. Here we met John Taylor who aided us in getting [us] safe in cars bound for Pittsburgh."³⁰ During the two days between landing and the train departure, Earl also noted, "I went to the Saints Room and spoke to the Saints. Here we met Elders Taylor, Clinton, and Fullmer, who with the Saints, all met us with a pleasant smile on the continent and welcomed us to their home, the land of the free. I was then appointed to take the care of 123 of the Saints while in the city. I took them to Mr. Fishers for food and lodgings."³¹ William Glover, the LDS leader of the *Juventa* company, mentioned, "On our arrival at Philadelphia, we were kindly treated by Elders John Taylor and J. [John] S. Fullmer, and provided with food and lodgings."³²

After a night of sleep and a little food, most immigrants immediately continued their journey by rail and steamboat to the designated 1855 frontier outfitting post near Atchison. From the following accounts, it appears that the journey by rail was more hazardous than by steamboat for the emigrating Saints in 1855. For example, Mary Ann Ford Simmons, who had crossed the ocean with the *Chimborazo*, recalled, "We landed at Philadelphia, had a good supper and breakfast. . . . It was very bad and dangerous traveling, as the train was pulled by ropes some way, and we traveled in cattle cars . . . [and] in time went on a boat up the Mississippi River. . . . Landed . . . at St. Louis."³³ A fellow passenger on the *Chimborazo* described travel from the time of landing until the frontier outfitting post in Kansas: "We stayed in Philadelphia two days and two nights then took train to Pittsburgh then steamboat down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to Atchison. Started to Mormon Grove seven miles where we camped. This was the starting

point for the plains.”³⁴

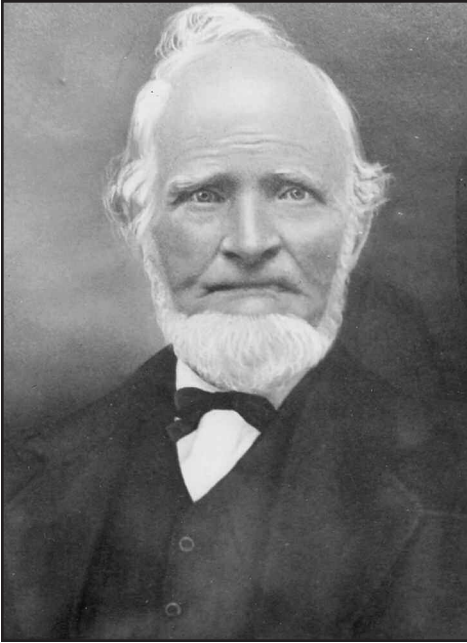
Juventa passenger Charles Smith, who arrived two weeks before the *Chimborazo* came to port, remembered the railway fare from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was \$4.50 per passenger and \$1.25 per one hundred pounds of luggage. He also noted that the ride took forty hours.³⁵ William Glover added that the forty-hour rail ride could have also cost them their lives: “On May 8th [1855] we were furnished with a train of cars and started for Pittsburgh, and arrived there on the 10th. At Columbia through the carelessness of the brakeman, two trains came in collision, shattering to atoms several cars; but



Mary Ann Ford Simmons.
Courtesy International Society
Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

through the mercy of God the Saints all escaped from the danger.” Glover further recalled, “On the 10th we embarked on board the steamer ‘Equinox,’ and arrived in St. Louis in good health, on the 17th instant.”³⁶

After the close of the 1855 emigration season, *The Mormon* gave a positive report of the first season bringing European Saints through the northern (eastern) ports (Philadelphia and New York) “instead of the tedious and unhealthy voyage through the Gulf, and by over-crowded steamers along the sultry ‘bayous,’ and the sickly miasma concentrated in the ‘air currents’ of the great Mississippi.” The assessment was that the change of route had been “altogether satisfactory, not only in relation to life and health, but to the kindness and gentlemanly bearing of the officers of several ships to their passengers during the voyage, and on arrival the prompt and efficient municipal authority and laws in protecting the strangers from the heartless sharpers that invariably infest our sea-board town.” Credit was also extended to President Franklin D. Richards for his skill in fitting out the voyages launched from Liverpool and his excellent choice of LDS leaders who oversaw the welfare and protection of each company of seagoing Saints. *The Mormon* further noted:



Osmyn Merrit Deuel.
Courtesy Maurine Carr Ward.

We think it can be truly said, as many who visited the ships were heard to remark that never has New York or Philadelphia witnessed such good order, good feelings, and such a spirit of unison and kindness one to another, as was exhibited by the emigration of the Latter Day Saints. And perhaps for the first time the Songs of Zion cheerfully reverberated along the quays and through the streets of these two great ocean marts of our country, as hundreds of Saints raised their voices in unison and thanksgiving on the ships and steamers; and as the well-freighted cars threaded their way through the streets conveying them to their far-off mountain homes; and there were but comparatively few from all the ships with whom they were compelled to reach the parting hand, or shed a parting tear: all, or most of those left behind, found immediate employment, through the interest and activity of the few Saints that reside in this vicinity. And in this respect it may be well said of our

emigration, that never have our Eastern cities received an equal number of emigrants without some destitute ones, left as paupers upon their hands, until this the "Mormon Emigration." But there is a reason for this ours differs from every other emigration, in that they have a specific object in view in coming to this land; it is not in search of employment.³⁷

The Mormon informed those few remaining immigrants who were compelled to find temporary employment before continuing their journey to the West that they would be aided by the members of the local Philadelphia Branch of the Church: "From the efficient management of Dr. [Jeter] Clinton and others most of them will get immediate employ. The Philadelphia brethren also exhibited a very laudable care in trying to make their strange [foreign] brethren comfortable."³⁸ Taylor had already prepared the Eastern Saints for the arrival of the European converts. *The Mormon* advised missionaries in various pockets of the East, "As there will shortly be many of our brethren here from Europe who will be in want of employment, in various trades and occupations, you are requested to send to this office, directions whereby we may know where to send those that are in need of employment, on their arrival to this

country.”³⁹ This system of correspondence proved effective, as possibilities for work were made known.⁴⁰ The Saints were also encouraged to “faithfully serve their employers and earn for themselves that reputation for honesty and industry . . . [and to] use it for your brethren. Every man who knows of employment send on to us the information, that we if possible serve those who are coming.”⁴¹

Two members who came and worked in the Philadelphia region (West Chester) for several months were husband and wife William and Rachel Atkin, who had crossed the Atlantic on the *Siddons*. Their experience provides a nice glimpse into the temporary assimilation process aided by the Eastern Saints; the immigrants helped each other as well. Upon arrival, William recalled:

Apostle John Taylor met us at the dock as also quite a number of Latter-day Saints who took us to their homes and made us welcome. . . . While we were on the dock, a long line of us, a man came along inquiring for a young man and his wife that would like to hire out on a farm and . . . many of our brethren answered ‘yes’ . . . and I also answered yes. He asked me if I had a wife and I said I had, and introduced her to him. He then asked if I had any recommend from any parties I had worked for. I told him I had not. He then said my wife was a very good recommend and I believed him. He then asked us to go to a certain address as his sister was staying there and she wanted to hire a man and woman to go out thirty miles on a farm, and as we had no money to enable us to continue any farther westward we were thankful for this opportunity, and accordingly went to the place appointed and we made a bargain to go and work for \$15.00 a month and they furnished bed and board.

