

Castle Garden, the Emigrant Receiving Station in New York Harbor

Don H. Smith

Not long ago, the world watched as a British princess emerged from her English castle to begin the tortuous journey to her ancestral home. During the preceding week, thousands of her admirers left their names inscribed in registers throughout the British Kingdom.¹ On the other side of the Atlantic, 141 years earlier, our ancestral princes and princesses began to emerge from an American castle to begin their tedious journey home to Zion, leaving their names inscribed in the castle's massive ledgers.²

The American castle of which I speak has worn several hats over the years and had its humble beginning as a ledge of rocks about one hundred fifty to two hundred feet away from the shoreline that marked the extreme end of Manhattan Island.

In 1805, the United States Government found it to be an ideal location for a coastal artillery battery and constructed a fortification there that was named Fort Clinton after George Clinton, the sitting vice president and former governor of the state of New York. That structure was a circular fortress containing walls about six feet thick that were made of heavy square blocks of brown stone. It looked very much like the battlement of a castle and thus became known as Castle Clinton.

After the War of 1812, it was no longer needed as a fortress and reverted back to New York City's ownership. Later, it was used as a resort and at times became the official reception area for many celebrated visitors. The Revolutionary War hero, the French Marquis de La Fayette, was welcomed at the fort by six thousand New Yorkers during his 1824 visit. A reception was given there for Andrew Jackson in 1832 and another for President Tyler in 1843.

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A year earlier, in 1842, Samuel Morse demonstrated his telegraph in that facility.

As the Saints were executing their 1847 westward trek, the fortification was put under roof and made into an amusement hall called Castle Garden. During the process, new flooring was laid, galleries were built, and a stage was erected. Annual fairs were held there along with circuses, menageries, concerts, theatricals, and operas. Most long remembered was the 1850 premiere appearance of the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind, under the management of the famous circus promoter, P. T. Barnum. At that concert, the first ticket brought \$225, and a thousand seats were sold for more than \$10,000.

Sometime after 1848, the water space between Castle Garden and the shore was filled in and incorporated into a twenty-four-acre green area called Battery Park. Previously, the Garden had been connected to the mainland with a drawbridge.

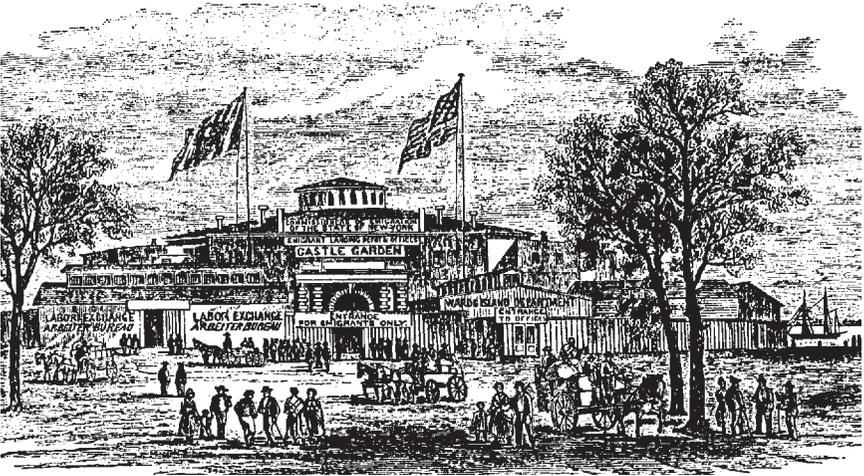
Between 1855 and 1890, the structure served as an emigrant receiving depot. It was later replaced by Ellis Island, which burned shortly after it opened and with it all of the emigrant records of the Port of New York for the period of 1855-97. The latter facility was quickly rebuilt into its present form. Castle Garden was likewise destroyed by fire on 9 July 1876, leaving only the walls of the old fort standing. By 27 November of that year, the structure was rebuilt and ready to accept new arrivals. Six years after it received its last emigrants, it became an aquarium; and, at present, the site is part of the national park system.³

With the increasing tide of emigration during the 1840s, brought on by the Irish potato famine and worsening economic conditions in Europe, a need arose for the protection of emigrants from hostility and robbery. The main culprits of plunder were the emigrant runners who boarded the vessels before they docked and paid the shippers for the privilege of doing so.

