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## Two Sides of a River: Mormon Transmigration through Quincy, Illinois, and Hannibal, Missouri

*Fred E. Woods*

### Quincy, Illinois, as a Place of Refuge for the Latter-day Saints

The infamous extermination order issued 27 October 1838 by Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs caused thousands of Latter-day Saints to flee the state and seek refuge in Illinois across the Mississippi River. Illinois, established in 1817, had high hopes for its future, but just two decades later it was smitten, like the rest of America, with the economic depression of 1837. In such a needy condition, the people of Illinois welcomed the Mormon migrants for three central reasons. Financially motivated, the state viewed the Latter-day Saint influx as an opportunity to raise its population to boost the economy through the collection of taxes. Politically driven, the Whigs and the Democrats sought to secure the Mormon block vote. Finally, and more philanthropically, there was a genuine humanitarian appeal, as evidenced primarily in the good citizens of Quincy who simply desired to relieve the Mormon exiles of their wretched conditions of homelessness and hunger in the winter of 1839.<sup>1</sup>

On 27 February 1839, the Democratic Association of Quincy appointed a committee to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and homeless and to strive diligently to find employment for those who were willing to labor. The association recommended that Quincy's citizens' inter-

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actions with the Latter-day Saints be proper, and the association counseled citizens to “be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their [Latter-day Saint] feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.”<sup>2</sup>

Although most Saints gathered north to the area of Nauvoo, some stayed in Quincy. This is evidenced by the fact that on 25 October 1840, the Quincy Stake was organized, with Daniel Stanton serving as president. Although the stake lasted only until the spring of 1841, a branch continued at Quincy until the Nauvoo exodus in the winter of 1846.<sup>3</sup>

During this period (1840–46), nearly five thousand British converts passed by Quincy (forty-five miles south of Nauvoo) on their way up the Mississippi River to gather to the Nauvoo region.<sup>4</sup> They were no doubt impressed with this lovely, little city nestled alongside the river. For example, British immigrant Richard Rushton wrote in the spring of 1842, “On Wednesday the 13 April . . . we passed the beautiful city of Quincy about 10 o’clock this morning and in the evening we came in sight of the city of Nauvoo.”<sup>5</sup>

Although the Saints were forced to flee Illinois, the city of Quincy continued to grow. By 1852, *Conclin’s New River Guide* noted that Quincy had blossomed to a population of 5,800 residents and that Quincy, “situated on a beautiful elevation, . . . commands a fine view of the river, for five or six miles in each direction. It contains an enterprising and intelligent population, and is destined to become an extensive and flourishing place. There are a large number of stores, several fine churches, a United States land office, and several mills and manufactories.”<sup>6</sup>

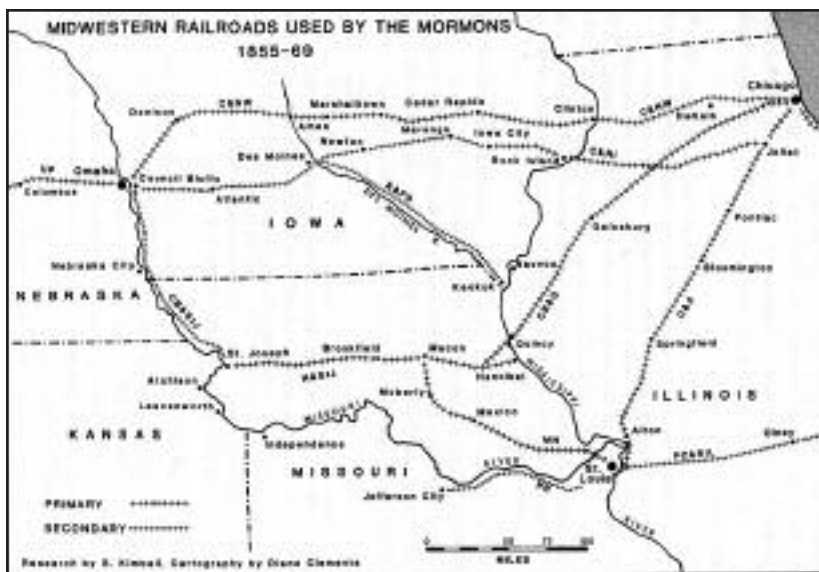
Although Mormon immigrant companies traveling on the Mississippi River during the Nauvoo years were conveyed past Quincy, they generally did not stop in the town because it lacked a port of entry until 1853.<sup>7</sup> Yet by 1859, events would transpire to bring thousands of Latter-day Saint migrants not only by Quincy but also through her.