William further noted that Elder Taylor held a meeting for all those who were going to stay temporarily in the Philadelphia area. Among other things, he “asked us each and all if we would be willing, if we were able to get work or were sick, to help each other. . . . We all agreed that we would and he blessed us in the name of the Lord.” Osmyn Merrit Deuel, with the same group as the Atkins, also remembered, “Elder Taylor and Elder Clinton . . . made arrangement for those that were to stay in Philadelphia as far as they could to make them comfortable and obtain labor for them first rate. [The] Spirit prevailed among the Saints. They entered into covenant to assist each other until they all got employed.”⁴²

Less than a month later, the Atkins were put to the test when they received a letter from their fellow immigrant Saints in Philadelphia requesting help. Some of the foreign converts “were unable to get work and a few were sick asking us to assist them.” William explained, “We drew what money we had already earned and cheerfully sent it to them for the assistance of those in need. We continued to work till 2 months

was up and we became quite anxious to see some of our own faith.” William and Rachel then received permission to travel to Philadelphia. There, William noted, “We met with the Saints in a sacrament meeting and had a feast in very deed and gave most of our wages to assist those in need and returned to our labors being well paid for our trouble and means.”⁴³

History of LDS Church in Philadelphia (1839–1855)

Sixteen years before the first European converts reached the port of Philadelphia, a branch of the LDS Church had already been established by the Prophet Joseph Smith. L. Marsden Durham writes, “Activity in the Church in Philadelphia dates back to 1839 when suburban Germantown, originally a redcoat outpost, had laid aside its frontier kneepants for the more dignified long trousers of ‘civilization.’”⁴⁴

According to the official minutes for the Philadelphia Branch of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “The branch of the Church of Jesus Christ in Philadelphia, was organized on the 23rd of December, 1839, . . . Joseph Smith Jr. being President of the meeting.”⁴⁵ This was Joseph Smith’s thirty-fourth birthday. In a conference held 6 April 1841, Benjamin Winchester was selected as branch president, and Jacob Syfritt was ordained a bishop of the first ward in Philadelphia.⁴⁶

Two years later, Brigham Young sent a letter to members of the Philadelphia Branch wherein he stated that they were “hereby instructed and counselled to remove from thence without delay, and locate themselves in the city of Nauvoo, where God has a work for them to accomplish.”⁴⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that this letter would have resulted in more “plucking than planting,” the Philadelphia Branch was still the largest branch in Pennsylvania during the decade of the forties.⁴⁸ In fact, by the fall of 1844, the branch membership had swelled to 334 members.⁴⁹

By March 1849, there were two hundred Saints in Philadelphia. The following month, a company of seventy Saints left Philadelphia for Kanesville under the direction of Elder William I. Appleby.⁵⁰ In the early spring of 1850, Samuel Harrison was chosen as the president of the Philadelphia Branch and was still serving in this position in 1855.⁵¹ President Harrison and the local Saints strengthened and aided a number of European converts during their transitional experience in Philadelphia.

A historian representing a view from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now the Community of Christ) pro-

vides a glimpse of how things might be viewed through his lenses for the year 1855: “The Brighamites held meetings at Ninth and Spring Garden Streets, and also Eighth and Spring Garden Streets. Doctor Jeter Clinton and John Taylor of Utah labored in the city several times during the year with little effect so far as gaining ground was concerned.”⁵²

Yet an LDS conference held in Philadelphia (7 October 1855) noted a surge in the work, although things had been floundering for a time: “Elder Harrison, too deserved credit for keeping

the saints together in Philadelphia, in the dark and cloudy day; they although feeble found a nucleus to gather to, and he now saw the reward of his labors.”⁵³ The conference further reported, “Mormonism might have taken a nap for awhile in the east, but it has awakened up and was now alive and kicking.” Elder Jeter Clinton was at this time serving as the president of the conference, which would have included each of the Church branches in Pennsylvania. The conference minutes mention that John Taylor was sustained as president of the Eastern States Mission, with Jeter Clinton, Nathaniel H. Felt, Alexander Robbins Jr., Samuel A. Woolley, George J. Taylor, and Angus Cannon also being sustained as his assistants.⁵⁴

Those Saints employed in Philadelphia at the time were probably not hindered from attending this conference session as well as other Sunday meetings partly thanks to the administrative influence of Philadelphia’s mayor, Robert T. Conrad. Under Mayor Conrad’s administration, “he insisted on the observance of the letter and spirit of all laws that had for their object the suspension of labor and entertainment on Sunday.” Although some opposed his stringent rules, especially saloon keepers, the Saints must have enthusiastically embraced his Christian ethics.⁵⁵



John Taylor.
Courtesy Church Archives.

Emigration Plan for 1856

Instructions to Europeans for the 1856 emigration season came via the *Millennial Star* in the fall of 1855. In the Thirteenth General Epistle, the First Presidency not only specified the route but also initiated what appeared to be the most economical travel means—the handcart: “[Let] them pursue the northern route from Boston, New York or Philadelphia, and land at Iowa city or the then terminus of the railroad; there let them be provided with hand-carts, on which to draw their provision and clothing, then walk and draw them, thereby saving the immense expense every year for teams and outfit for crossing the plains.”⁵⁶

Although the same three eastern ports that had been launched previously in 1854 were designated, the order of preference apparently changed from Philadelphia, Boston, and New York to New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.⁵⁷ This change is partly evidenced by the fact that during the 1856 emigration year, no voyages disembarked in Philadelphia.⁵⁸ However, even though there were no new European converts to rekindle a fire in the local Philadelphian Saints, Angus M. Cannon made known that he had “baptized quite a number of persons,” and he then added that “a spirit of reformation was stirring up old members and they were renewing their covenants, with a determination to prove more faithful.”⁵⁹ In an article in *The Mormon* titled “The Reformation,” Church leaders advised, “Now that the emigration for [from] Europe has begun to bring among us brethren from afar, we counsel all the presiding Elders of Branches and Conferences throughout the Eastern Mission, to inscribe no names in their books till the parties desiring relationship with us have renewed their covenants by baptism.”⁶⁰ Those who made such covenants and joined with the Philadelphian Saints met in “one of the best Halls there.”⁶¹

1857 Emigration Season and Activity of Philadelphian Saints

By the spring of 1857, John Taylor had left for Utah and was replaced by George J. Taylor. At this time, Elder Angus M. Cannon was sustained as president of the Philadelphia Conference, and Samuel Harrison remained as the president of the Philadelphia Branch, which then had several hundred members.⁶² *The Mormon* reported that during the summer of 1857, over three hundred attended a picnic hosted by the Philadelphia Saints.⁶³ During this same period, Jeter Clinton informed Brigham Young of the local LDS women who desired to serve: “The Sisters here are anctions [anxious] to gow and distribut tracks as many

have bin ast [asked] to in the old country we feel determined to make all the stir we can.”⁶⁴

Some of this number were remnants from over a thousand European Saints who had recently poured into Philadelphia. Such an influx swelled the Latter-day Saint population in the City of Brotherly Love. John Taylor explained the situation: “From England, France, Germany, Denmark and other places; they form quite a body, there is now five or six hundred. At Philadelphia and around, there have been some few brought in, but most of the Saints there are those who have come in from England and other places.”⁶⁵ Two months later, President Samuel Harrison reported a harmony and peace that prevailed in the Philadelphia Branch. Further, “Mormonism fused and united different elements and national predilections gave way and new and old members, foreign and American were all one.”⁶⁶

The places and times for the LDS meetings during this year were noted in *The Mormon*: “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Philadelphia assemble for worship in the Arch Street Assembly Rooms, on the north-east corner of Ninth and Arch Streets, every Sunday morning, at half-past ten o’clock, in the afternoon at three, and in the evening at half-past seven. Preaching morning and evening. The public are invited to attend.”⁶⁷ Elder Walter W. Smith, historian for the Reorganized Church, sheds further light on the meeting places of the Saints and his perception of the interest in Mormonism in Philadelphia in 1857: “The Brighamites held preaching at Eighth and Spring Garden Streets, Ninth and Arch Streets, and Fourth, and below Callowhill Street, and also in private houses towards the latter part of the year. Elder Parley P. Pratt visited the city during the year but no interest could be aroused.”⁶⁸