The fleecing of the emigrants began before they landed. Villainous runners exacted \$5 to \$15 a load for hauling the emigrants' luggage to a place of lodging. The foreigners were led to filthy taverns where thieves were free to carry out their atrocities. Liquor was lavished upon them, and they were encouraged to stay drunk while false charges were preferred against them. Ticket prices for their transportation to the West were often extracted from them and were, at times, 100 percent higher than standard fares. Bills for all types of fabricated services, which sometimes exceeded the daily charges of the luxurious Astor House, were exacted and collected by these taverns. The runners, in league with the landlords, plundered the emigrants again as they departed. They were pillaged and abused, unrelentingly, from their arrival until their departure. The women in particular were exposed to shameful wrongs.⁴

Organizations were founded to counter these abuses. Because the largest number of emigrants were German and Irish, the task fell mainly upon the

shoulders of these two ethnic groups. A German Society of New York was founded in 1784 that endeavored to help emigrants, and the Irish Emigrant Society of New York was organized in 1841 for the same express purpose. Another society for emigrant relief was headed by a New York mayor and had, as its secretary, the noted Horace Greeley. All these groups tried their best to aid the emigrants but were only partially successful. They came to realize that a concerted effort was needed to protect these newcomers from the abuses they encountered upon entering the city. Through their efforts, these groups succeeded in promoting the passage of an act, dated 7 May 1847, that established the Commissioners of Emigration. This group consisted of six commissioners appointed by the gover-



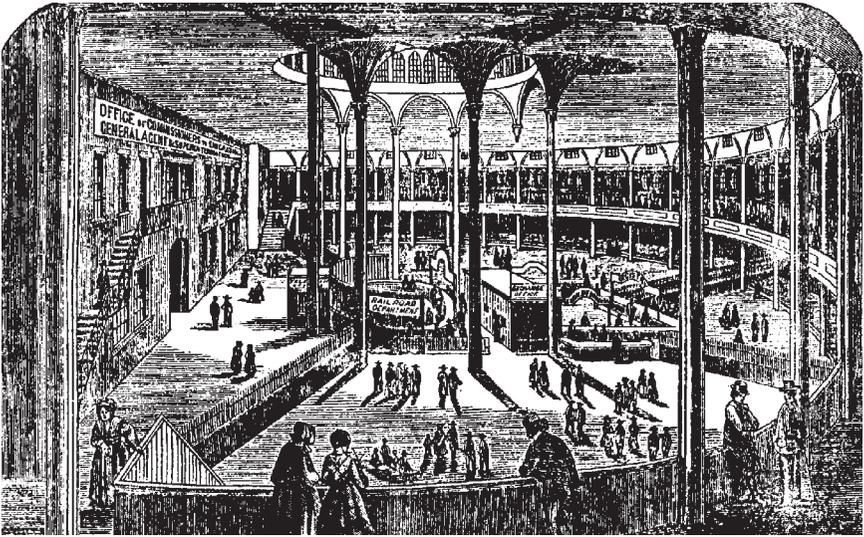
*State Emigrant Landing Depot, Castle Garden, New York
“Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration 1868”*

nor of the state and four ex officio members: the mayors of New York and Brooklyn and the presidents of the German and the Irish Emigrant Societies.