### **The Emergence of Mormon Transmigration through Quincy, Illinois**

Mormon transmigration was redirected through Quincy because of a letter written to President Brigham Young by George Q. Cannon, who was then serving as the Latter-day Saint immigration agent in New York on the eve of the 1859 migration season. After Cannon had made a trip from the East to St. Louis, he discovered it more economical and a better route to channel the gathering Saints through Quincy to Florence, Nebraska, rather than send them to Iowa City on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, which had been the established route ever since this railroad reached Iowa

City in the spring of 1856.<sup>8</sup> Cannon wrote the following:

After making more extended inquiries in regard to the best and cheapest route by which to send the Saints to the West, we have ascertained that we can make an arrangement to have through tickets furnished them from New York to Florence at about \$3.20 per head in advance of the rates to Iowa City, and for every extra 100 lbs of baggage over the allowance \$1 less than the rates to Iowa City, a distance of three hundred miles or thereabouts from Florence. The route proposed is by the N. Y. Central R. Road from N. Y. City, via Albany, to the Suspension Bridge (Niagara Falls), thence by the great West R. Road to Detroit, thence by the Michigan Central to Chicago, thence by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy route to Quincy on the Mississippi, thence to Hannibal, Mo., and from there by the Hannibal and St. Joseph Rail Road to St. Joseph, where packet is taken to Florence. The whole of this distance from New York to St. Joseph is by rail, with the exception of the distance from Quincy to Hannibal which is about 1 1/2 hours sail; they are constructing a branch directly opposite Quincy to connect with the main line, which will save this water travel, leaving only the river to be crossed; but it is not finished, neither do I think it will be by the time we would need it, though some of the Railroad men give encouragement that it will. As I was coming West myself I thought I would come by the route and see the various agents and satisfy myself as to the representations which had been made me; I came as far as Hannibal, and think with a little attention (which they promise to pay,) in making the connections at Quincy and St. Joseph that it will prove a very good route for this year's emigration. It avoids St. Louis entirely, and is a much shorter route than that by St. Louis and the Missouri river, even if it were wisdom to send the Saints by that route.<sup>9</sup>



Midwestern railroads used by the Latter-day Saints, 1855-69.  
Previously published in Stanley B. Kimball, "Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869,"  
BYU Studies 35, no. 2 (1995):25. Used with permission.