Three LDS voyages arrived from Liverpool bringing European converts to Philadelphia during this 1857 season:

Vessel	Dept. Date	LDS Voyage Leader	Passengers	Arrival Date
<i>Westmoreland</i>	April 25	Matthias Cowley	544	May 31
<i>Tuscarora</i>	May 30	Richard Harper	547	July 3
<i>Wyoming</i>	July 18	Charles Harman	36	September 3 ⁶⁹

The arrival of these enthusiastic Zion-bound converts to the shores of the promised land no doubt rekindled a flame in the local Saints. Yet, according to one Scandinavian immigrant, Caroline Hansen Adams, the *Westmoreland* Saints paid a heavy price in their difficult passage; “many hardships were endured while on the water and a number of deaths

occurred during the voyage.”⁷⁰ In his diary dated 29 May 1857, LDS voyage leader Matthias Cowley wrote that after the ship anchored, Dr. J. H. Davidge “went round sprinkling some liquid to purify the air between decks. He sprinkled some into the eyes of a few Saints which caused great soreness and eating holes in their aprons, ribbons, and dresses.” The following day, Cowley noted that the Saints made the trip up the Delaware: “We passed a great many fine vessels among them which were an American man of war, ‘Minnesota’ bound for the East Indies. We gave them three hearty cheers and they returned the compliment. Got a tug about half past 5 o’clock. . . . The scene up the River Delaware was most beautiful.”⁷¹

In his voyage report to Liverpool, Cowley mentioned that one old Scandinavian immigrant had died while coming up the Delaware and noted that the immigrant had been interred in a Philadelphian cemetery. Ending on a positive note, Cowley concluded, “The balance of the company are well and hearty and better looking than when they started. We have got all the sisters to wearing sun bonnets and hats instead of handkerchiefs tied about their heads. We were pronounced clean, comfortable, and good looking. The medical doctor only took a glimpse of us en masse and said, ‘Alright there.’”⁷²

Cowley was interviewed by one newspaper that described the Mormon leader as “some 5 feet 5 1/2 inches in height; his head is surmounted with hair in color nearly . . . vermilion; his face is full. . . . He is a good natured looking fellow and is pleasant and affable in conversation.”⁷³

The *Public Ledger* also recounted that the *Westmoreland* was “laden with an extraordinary freight of five hundred and fifty two Saints, all bound for Utah.” It further noted that “ a large portion of this arrival is made up of females bearing the most healthy aspect. Not a small number are children of both sexes and the men are generally of a sturdy build, apparently able to do a day’s work anywhere.”⁷⁴ Such a positive description proved no doubt helpful for some who may have been in need of employment. Likewise, Latter-day Saints aboard this vessel provided a good report as they first gazed their eyes upon America and the City of Brotherly Love.

As these *Westmoreland* passengers caught their first glimpse of the land of promise, one LDS immigrant, John Frantzen, recalled, “It was with some peculiar feelings I first cast my eyes on this great continent which land is a blessed land above all other lands. . . . The Lord has decreed and promised it to his people who will serve him and . . . if they do right it will finally be given to them as an everlasting possession. May

I be one among the number to obtain these blessings.”⁷⁵ Johann F. F. Dorius, a fellow passenger with Frantzen, described that when this company “saw for the first time the shores of America, . . . [it] caused our hearts to beat with joy. . . . We enjoyed to behold the great city Philadelphia after we sailed the whole day up through the river, and now to place our feet upon this beautiful country, which on both sides of the river appeared most beautiful.”⁷⁶

The next portion of the journey required use of the railroad; the route had also changed for the 1856–57 emigration seasons. Before their train departure, \$5,572.04 was collected from the passengers aboard the *Westmoreland* to pay their rail fare from Philadelphia to Iowa City, where they obtained handcarts to continue their journey west.⁷⁷ The *Public Ledger* reported that these Saints traveled on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.⁷⁸ Caroline Hansen Adams wrote that just one day after arriving in Philadelphia, her company of *Westmoreland* Saints “boarded a train and traveled west to Iowa City, arriving there on June the 9th, 1857.”⁷⁹ Johann F. F. Dorius added, “We traveled eight days and nights, a distance of about 1500 miles to Iowa City. We passed through many towns and places, and it was enjoyable to ride through this beautiful country, which exhibited fertility and blessings, conveying the idea to us that it was a land blessed of the Lord.”⁸⁰

One untrustworthy local newspaper reporter met the immigrants as they came into port on the *Tuscarora*, five weeks following the arrival of the *Westmoreland*. In an article titled “Arrival of the Tuscaroro,” *The Mormon* warned: “The Philadelphia [*Public*] *Ledger* seems to have a special reporter who visits the new arrivals, and from one or two scratches by his pen he seems a personage of very loose morality. A person who rejoices in the absence of the constituted authorities over the company, as rendering greater facilities for strangers moving among the emigrants, is not to be trusted. We would advise our emigrants to count ‘their spoons,’ before he has gone far from them.”⁸¹

Just two weeks later, *The Mormon* noted the arrival of the Saints aboard the *Westmoreland* and the *Tuscarora* and then added an excerpt from an article in the *Public Ledger* titled, “More of Brigham’s Dupes.” The “very pious editor” of the article wrote, “Would it not be an act of religion, as well as philanthropy, for some of the missionaries of the Gospel to convert these heathens (the Mormons) now they are so near at hand?” *The Mormon* retorted, “We say, it would; providing they can point out and prove to us, from the Book in which they profess to believe, viz. (the Bible) that we are in the wrong path and that we are acting contrary to the laws of God. . . . This they cannot do.”⁸²

In stark contrast to the reporter for the *Ledger*, who was quite unimpressed with the transmigrating Saints, another “Philadelphia paper” delivered a very positive report, quoted in *The Mormon* about this same time. In the article titled “Another Herd of Mormons,” the following was written:

Another cargo arrived at the foot of Walnut street, yesterday, per packet ship *Tuscarora*, consisting of five hundred and thirty-seven souls. This entire multitude were Mormons, only excepting one Irishman. They hail from Sweden, Denmark and Great Britain, the majority being natives of the latter country. Our reporter boarded the ship on her arrival, threaded his way through the disciples who thronged the decks, and sought out the President and Elder of the party. We found him in the appearance of Richard Harper, a fair type of the English mechanic—lusty, vigorous and healthful. . . . The appearance and condition of the passengers are better than we have ever before seen in an emigrant ship. The condition between these Mormons in point of cleanliness and apparent comfort with the passengers of the *Saranak*—a ship at the adjoining pier which was just then discharging a load of Irish—was strikingly in favor of the former.⁸³

In the same issue of *The Mormon*, another article noted the gentlemanly behavior of Captain Dombrey, master of the *Tuscarora*, who had also praised the behavior of the Saints. The article stated, “He was likewise, well pleased with their conduct on board and says he would never wish to carry better people over the sea than they were. In fact they have been pronounced the most respectable company of passengers that have landed in this port, by numbers who visited them.”⁸⁴

On 3 September 1857, the season’s last company of European converts arrived in Philadelphia aboard the *Wyoming*.⁸⁵ With the imminent Utah War commencing nine days later, Brigham Young informed Jeter Clinton in Philadelphia, “I have written to Brother W. I. Appleby instructing him to withdraw all the Elders from the United States, and Canada Missions—to bring home all the powder and lead which he can and to preach the spirit of Gathering to every Saint in the U.S. and outside of Utah. I desire you to assist him in so laudable a work.”⁸⁶

This was certainly the right time for the Saints to vacate the City of Brotherly Love. Just two weeks later, a similar economic depression as had struck America two decades earlier was once again felt in Philadelphia. “On the 25th of September [1857] the Bank of Pennsylvania failed, and other banks suspended specie payments. Failures of business men followed, and many working-people were thrown out of employment.”⁸⁷ This economic condition may have been an additional factor in the decision to stop the flow of Mormon emigration through Philadelphia. It was also in this same year that *The Mormon* came to a close and that Elder John Taylor, its editor, returned home to

the Salt Lake Valley.