During the Emigration Commission’s first year of existence, that body established the Emigrant Hospital and Refuge at Ward’s Island but failed to secure a single landing place for the emigrants. The city of New York was adamantly opposed to the idea. It was not until 15 April 1855 that favorable legislation, which enabled them to create such a site, worked its way through the New York State government. After court challenges and other obstacles, they finally opened the doors of their desired facility on 1 August 1855. The converted amusement center retained its name, Castle Garden.⁵

A dock, which received the tug-propelled barges and steamers loaded with the emigrants who had been taken off the oceangoing vessels, was constructed

on Castle Garden's western side. A narrow passageway was made of moveable fences—through which all emigrants were forced to proceed while being subjected to medical inspection. This process was a very rigid one. During good weather, the procedure took place outdoors. Its purpose was to detect and immediately provide for cases needing hospital treatment and to discover those who, from extreme age, chronic disease, orphanage, pregnancy, lunacy or idiocy, were likely to become public burdens. The shippers were forced to assume the risk of fines for transporting such people if the shippers did not cull them out before leaving European ports. They could, however, take them aboard if an extra fee was paid or if the party who was responsible for that person guaranteed payment of any penalties if such were imposed. This provision was made under a princi-



*Interior View of the State Emigrant Landing Depot, Castle Garden, New York
“Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration 1868”*

ple called “commutation.” Mormon contracts with shipping companies were known to make such guaranties for questionable passengers.⁶

When the inspection was completed, the emigrants were herded into Castle Garden proper and marched up to a square enclosure in the center. Barriers were installed on each side to ensure that all were registered. These fences extended out from and along the sides of the central enclosure forming two separate alleyways, one to the right and the other to the left. Those who spoke German or French were requested to enter the alley to the right and those who spoke English to enter the alley on the left.

Inside the square were clerks standing at desks facing toward the alleys and ready with their ledgers open to register all newcomers. The pages of the large

books were divided into columns. When completed, a page showed the names of the heads of families or single persons, the vessel on which they came, the captain's name, the number in the family, their destination, the amount of money they had in hand, and the names of relatives who already resided in the United States. Each emigrant moved along the alley, stopped before the registering clerks, and then proceeded on. The process was completed as rapidly as possible but was often more difficult than one might expect. In the first place, the officers in charge were required to speak and understand numerous languages. They managed the languages well enough but found it difficult to deal with the extreme thirst for information and a constant misapprehension shown by some of the emigrants. These problems were numerous and required a great deal of patience. Some answers given in response to the clerk's inquiries were comical. For instance,

a young fellow was asked if he were alone. "No, Sir," he said, boldly; and when asked who was with him, he answered, "Sure my box!" Another wanted to register two game cocks he had brought with him from Tipperary, "Sure I paid their passage," he said. Still another—an old woman—on being asked her name, said that it was on her box, "and if we wanted to know, sure we could go and see"; and upon being asked by a bystander how, then, her box could be found, her answer was, "Ah, be jabers, an' isn't me name painted on it?" With much difficulty her name was finally ascertained.⁷

When the registration process was completed, single individuals and heads of families were asked their destinations. Like registration, this procedure also had its bottlenecks. When one Swede was asked where he wished to go, he replied, "Farmington." This response was hardly an adequate answer because there were, at that time, some twenty-one cities and villages with that same name in the United States. When asked by a Danish clerk in which state that particular Farmington lay, he had no answer. He had no further address than Farmington, U.S.A. Because most Swedes were far-west travelers, Illinois and Iowa were consequently suggested; but he was still at a loss.

Finally, he remembered something about "Da" or "Dada" or "Dakota"; and it was found to be "Farmington, Dakota County, Minnesota," a fact that proved correct by letters he afterward produced from his trunk.⁸

Once a destination was determined, the emigrants were directed to counters upon which were laid maps of all the railroad and steamboat routes in the United States. Information was intended to be given impartially by the competing companies. If an employee was found exerting any undue influence over the emigrant's choice, then the employee was discharged immediately.⁹