Yet other Eastern ports continued to be used throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century until the gathering to Zion largely came to an ebb. Several voyages came through Boston during the years 1858–61, until the Civil War broke out, and another two in 1864. All other remaining voyages that came to America for nearly three decades disembarked at New York, with the exception of one sole voyage through Philadelphia in the fall of 1886.⁸⁸

It was in New York that the fine immigration depot known as Castle Garden was located.⁸⁹ After the completion of the transcontinental railroad on 10 May 1869, nearly all Latter-day Saint immigrants traveled from New York due west by rail to Salt Lake City, where most were assigned to a colony somewhere in Utah Territory. The travel arrangements for the first part of their journey were made by Mormon agents assigned to New York to oversee the needs of passing Mormon immigrants.⁹⁰ The agents selected the most economical route, which was often at least partly by rail.

This system proved very effective. However, on 27 May 1886, James H. Hart, the Mormon agent then assigned to New York, wrote to Church President John Taylor about a serious problem. The Grand Trunk Line Immigration Clearing House Commission had issued a circular in which it assumed, among other things, “the right to control the transportation of all immigrants from New York to their destination in Salt Lake and all their points west of New York.”⁹¹ The commission not only insisted on monopolizing the immigration route of the Saints but also raised railroad rates from New York to Chicago and from Chicago to Salt Lake City. In addition to these challenges, Mr. Edmund Stephenson, a member of the New York Board of Commissioners of Emigration, led an irrational and unsuccessful attempt to block Mormon immigration into Castle Garden, feeling it his legal duty to regulate Latter-day Saint immigration. He categorized the Mormons as being among those who were “foreign paupers, idiots, convicts and persons likely to become a public charge,” but fortunately he was repeatedly overruled by his fellow commissioners.⁹²

In the face of these issues, alternative ports of entry were considered. New York had been the only East Coast port used by Mormon immigrants for over two decades, but in this turbulent situation, the last Mormon company that voyaged on the *British King* was directed through the port of Philadelphia at the close of the 1886 immigration season.⁹³ A paper published in the Philadelphia region titled “Mormons May Come” reported the following:

Our vice consul at Liverpool informs the department that formerly all Mormons

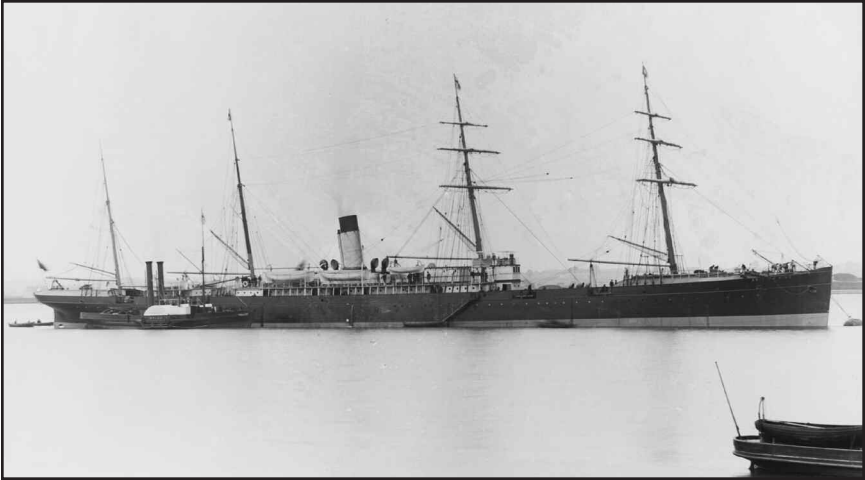
who sailed from England or the continent went to the port of New York; they now go to Philadelphia. A copy of a letter dated Aug. 12, 1886, from the treasury department to the president of the board of emigration at New York, saying that "with reference to the point argued that our immigration laws should be invoked for the purpose of excluding the Mormons from our shores it is sufficient to say that there is no warrant of law for any such course of procedure."⁹⁴

The *Public Ledger* reported that when the *British King* arrived carrying her load of Saints, their LDS voyage leader, Elder Greenwood, explained "that the object in coming to Philadelphia instead of New York, where the converts heretofore have been landed, was to avoid the delay and persecution."⁹⁵ In another newspaper article under the headline "Landing Mormons," a Philadelphia newspaper also reported the arrival of the *British King*, an event later carried by the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*:

This company is the fifth that has been sent over this year, but the first that has landed in Philadelphia. Heretofore New York has been made the landing place, but the recent action of the Commissioners of Emigration in that city in returning to England four of the last colony sent over, and the greater convenience of the port of Philadelphia for the shipment to the West of the Mormon converts, have induced those having in charge the sending of colonies to this country to select Philadelphia as a port of landing.⁹⁶

Led by J. (Joshua) G. Greenwood, a returning missionary from the British Isles, the *British King* arrived in Philadelphia in late October 1886. The article continues:

As soon as the *British King* was docked this morning, Oct. 27, she was boarded by John J. S. Rodgers, the agent of the Commissioners of Emigration, and Cadwalader Biddle, a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Public Charities, and ex-officio member of the Emigration Board. These gentlemen were there for the necessary but important duty of inspecting the passengers and to see that none who might become public charges should be allowed to land. Their first duty was to pass those who were not connected with the Mormon colony. That was done without detaining a single individual, every one of them being beyond the danger of becoming public charges. The Mormon question, however, seemed to stick in the throats of the gentlemen, and there was a hitch even on the missionaries, one of them being held back for a while by Messrs. Rodgers and Biddle, but he was subsequently passed because he claimed American citizenship. The passages of the entire colony were paid as far as Baltimore, and their receipts were held by Agent [John H.] Hart, of the Mormon Emigration Board, and in the inspection all those who could show that their passage from Baltimore to their western destination had been provided for, and who could show further that when arrived there they would be able to earn their own living, were passed. All of them were able to satisfy Mr. Biddle and Mr. Rodgers on that point and were allowed to pass from the after steerage and go on land.⁹⁷



British King, a steamship built 1881 by Harland and Wolff at Belfast, Ireland, carried 307 Saints from Liverpool to Philadelphia.
Courtesy The Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

This report also pointed out that few of these faithful LDS immigrants had more than two or three dollars when they arrived. Most came with their families and a sizable number of children, including “a number of healthy-looking red-cheeked English girls, who seemed to enjoy the excitement of landing in a strange country, and who seemed to look forward to bright and happy homes in the great West.” Further, the article explained that the Saints were kept in steerage while they waited to be examined,⁹⁸ but notwithstanding, they maintained a cheerful attitude, which included hymns sung by some of the children. Such a positive disposition, which also occurred throughout the voyage, had an impact on those who spent time with the singing Saints. In fact, the Philadelphia paper additionally reported, “The officers of the vessel all united in declaring that they were the most orderly set of people ever carried over by the *British King* and they seemed to be perfectly under the control of the missionaries who accompanied them. Every day they had religious services with singing and preaching.”⁹⁹

A chapter in LDS migration history ended on this positive note, when eight voyages consisting of nearly three thousand European Saints passed through the Philadelphia port and city. Thousands entered Philadelphia in the 1850s, and hundreds passed through nearly three decades later. Most stayed only long enough to pick up a train ticket or have a meal or two, but others stayed a bit longer to obtain employment

and there absorbed their first indelible impressions of America in the City of Brotherly Love.

Notes

1. Matthias Cowley to Orson Pratt, "Report of the 'Westmoreland,'" *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 19, no.28 (11 July 1857): 447 (hereafter cited as *Millennial Star*).

2. See Seventh General Epistle, 18 April 1852, in James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 2:99.

3. *Church Almanac 1997–98* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996), 161–62, 166 lists a total of 2,885 passing through Philadelphia for these three years—1,451 in 1851, 1,127 in 1857, and 307 in 1886. A succinct description of each of these eight voyages disembarking at Philadelphia may be found under each vessel's name: *British King*, *Chimborazo*, *Isaac Jeanes*, *Juventa*, *Siddons*, *Tuscararo*, *Westmoreland* and the *Wyoming* (1857) in Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

The passenger lists and all known first-person immigrant accounts for each of these voyages are available on the *Mormon Immigration Index*, a CD published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 2000. The author was the editor and compiler of this index. For a list of passengers who crossed the plains from the first seven of the eight voyages arriving in Philadelphia, readers are advised to consult the Web site www.lds.org/churchhistory and scroll down the list of company names and lists of immigrants listed under the heading "Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel (1847–1868)."

This important electronic research tool was compiled under the direction of Melvin L. Bashore, senior librarian at the LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Bashore and a group of missionaries have spent thousands of hours over the past several years compiling this monumental work. The author is also indebted to Bashore and his colleague, Linda Haslam, for compiling an index that lists each Latter-day Saint company that crossed the ocean from 1840–90 (*Crossing the Ocean Index*), which is housed at the LDS Church Library. From this base, the author launched the Mormon Immigration Index.

Most of the Philadelphia-bound foreign converts should be found with the names of the emigrants who disembarked from Liverpool in either the year 1855 or 1857. However, some names will not be listed on the *Crossing the Plains Index* because the company roster that the emigrants came in may be lost (though partially reconstructed), the names may have been accidentally omitted, some travelers died crossing the plains, or they apostatized. Reasons why names do not appear in the year the immigrants crossed the ocean may arise because some foreign converts needed to postpone completion of the journey for lack of funds and had to seek temporary employment. Others may have been delayed because of illness.

One Scandinavian convert who apparently experienced a very long delay was P. N. Anderson, who crossed the Atlantic aboard the *Tuscarora*, disembarking at Philadelphia in 1857. Anderson wrote, "Instead of being able to earn money to continue our journey, many of us spent many years in the Eastern states before we could continue to the Salt Lake Valley." "P.N. Andersons Beretning," *Morgensstjernen* 3, no. 20 (15 October 1884): 314. I am grateful to a former student employee, Gaven Christensen, who translated this Danish article for me.

4. Neville Williams, *Chronology of World History, Volume III, 1776–1900 The*

Changing World, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Helizon Publishing, 1999), 278.

5. James Trager, ed., *The People's Chronology: A Year-by-Year Record of Human Events from Prehistory to the Present* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), 483, 485.

6. Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 2 August 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 43 (23 October 1854): 684. Franklin D. Richards was the president of the British Mission from June 1854 to August 1856. Orson Pratt was the president of the British Mission from August 1856 to October 1857.

7. Jane Charters Robinson Hindley, "Journals 1855–1905," 1:11–14, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

8. 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 161, notes that the voyage commenced on 27 February 1855 and concluded on 20 April 1855.

9. Soon after LDS emigration was launched from the British Isles, the following statement appeared in the Church's newspaper in England: "We have found that there are so many 'pick pockets,' and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of the Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations for a voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding, at Liverpool, as their first movement, when they arrive there as emigrants." "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* 1, no. 12 (April 1841): 311. As noted above, at the time Mormon immigration commenced to Philadelphia, Elder Franklin D. Richards was in charge of the emigration from Liverpool.

10. Terry Coleman explains that Hawthorne received his appointment from President Franklin Pierce, for whom Hawthorne wrote a campaign biography. Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (New York: Pantheon Books, Random House, 1972), 64–65. Randall Stewart explains that during these four years, the only literary work Hawthorne was engaged in was his journal, which comprised more than three hundred thousand words. Hawthorne once remarked that this journal was written "with so free and truth-telling a pen that I never shall dare to publish it." However, he finally consented to have his journals published sometime after the year 1900. Therein, Stewart observes the singular nature of Hawthorne's private writings, noting that "the English notebooks are an important contribution to the comparative study of the English and the American modes of life. No other American man of letters has studied the respective characteristics of the two countries so painstakingly." Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), v–ix.

11. Coleman, *Going to America*, 65–66.

12. Hawthorne, *English Notebooks*, 18.

13. Coleman, *Going to America*, 67–68.

14. My estimate of about a half million in 1855 is based on the fact that the population of Philadelphia was 408,762 in 1850 and 565,529 a decade later. See Russell F. Weigley, "The Border City in Civil War 1854–1865," in Russell F. Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 363, 366.

15. Hindley, "Journals 1855–1905," 11–14. For the LDS experience at Mormon Grove, see Fred E. Woods and Melvin L. Bashore, "On the Outskirts of Atchison: The Imprint of Latter-day Saints Transmigration at Mormon Grove," *Kansas History* 25, no.1 (Spring 2002): 38–51.

16. Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 2 August 1854, *Millennial Star* 16, no. 43 (23 October 1854): 684. A copy of this article was also published by John Taylor, editor of the New York LDS periodical, in *The Mormon* 1, no. 1 (17 February 1855): 2.

17. For a biographical sketch of John Taylor, who later became the third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, see Andrew Jenson, "Taylor, John," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), 1:14–19.

18. *The Mormon* 1, no.1 (17 February 1855): 2.

19. For an excellent treatment on the routes, mode of operation, and general history of Mormon emigration from 1840 to 1855 (when the Eastern ports began to be used), see James Linforth, ed., *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley Illustrated with Steel Engravings and Woodcuts from Sketches Made by Frederick Piercy* (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855).

20. "To the Emigration and Our Readers Generally," *The Mormon* 1, no. 16 (2 June 1855): 2. With regards to filling the business columns with advertisements for emigration, references such as the following are given on page four of each issue of *The Mormon*:

Out-Fitting Goods of Every Description Exporters:

Norion, Jewedl & Buzby. New York City

Parquet & Toland. Philadelphia

Mudd & Hughes St. Louis.

21. See, for example, "Arrival of the Westmoreland," *The Mormon* 3, no. 16 (6 June 1857): 3; "Report, Resolutions, &c, of Passengers on Board the Ship *Juventa*," *The Mormon* 1, no. 16 (2 June 1855): 2; "List of Passengers [on the *Tuscararo*]," *The Mormon* 3, no. 18 (20 June 1857): 3; "List of Passengers [for the *Westmoreland*]," *The Mormon* 3, no. 14 (23 May 1857): 3; "The Chimborazo and S. Curling's Passengers," *The Mormon* 1, no. 18 (16 June 1855): 3; "List of Passengers [on the *Wyoming*]," *The Mormon* 3, no. 27 (22 August 1857): 2.

22. 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 161. This reference also points out that the last four voyages into New Orleans landed by mid-March 1855. The next four chartered voyages to the East Coast went through Philadelphia. An additional seven disembarked at New York via the newly constructed Castle Garden Immigration Depot during the 1855 emigration season. No voyages disembarked at Boston.