While the registration and the selection of routes were taking place, the emigrant's luggage was transferred from the passenger barge or steamer, along the dock's forward gangway, and into the office of the weigh master. When a route had been selected, the party received a printed slip telling the weigh master how

many railroad tickets the emigrant and his dependents required to reach their destination, the price charged for them, the number of packages they possessed, and the charge per hundred for their weight over fifty pounds. This document was signed with the contracting agent's name and served as a written travel agreement. The slip was then taken to the office of the weigh master. The emigrant's packages were then found and weighed. From several large, thin, bound volumes, one, marked with the name of the emigrant's destination, was selected and opened; and on the inner margin, a full description of the packages, their weight, freight, etc. were entered. Next to this margin were printed, in large type, seven coupons on yellow paper, with the route of transportation left blank. If the party had four packages, then four of these coupons were cut off, filled in, and pasted on them; and a ticket corresponding to the inner marginal description was cut off and handed to him. This was his baggage receipt. Then, the printed slip he had brought into the weighing office was filled in, and he was sent back with it to the cashier in the central office. There, he paid for his transportation and freight. The luggage that was to remain in the Castle overnight was taken out of the weigh master's office into a large store room where the luggage was registered and labeled with blue tickets. A corresponding blue receipt was issued as a baggage claim.¹⁰

In the meantime, fires were kindled in two washrooms, each fifty feet by twenty in size. On one side of each room was a bath large enough to accommodate a dozen emigrants. The purifying solution in them was two feet deep. On two other sides were large, wide troughs with water flowing rapidly in at one end and out at the other and at which fifty sour emigrants could be scrubbed and sweetened at a time. An abundance of towels was conveniently hung about, and soap was not only handy but also required to be used. Every emigrant landing at Castle Garden was washed clean before he or she was permitted to leave. This bath must have been a welcome sight to the passengers who had endured six weeks aboard ship on three quarts of water a day and two when rations were cut. Their cramped quarters were full of vermin (fleas, lice, and bedbugs), and this washing gave the emigrants a chance to reduce the number of the vermin. The emigrants probably did not rid themselves completely of these pests because clothing and bedding do not appear to have been included in the cleansing process.¹¹

When emigrants arrived at Castle Garden before one o'clock in the afternoon, the commissioners generally had them out and on their way by evening. If the emigrants were required to stay a day or two, ample room was available to shelter them. As many as three thousand people slept there at a time. They made their beds on the benches or behind them. Bread, cheese, coffee, and milk were available for purchase at reasonable prices. When it was found that a passenger ship was about to arrive, the baker was notified; and a batch of dough was immediately placed in the ovens. A large kitchen was provided where hot water

could be obtained and where the emigrants were allowed to cook anything they wanted. After the required tasks were completed, the ramparts of the Castle, its galleries, and the major portion of the inner circle were free for the emigrants' use. The outer gallery or walkway that surrounded the great hall of the Garden and overhung the bay was a favorite place. There, the emigrants could stroll, look out upon the city, and observe the ships as they moved in and out the harbor. To add to the emigrants' comfort, Castle Garden was heated in cold weather.¹²

Runners and boarding-house keepers were rigidly excluded from associating with the newcomers. The commissioners of emigration and Castle Garden employees greatly reduced the atrocities formerly perpetrated by these predators. The commissioners saved the foreigners, ignorant of the country's geography, routes of travel, and modes of business, from a legion of thieves and from the serious consequences of delay and mistake. "A runner acknowledging the value of the reform, admitted that under the old system, 'the emigrants were deprived wrongfully of more money, after getting inside the Narrows, than would furnish every family of them with a good Western farm.'" Those who passed through



Registering Names

Harper's New Monthly Magazine. 53, no. 250 (1871)

the Garden were not permitted to drink anything intoxicating while within the walls of the institution. Immoral or disorderly conduct was vigorously sup-

pressed, and parental discipline was administered.¹³

Shortly after the Garden was opened, a New York reporter visited the depot and left these observations:

The large hall of the Garden is a capital place for young Europe to enjoy itself in, during the brief hours of his tarry in our City, on his route westward. A tall fountain feeds a noble basin of water near the spot where the old stage was, and cools the air even at the noon of the heated term. The children were rollicking about it—sailing their paper boats, and full of unrestrained glee. The women sat in groups, talking in some of those crooked old-country languages that make us wonder how any talking can be done there until the people come of age—some knitting, some cutting and eating slices of German rye bread and cheese, some patching and fixing up the wardrobes of their family. They would not have cut a very fine figure in the ball room of the Yacht Club last night, but in view of their healthy forms and faces, we would like to see them matched in the dairy, the kitchen, or the field with as many of our pale New York beauties. . . . It was a strapping dame, we saw, who having eaten no more than the mere nubbin of a long loaf, proceeded to pocket the big balance. She lifted up her frock, and into a sack sowed fast to her petticoat—that more than half a bushel might be stowed in—dropped it as one might drop a thimble. As the pocket is only entered from within we—who never bet—will wager our inkstand that no pickpocket ever lightens her load.

The whole of the Castle is theirs to ramble in, and none hinder any, wherever they choose to stop in it. The best seats are free, and numbers that JENNY LIND'S Concerts sold at fabulous prices, were open to the poorest.¹⁴

No fees were normally levied for services given at the Garden or for the use of its generous accommodations. The passengers and their luggage were transported by water to their several points of departure from New York without charge. While awaiting to embark, they were given free lodging at the facility. At times, using their baggage as security, the poorer emigrants obtained a sufficient advance to enable them to reach their journey's end. A small commission that was designed to cover the expenses of the depot was charged to the railroad and steamboat lines over which the commissioners forwarded the emigrants. However, these fees fell considerably short of meeting the expenditures. (The railroad tickets utilized for transportation of the Latter-day Saints were purchased by their emigration agents outside the Garden, which did not contribute to the maintenance of that facility. This was, undoubtedly, the reason the Latter-day Saints were assessed twenty-five cents per head by the operators of the depot.)¹⁵

Most Mormon emigrants were more fortunate than their counterparts because the Mormons avoided much of the stress suffered by their countrymen who passed through the Garden. The majority of the Latter-day Saints were escorted by leaders who were Americans by birth or had previously emigrated to the United States. The latest happenings, with regard to emigration matters, were printed in the *Millennial Star* and other publications that were available to them. They were also schooled ahead of time on the latest news that had arrived from America and were given detailed letters of instruction. Some of these instructions were contingencies to be carried out only in the event the emigrants

were not met by emigration agents on their arrival at the depot. Normally, a Mormon agent received the emigrants and walked them through the registration process. There was no need for them to select a destination, nor was it necessary for them to choose a route of travel because these matters had already been taken care of by their agents.¹⁶

There were, generally, three classes of Mormon passengers who were shipped from Europe—namely, through passengers, P.E.F. passengers, and ordinary passengers. The through passengers were those who had sufficient money to pay their entire fare through to Utah. The P.E.F. passengers were those who borrowed money from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to help pay their way. Included among this group were those who received monetary assistance from friends and relatives in Utah or elsewhere. The ordinary passengers were usually members of the Church who had not been in the organization long enough to qualify for P.E. Fund aid. They had sufficient funds to pay their passage to the United States but no farther. Members in this category were encouraged to emigrate because it was thought to be much easier to earn sufficient funds to pay for their later passage to Utah in this country than in Europe.¹⁷

The first two categories were handled differently at the Garden than the latter. They stayed in that facility until they began their journey for the outfitting place. A little background is needed to explain the fate of the ordinary passengers. Because of the large number of emigrants who landed in New York, employment could not always be found in that city for all the Mormons who arrived there. The huge pool of available workers also tended to keep wages low. To overcome these obstacles, the Latter-day Saints were sent elsewhere where better opportunities were available. The missionaries, as part of their responsibilities, were instructed to look for employment openings; and earlier Mormon emigrants who had already found work were also encouraged to help in the process. Instructions relating to this request were printed in the *Mormon* as follows:

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 in this country. Those Saints who have not already reported, are requested to report themselves through their presiding officers or individually to this office, by letter or otherwise, as soon as circumstances will admit.¹⁸

The office referred to above was that of Elder John Taylor, who was stationed in New York during the first two years of the emigrant depot's operation.

In answer to the above request, a sample response is as follows:

CARBONDALE, (Pennsylvania) March 19, 1855.