23. Journal of the Chimborazo Emigrating Conference, 18–19 May 1855, William G. Mills, Historian, in the Edward Stevenson Collection, LDS Church Archives, 21–22. This same record for the date of 30 April 1855 reveals that the Saints aboard this voyage on the *Chimborazo* had also been previously "engaged cheerfully in sewing the covers & tents. It appeared quite a place of industry."

24. Edward Stevenson to President Franklin D. Richards, written "off Cape May, 120 miles from Philadelphia," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 25 (23 June 1855): 398.

25. Journal of the Chimborazo Emigrating Conference, 19 May 1855.

26. Journal of the Chimborazo Emigrating Conference, 22 May 1855.

27. William Glover, Journal History of the Church, 17 May 1855, 1, LDS Church Archives (hereafter Journal History). In 1996, Bill Ward, an employee of the Independence Sea Port Museum in Philadelphia, gave the author a handout that was used to set up one of the exhibits explaining the process of inspection upon arrival at the Philadelphia port in the nineteenth century:

Immigrants arriving in the port of Philadelphia had to pass a health inspection at the state operated Lazaretto Quarantine Station. Up to 500 people with infections could be isolated for several months at the Lazaretto hospital. While the passengers were inspected at the station, their luggage and belongings were removed to a steam disinfecting plant that heated their clothing and baggage up to 220 degrees. Ships proceeded from the Lazaretto in Essington, just south of Philadelphia, to the main immigrant pier at the foot of Washington Avenue. This station was directly linked with the Pennsylvania Railroad, which ran tracks and rail cars directly to and from the pier.

On his visit to Philadelphia, the author also learned that the word *Lazaretto* was drawn from a biblical story in which Jesus healed the man Lazarus (see John 11). An excellent article on the Lazaretto and the health-inspection procedures is Edward T. Mormon, "Guarding Against Alien Impurities: The Philadelphia Lazaretto 1854–1893," *Pennsylvania Magazine* 108, no. 2 (April 1984), 131–51. In an 1896 manuscript, port physician Henry Leffman stated that when the LDS European converts came through Philadelphia, "the Port's Physician's term of service was from the 1st day of October until the 31st of May, including the seasons of the year in which there is the least danger of quarantinable diseases. From June 1st until the 30th of September the inspection was done by the Lazaretto Physician." Henry Leffman, "Under the Yellow Flag," manuscript (1886), Independence Seaport Museum Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Thus, during the 1855 emigration season, all voyages would have been done by the port physician, as they all came in the spring, whereas two of the three 1857 LDS voyages (to be noted) were during summer and thus would have been inspected by the Lazaretto physician. There are no known accounts of any Latter-day Saints being detained because of inspection in the nineteenth century.

28. "Arrival of Emigrants," *Public Ledger* 39, no. 53 (24 May 1855): 1.

29. Autobiographical Sketch of Charles Goulding Shill, 2, LDS Church Archives.

30. Family History of Sylvester Henry Earl, 7, LDS Church Archives.

31. Diary of Sylvester Henry Earl, 6 May 1855, LDS Church Archives.

32. William Glover letter, 17 May 1855, in *Journal History*. At the time of arrival, fellow passenger George Mayer remembered that John Fullmer had "received us there and we got our baggage on the rail cars for Pittsburgh." See *Reminiscences and Journal of George Mayer*, May 1855, 237, LDS Church Archives. Fullmer had arrived in St. Louis and had been assigned to take care of many 1855 emigrants throughout the duration of their journey. One report noted that Fullmer, "having received and forwarded several ship's companies . . . is now preparing to ascend the [Missouri] river to hold of the P. E. Fund Emigration at Atchison and superintend its movements from that point to Salt Lake city." *St. Louis Luminary*, "The Chimborazo and S. Curling Passengers," *The Mormon* 1, no. 18 (16 June 1855): 3.

33. Life sketch of Mary Ann Ford, 2, LDS Church Archives.

34. Autobiography of Joseph Thomas Perkins, 102, LDS Church Archives.

35. Reminiscences and diary of Charles Smith, 7–8 May 1855, 29, LDS Church Archives. A letter by John Fullmer, voyage leader of the *Siddons* for the same year, noted the cost for rail travel and luggage this same year: "The expense to Pittsburgh is \$4.50 for an adult, half price between five and ten years old, under five free. Luggage 80 pounds, free to each full passenger, \$1.25 per hundred pounds extra." *Millennial Star* 17 no.21 (26 May 1855): 328.

36. William Glover letter, 17 May 1855, 1, *Journal History*. Charles Smith noted that the cost for river travel on the Ohio River aboard the steamboat *Washington City* was "fare 2.62 ½ and forty cents per cwt. for our luggage." Charles Smith, *Reminiscences and Diary*, 10 May 1855, 29, LDS Church Archives. This account also reveals that although Glover and Smith crossed the Atlantic on the same voyage, they were on different steamboats on the Ohio River—probably because there were 573 LDS passengers aboard the *Juventa*, perhaps too large for one steamer to handle.

37. "Emigration," *The Mormon* 1, no. 17 (9 June 1855): 2.

38. "Arrival of the Ship Siddons at Philadelphia," *The Mormon* 1, no. 11 (28 April 1855): 2.

39. *The Mormon* 1, no. 3 (3 March 1855): 3. The following year, President Cannon, who presided over the Philadelphia Conference (which included the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware), also used *The Mormon* to help find jobs for migrant Church members. Cannon requested, "If there is employment to be had for dif-

ferent kinds of tradesmen and laborers you will oblige me by informing me of such, as there is quite a number of brethren expected in from the old countries shortly, and will want employment." "Epistle of President Angus M. Cannon," *The Mormon* 2, no. 39 (November 1856): 2.

40. For example, just three weeks later, it was reported that in one local area, there was an abundance of mining jobs. *The Mormon* 1, no. 6 (24 March 1855): 3. Further evidence of work options in various cities is evident from the experience of those disembarking in Philadelphia aboard the *Isaac Jeanes*. Upon arrival, this small company of sixteen converts (consisting of one Englishman and the rest German Saints) chose to leave Philadelphia immediately and continue their journey to Cincinnati where they "secured temporary employment with some difficulty," having learned that "wages were not so high at Cincinnati as in St. Louis and vicinity." See "Departure," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 8 (17 February 1855): 112; "Philadelphia," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 15 (4 April 1855): 238; "Foreign Intelligence," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 27 (7 July 1855): 426.

41. "Emigrants Expected," *The Mormon* 2, no. 43 (13 December 1856): 2.

42. Osmyn Merrit Deuel, Diary, 20 April 1855, 43, LDS Church Archives.

43. William Atkin, *Autobiography of William Atkin*, 17–19, LDS Church Archives. After a two-month period, the Atkins first moved to St. Louis and then to Sunbury (near the Susquehanna River) for further employment. They did not arrive in Salt Lake City until over four years later, reaching their destination on 10 November 1859. Atkin, *Autobiography*, 20–22, 47.

44. L. Marsden Durham, "The Philadelphia Story—New Style," *Improvement Era* 47, no. 4 (April 1944): 213

45. Philadelphia Branch Minutes, 1840–1854, 1 (copy), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The original is in possession of the Community of Christ Library Archives, Independence, Missouri. This reference further notes, "Samuel Bennett was chosen and ordained an Elder and William Small a Priest."

46. Philadelphia Branch Minutes, 1840–1854, 7–8.

47. "Special Message," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 15 (15 June 1843): 232. Appreciation is expressed to BYU colleague David J. Whittaker, curator of 19th Century Mormon and Western Americana, L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library, for bringing this reference to the author's attention.