Dear Bro. Taylor . . . I believe a number of our immigrating brethren would succeed in getting employment in this place and neighborhood, as there are several new

shafts in course of being formed. Miners would be the best to come here, as mining anthracite coal is the principal business carried on here. . . . A miner can earn on an average from ten to twelve shillings per day, this country money; payment sure; work from six to eight hours per day. . . . Scranton and Pittston, a few miles below here, are becoming places of importance. There are extensive iron works in the former, and coal in the latter place. The brethren may be sure of finding employment in either of these places. Esdras Howell.¹⁹

After registering and receiving their baths, the ordinary passengers were free to collect their luggage and depart. They had no need to deal with any of the other departments in the Garden except possibly the exchange office. The Church's New York headquarters received lists of all the passengers and their occupations. The lists were shipped by the mission office in Liverpool. These rolls were sent by steamer and arrived before the slower sailing vessels that carried the Saints.

With these lists in hand, the office staff had the opportunity to review them and to see what trades were found among the ordinary passengers before they appeared on the scene. These trades could then be matched with work opportunities that had come in from the field. In this way, the ordinary passengers could have been, provisionally, assigned to destinations before their arrival. Perhaps they were interviewed by members of Elder Taylor's office staff to gain additional information about their job history and training.

Armed with all their findings, the office personnel then matched the ordinary passengers with the job opportunities at hand and sent them to the places where these openings were located. Those destined to leave the city were generally sent in clusters. It is not clear what accommodations were provided for the ordinary passengers before being sent forward. Some stayed at the Garden and accompanied the main emigration part way on their journey. Others went to the branch chapel where they were put up, and some may have stayed with members of the Church or were housed in public accommodations hired for that purpose. Members of the office staff also arranged for the transportation of this group of passengers. Somehow, an emigrant runner came in contact with a number of Welch emigrants and offered them tickets at a lower price than the Church agent. Off they went with him, and no one knows what became of them.²⁰

As a sampling of the destination of ordinary passengers, I will cite the fate of a few of the families who came aboard the *Thornton*. Some stayed in New York, one of whom went back to England. All the Danish component went to St. Louis along with some of the English. A few went to Philadelphia, among whom were President McKay's father and other members of his grandfather's family; a number of families went to the mining regions of Pennsylvania and Illinois; and some went to Cincinnati, one to Columbus, Ohio, and one to Piermount, New York.²¹

Unfortunately, the ordinary passenger idea did not work as well as planned

because many of the families who came this way never went on to Utah. Others did not fare as well financially as hoped; and, as a result, members of five of the families aboard the *Thornton* were forced to come by handcart. One family came with the Christiansen Company in 1857, one individual with the Rowley Company in 1859, and three families with the Robinson Company in 1860.²²

Although Mormon emigrant ships landed at various ports between 1855 and 1857, Castle Garden, with its incomparable facilities, became the chosen point of entry for all the Saints who arrived between 1858 and 1868. This period covered the Civil War years during which the emigrants were subjected to additional enticements. A bounty of \$600 was offered to all who would enlist in the Union Army. I have not yet discovered whether any Mormon emigrants succumbed to that inducement.²³

Between August 3, 1855 . . . and April 18, 1890, Castle Garden functioned as a receiving center for the immigrants, guaranteeing them a decent and honest reception upon their arrival on these shores. In spite of political jobbery, patronage, and even corruption in the management of New York State's Immigration Department, Castle Garden was not only a monumental work but also a great human expression, which can be placed among the shining achievements of American history during the 19th century because it performed outstanding service for the immigrants at a time when the Federal government was showing but little concern for them.²⁴

From its opening until the end of 1889, 8,280,917 emigrants passed through the portals of Castle Gate.²⁵

In conclusion, it would be fitting to relate a story found in my Scandinavian repertoire. When listening to a Norwegian who was quizzing a Swede about his strange name, "Same Ting," and about his experiences at Castle Garden, the listener recorded the following conversation:

How come you a Svede got a Chinese name? "Vel it was like dis: ven ve got off the boat at Castle Garden der vas a man der sitten by a table vit a big book on it. In dat book he rot vat our names vas, ver ve come from, vat ve did for a liven, ver ve vas goen, how much money ve had and tings like dat. Ven da first guy stepped up he asked, 'vat's you name,' he said 'Ola Olson.' Da man rot down vat vas needed for dat guy and den da second guy stepped up. 'Vat's your name,' he said 'Ola Olson.' Da man rot down vat dat guy said and da terd guy stepped up. Ven asked vat his name vas he said 'Ola Olson.' By dat time da man vas getten a little bit irritated so ven I stepped up and he asked 'vat's your name,' I said 'Same Ting.'"

Is it any wonder we have difficulty tracing our ancestors back to the old country?

Notes

1. Radio and television reports.
2. "Foreign Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 18, no. 5 (1856): 76-78.
3. *Ibid.*; *New York Journal of Commerce* (19 June 1856): 3; *New York Times*, 4 August 1855, 1; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," *Mormon* (22 December 1855): 1; George

J. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot, 1855-1890* (National Parks Service, U. S. Department of Interior, 1968), 19-55; *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State* (Syracuse, New York: R. P. Smith, 1860), 427; Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York*, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1880), 758; Sarah M. Lockwood, *New York Not So Little and Not So Old* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), 113-14; Barbara Benton, *Ellis Island: A Pictorial History* (New York: Facts of File, Inc., 1985), 31, 37; Edward Corsi, *In the Shadow of Liberty* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 114.

4. *New York Journal of Commerce*, 3; *New York Times* 1; "Castle Garden," *Mormon* (8 September 1855): 2; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "The Emigrant Runner," *Mormon*, 24 May 1856, p. 3; Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, 19-25; "A Day in Castle Garden," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 42, no. 250 (1871): 555-56.

5. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, 19-32.

6. *Ibid.*, 46-47; "Castle Garden," 2; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; Franklin D. Richards, *Richards to Guion & Co.*, British Mission Letter Books, LDS Church Archives.

7. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, 46-47; "Castle Garden," 2; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "A Day in Castle Garden," 548-49.

8. Jvejda, *Castle Garden As An Immigrant Depot*, 46-47; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "A Day in Castle Garden," 549.

9. "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1.

10. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, 46-47; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "A Day in Castle Garden," 553.

11. Jvejda, *Castle Garden As An Immigrant Depot*, 46-47; "Castle Garden," 2; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "A Day in Castle Garden," 548.

12. "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 53, no. 316 (1876): 624-25.

13. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, 46-47; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1.

14. *New York Times*, 4 August 1855, 1.

15. "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; Correspondence, British Mission Letter Books, LDS Church Archives.

16. British Mission Letter Books; "The Castle Garden Emigrant Depot," 1; James G. Willie, Fourth Handcart Company Journal, typed copy, LDS Church Archives.

17. British Mission Emigration Records, Family History Library films; Eleventh General Epistle of the of the First Presidency, Salt Lake City, 10 April 1854; British Mission Letter Books; James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool: 1855), 117.

18. "To the Saints Scattered Abroad," *Mormon* (3 March 1855): 3.

19. Esdras Howell, "Carbondale, 19 March 1855," *Mormon* (24 March 1855): 3; "To Emigrants," *Mormon*, (7 June 1856): 2.

20. "Foreign Correspondence," 76-78; Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley*, 117; "The Wellfleet," *Mormon* (28 June 1856): 2; "List of Ordinary Passengers," *Mormon* (26 July 1856): 3; "Mormon Emigration," *Mormon* (26 January 1856): 1; Willie, Fourth Handcart Company Journal; Franklin D. Richards, "Correspondence," *Mormon* (24 February 1855): 2.

21. Family Histories, Smith Collection.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Illustrated London News*, 17 September 1864, 288; Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1943), 4:147-50.

24. Jvejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot*, iii.

25. *Ibid.*, 144.