48. Manuscript History of Pennsylvania, in *Manuscript Histories of the Church in the United States*, LDS Church Archives. This history also notes that during this period, "brief references are also made to branches in Pittsburgh, Leechburg (Armstrong County) And Easton (Northampton County), Pennsylvania."

49. *Journal History*, 1 September 1844. Less than two years later, the number had been reduced to 164 members, a figure no doubt affected by the Nauvoo exodus, which served as a magnet to pull the Eastern Saints further west. See *Journal History*, 6 July 1846.

50. *Journal History*, 1 March 1849; 12 April 1849.

51. Manuscript History of Pennsylvania. About the time Harrison was selected as president of the Philadelphia Branch, Thomas L. Kane delivered a discourse titled "The Mormons" before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Among other things, he presented a sketch of the Nauvoo exodus, the hardships and poverty of the Saints, as well as their willingness to fight in the Mormon Battalion. This lecture no doubt softened some of the hearts of the local people toward Mormonism. See *Journal History*, 26 March 1850.

52. Walter W. Smith, "History of the Philadelphia Pennsylvania Branch," *Journal of History* 13, no. 4 (1920): 527. LDS member Jeter Clinton observed from Philadelphia this same year, "I find this people in general do not understand us, or our principles; they have

from representation considered us to be very corrupt; but upon a comparison of our principles with theirs; they generally shrink from investigation." "Correspondence," *The Mormon* 1, no. 1 (17 February 1855): 3.

53. "Philadelphia Conference," *The Mormon* 1, no. 34 (13 October 1855): 2. According to Stephen J. Fleming, this statement referred to the fact that during the previous decade, a number of the branches in the Philadelphia region had dwindled or died, following the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. Stephen J. Fleming, "Discord in the City of Brotherly Love: The Story of Early Mormonism in Philadelphia," *Mormon Historical Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 22. The author is also indebted to Fleming's research, which supplied several useful secondary sources that led to valuable primary sources that shed light on the history of the Latter-day Saints in Philadelphia during the mid-1850s.

54. "Philadelphia Conference," *The Mormon* 1, no. 34 (13 October 1855): 2.

55. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609–1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 1:719. This source points out that Mayor Conrad's full name was Robert T. Conrad and that he was sworn into office on 1 July 1854.

56. Letter of the First Presidency dated 29 October 1855 in "Thirteenth General Epistle," *Millennial Star* 18, no. 4 (26 January 1856): 54. A later circular from the British Mission presidency dated 8 February 1856 provided additional details for the western-bound emigrants. See *Millennial Star* 18, no. 8 (23 February 1856): 122.

57. As noted, in a letter from Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards dated 2 August 1854, Young advised Richards, "You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston and New York, giving preference in the order named." *Millennial Star* 16, no. 43 (23 October 1854): 684.

58. 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 161–62. This source also notes that of the LDS voyages disembarking on the East Coast, six disembarked at New York, whereas four landed at Boston. New York being the primary port for the 1856 season may be explained by the fact that by this time, the New York immigration depot (Castle Garden), launched in 1855, was now in full swing. Furthermore, at the close of the 1856 emigration season, other factors apparently swayed the decision to go through Boston in preference to Philadelphia: "It has been found advantageous, this season, to send most of the passengers per P. E. Fund, *via* Boston, as those who pass directly through, without settling in the State of Massachusetts, are not charged the usual amount of eight shillings and four pence for head money, which is required to be paid for all persons who stop to reside in that state. We have also found it to our advantage to open business with Messrs. Train and Co. who have long been in the passenger trade to that port. The Agents of that firm, who reside in this town, have been honourable and obliging in their transactions with us, while the proprietors in Boston, have extended to our Agent, Elder D. Spencer, every advantage to facilitate our forwarding business on that side, which could be reasonably expected." "Departures," *Millennial Star* 18, no. 24 (14 June 1856): 377–78. The amount of money saved for each of these P. E. F. passengers transmigrating through Boston would have been the equivalent of one dollar in U.S. currency. "Ninety-Third Company," *The Contributor* 14, no. 1 (November 1892): 20.

59. Angus M. Cannon to James McKnight, *Deseret News* 6, no. 34 (29 October 1856): 269. However, the Reorganized Church version of the events for this year differ from President Cannon's. According to Walter W. Smith, "Elders Erastus Snow, John Taylor, and Jeter Clinton preached here during the year. [Yet] the work steadily declined notwithstanding the labors of these elders." "History of the Philadelphia Pennsylvania Branch," *Journal of History* 13, no. 4 (1920): 527. Evidence of faithfulness in the Philadelphia Branch and another branch in the region is gleaned from a missionary

named John A. Ray, who wrote that while he and his companion were passing through the Philadelphia region, they had “met with quite a number of good Saints, [which] . . . procured means to pay our way to Europe.” “To the Editor of the Mormon,” *The Mormon* 2, no. 24 (2 August 1856): 2. Another article mentions that the visitors were “well pleased with the progress of the Truth in the district of country represented at Conference” (which included the Philadelphia region). “A Visit to Philadelphia,” *The Mormon* 2, no. 34 (11 October 1856): 2–3.

60. “The Reformation,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 2 (2 May 1857): 2.

61. John Taylor to Brigham Young, 19 March 1856, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Archives. The term “Hall” may refer to “The Arch Street Assembly Rooms,” where the Saints were meeting. See “Notice,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 15 (30 May 1857): 3. It may also refer to Mitchell’s Hall, located at 312 Fourth Street. See “Sunday Meetings,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 26 (15 August 1857): 3. For special events, the Saints are noted as meeting in the Washington Hall, also in Philadelphia. On 25 December 1856, the Saints held their Christmas party in Washington Hall. “Philadelphia Social Party,” *The Mormon* 2, no. 44 (20 December 1856): 3. A description of this party, numbering three hundred, is provided in the *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938, 1985), 408. Another article mentions that the Philadelphia spring conference was also to be held in this building. “Conference at Philadelphia,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 6 (28 March 1857): 3.

62. Journal History, 29 March 1857; 26 May 1857. See also “Change of Presidency,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 16 (6 June 1857): 2. Pratt, who visited Philadelphia in the winter of 1856–57, provides a description of Cannon by stating that “a happier companion is seldom found.” Pratt, *Autobiography*, 404.

63. John F. Snedaker, “Pic-Nic Party,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 27 (22 August 1857): 3.

64. Jeter Clinton to Brigham Young, 18 August 1857, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

65. John Taylor, “Remarks,” *The Deseret News* 7, no. 24 (19 August 1857): 187.

66. “Philadelphia Conference,” *The Mormon* 1, no. 34 (13 October 1855): 2.

67. “Notice,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 15 (30 May 1857): 3. Another report indicated that “The Saints meet every Sunday for Public Worship in Philadelphia at Mitchell’s Hall, 312 Fourth Street—or York Avenue, above Vine.” “Sunday Meetings,” *The Mormon* 3, no. 26 (15 August 1857): 3. The meeting times were the same as those held in the Arch Street Assembly Rooms.

68. Walter W. Smith, “History of the Philadelphia Pennsylvania Branch,” *Journal of History* 13, no. 4 (1920): 527–28.

69. 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 162. This reference further points out that of the LDS voyages disembarking on the East Coast, one came into Boston and two landed in New York.

70. [Autobiography] of Caroline Hansen Adams, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1969), 12:472.

71. Diary of Matthias Cowley, 29–30 May 1857, LDS Church Archives.

72. Matthias Cowley to Orson Pratt, “Report of the ‘Westmoreland,’” *Millennial Star* 19 no. 28 (11 July 1857): 446–47.

73. “The Mormon Emigrants,” *Public Ledger* 43, no. 62 (3 June 1857): 1.

74. “Arrival of Mormons,” *Public Ledger* 43, no. 61 (2 June 1857): 1.

75. John Frantzen, *Reminiscences and Journal*, 28, LDS Church Archives.

76. Johann F. F. Dorius, *Journal*, 29 and 31 May 1857, in *Church Emigration Book* (1855–1861), LDS Church Archives.

77. Matthias Cowley to Orson Pratt, “Report of the ‘Westmoreland,’” *Millennial Star* 19 no. 28 (11 July 1857): 446.

78. “Arrival of Mormons,” *Public Ledger* 43, no. 61 (2 June 1857): 1.

79. Adams, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:472.
80. Dorius, *Journal*, 2 June 1857.
81. "Arrival of the Tuscarora," *The Mormon* 3, no. 21 (11 July 1857): 3.
82. "Correspondence of Elder James Thompson," *The Mormon* 3, no. 23 (25 July 1857): 3. The Philadelphia *Dollar Newspaper* is cited as having made several derogatory comments about the Saints. See "Ultimate Fate of the Mormons," *The Mormon* 3, no. 31 (19 September 1857): 2. *The Mormon* responded by noting that its uninformed writer "shows himself as ignorant in relation to Utah and the Mormons, or their doctrines, and is about as well posted as was Balaam's ass." Another article provided a more objective view of the Saints, which included useful information about their company leader, Richard Harper, and also noted that "during the passage there were six deaths—2 children, 2 women, and two men. . . . There were also during the passage two marriages and two births." "More Mormons—Another Arrival," *Public Ledger* 43, no. 89 (4 July 1857): 3.
83. "Another Herd of Mormons," *The Mormon* 3, no. 22 (18 July 1857): 1.
84. "Correspondence of Prest. A. M. Cannon," *The Mormon* 3, no. 22 (18 July 1857): 3.
85. The vessel was not in very good shape when it arrived in Philadelphia with this last company of Saints for the immigration season. One report noted, "The packet Wyoming, belonging to Messrs. Cope Bros., now lying at Walnut street wharf is undergoing a thorough repair. New deck beams and a new deck have been put in in [sic]; the latter is now being caulked. She is to have a new deckhouse also which will add much to the appearance of the ship. All other necessary repairs to render her a seaworthy vessel are being made." "*The Wyoming*," *Public Ledger* 44, no. 12 (3 October 1857): 1.
86. Brigham Young to Jeter Clinton, 12 September 1857, 1, in Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Letters, LDS Church Archives. Brigham Young also instructed Orson Pratt that "Inasmuch as the United States have given us abundant Testimony of their exceeding kind intentions towards this Territory, . . . let all the Elders gather home to Zion, and come with good Arms, and as much powder and lead as their means will permit." Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 12 September 1857, LDS Church Archives.
87. John Russell Young, ed., *Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1895*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York History Company, 1895), 1:511.
88. 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 161–67, has a list of the LDS voyages for the years 1855–90.
89. See Don H. Smith, "Castle Garden, the Emigrant Receiving Station in New York Harbor," *Nauvoo Journal* 10, no.1 (Spring 1998): 41–52, for a discussion on the history of this immigration depot and the procedures all immigrants were required to follow. Smith's article draws heavily upon Dr. George J. Svejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot, 1855–1890* (National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1968), which is the best source for a detailed study of Castle Garden.
90. For the story of the role Mormon agents played at New York, see Fred E. Woods, "The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents at New York," in Alexander L. Baugh and Andrew H. Hedges, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saints Church History: New York-Pennsylvania* (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2002), 103–24.
91. James H. Hart to John Taylor, 27 May 1886, 3–4, Papers of James H. Hart, LDS Church Archives.
92. G. O. "A Meddling Official," *Millennial Star* 48, no. 36 (6 September 1886): 568–70; see also Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangments for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 7–8.
93. The rail route was also modified. Instead of taking a train directly from New York

to Chicago, George Dunford notes that this group of Saints traveled from Philadelphia to Baltimore before taking a “special train chartered for our people, the Latter-day Saints. It contain[ed] some 9 coaches besides the engine and it is first class in every case.” Dunford’s account for 30 October verifies that from Chicago, these foreign converts took the general route immigrants had been taking for nearly two decades (since the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869) via Omaha into Ogden, Utah (thirty-seven miles north of Salt Lake City). When the train arrived on 1 November 1886, Dunford wrote that “some of the people go north some south and some stay in this city.” George Dunford, *Reminiscences and Journal*, 28 October–1 November 1886, LDS Church Archives. The following year, the Saints disembarking at New York were rerouted through Norfolk, Virginia. For this intriguing story, see Fred E. Woods, “Norfolk & Mormon Folk: Latter-day Saint Immigration through Old Dominion (1887–1890),” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1, no. 1, (Spring 2000): 72–92.

94. “Mormons May Come,” *Chester Evening Times* 16 (29 October 1886): 4.

95. “Arrival of Mormon Immigrants,” *Public Ledger* 102, no. 29 (28 October 1886): 3.

96. “Landing Mormons,” *Millennial Star* 48, no. 46 (15 November 1886): 734.

97. “Landing Mormons,” *Millennial Star*, 734–35. Concerning Rogers, Henry Leffman, the port physician, wrote: “I have seen no one carry out his duties with more justice, fairness, and fidelity than Mr. Rodgers.” Leffman, “Under the Yellow Flag,” manuscript (1886), Independence Seaport Museum Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

98. George Dunford apparently wrote during and immediately following the wait: “We shall have our baggage examined by custom house officers and commissioners . . . detaining our people on a technical quibble the officers are determined to give our people all the trouble they can but now it is late in the evening. But now here comes the people at last. And now there is a hurry to arrange matters so that we can take the Baltimore train.” Dunford, *Reminiscences and Journal*, 27 October 1886. According to historian Jim Ippolito, commencing in 1884, there was an additional inspection check-point for all immigrants coming up the Delaware River to Philadelphia. It was located at Cape Henlopen on the south side of the Delaware Bay and was called the Delaware Breakwater Quarantine Hospital. Jim Ippolito, “Delaware Breakwater Quarantine Station, 1884–1926,” 1, manuscript obtained by the author at the Independence Seaport Museum. In an e-mail from Bruce H. Haase, Public Service Manager for the Delaware Public Archives, Haase graciously supplied the author with the results of his search for any record of the arrival of the *British King* in the Delaware Breakwater Quarantine Station Logbook for 1886. His response was as follows: “In response to your recent inquiry, on a review for the entry date of October 27, 1886 from the ‘Delaware Breakwater Quarantine Station Logbook,’ we have conducted a search. There are no entries made on that date. There [were] only two entries made for the entire month of October of that year. One reporting the inspection of the facility and the other for a change of personnel at the station.” Bruce H. Haase to Fred E. Woods, 14 September 2005. Although no record of the Latter-day Saints is recorded, it appears from other sources that none of the Saints on the *British King* were detained here.

99. “Landing Mormons,” *Millennial Star* 48, no. 46 (15 November 1886): 734–35. Joshua Greenwood reported the success of the voyage when the company began “to sniff the American shores.” Among other things, he praised those who had carried the Saints across the Atlantic, stating, “Much credit is due to the officers and stewards for their treatment to us throughout the entire voyage.” See “Correspondence,” letter of Joshua Greenwood, Edward Hansen and William Rex to President D. [Daniel] H. Wells, *Millennial Star* 48, no. 46 (15 November 1886): 732–33.