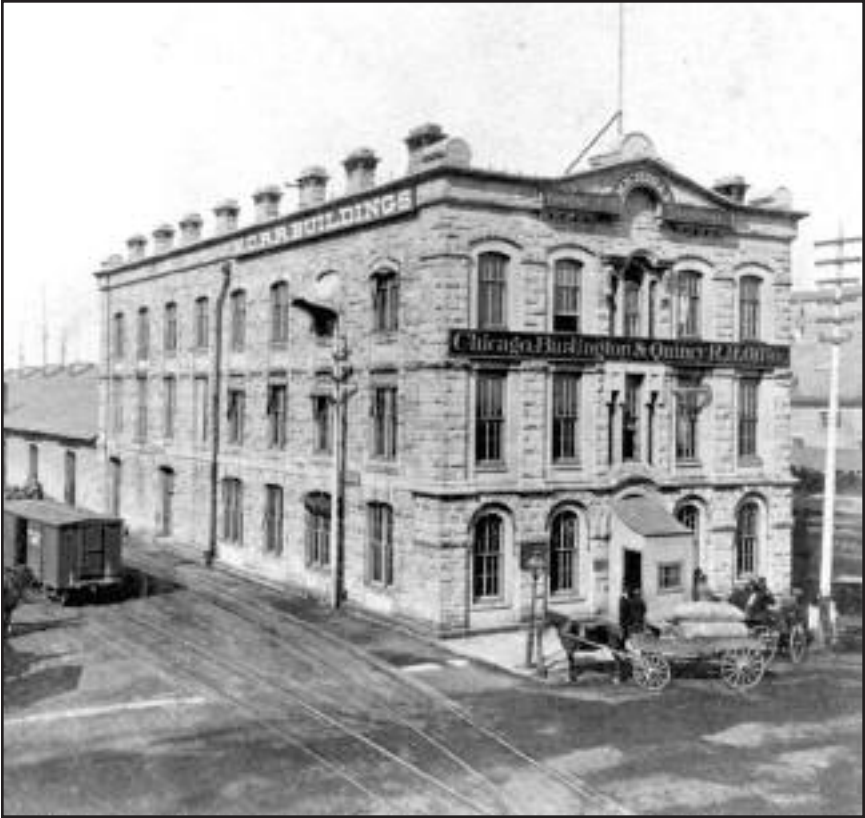
President Young incorporated Cannon's suggestion, and the rail routes for the 1859–66 migration seasons changed. Although the rail route from the East Coast to Chicago sometimes differed, once the Saints reached Chicago, they took the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad (hereafter cited as CB&Q) from Chicago to Quincy.<sup>10</sup> The immigrants then crossed the Mississippi and traveled across the state of Missouri from either Hannibal (1859–63) or West Quincy (1864–66), via Palmyra through Missouri to St. Joseph, on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad (hereafter cited as the H. & St. Joe Railroad).<sup>11</sup> The immigrants then traveled north on the Missouri River to designated outfitting posts at Florence, Nebraska (1859–63) and Wyoming, Nebraska (1864–66).<sup>12</sup>

During this period, it is estimated that about eighteen thousand Latter-day Saint immigrants crossed the Atlantic and the Mississippi River (via Quincy) to gather in the Salt Lake Valley. The Mormon immigrants who made the voyages were primarily British and Scandinavian, although a much smaller representation of foreign converts were Swiss/Germans, South Africans, and French. Of an estimated fifty-five voyages carrying foreign converts, thirty one of them left from Liverpool, with others coming from such ports as Port Elizabeth (nine), Hamburg (eight), and London (five), with Calcutta and LeHavre each having one. Six of the voyages arrived at Boston, while the other forty-nine selected New York as their port of preference.<sup>13</sup>

Commencing in 1855, Latter-day Saint immigration had been rerouted by President Young to the East Coast, primarily because of the threat of cholera and yellow fever along the Mississippi River.<sup>14</sup> Brother Brigham had given the option of using Philadelphia, Boston, or New York, but during the nineteenth-century period, most Latter-day Saint voyages disembarked at New York because of the immigration depot housed there, called Castle Garden.<sup>15</sup>

During the years of Latter-day Saint immigration in the nineteenth century, New York Mormon migration agents such as George Q. Cannon usually met the incoming Latter-day Saint voyages and arranged for the groups to continue on their journey west by rail, sail, and trail. Although most groups could proceed directly, those who could not afford to move West immediately were aided by the agents with employment and housing.<sup>16</sup>

For the years 1859–66, thousands of Latter-day Saint migrants who went west by rail passed through the river cities of Quincy, Illinois, and Hannibal or later West Quincy, Missouri. How did the Latter-day Saint immigrants describe the bustling city of Quincy and her inhabitants? Did these foreign converts realize it had once been a refuge for the Saints? On the other hand, how were these Mormon immigrants viewed by the citizens of Quincy? Was



*First general C. B. & Q. railroad office building, shared with the Michigan Central, ca 1862.  
Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society*

their reception different in Quincy than it was in the Hannibal region? How did the press react to the Mormon migrants on both sides of these Mississippi River towns? Did previous events in Illinois and Missouri shape local attitudes toward the migrants? Worthy also of consideration is the influence of the news media on local inhabitants through their sometimes-biased reporting of passing Latter-day Saint migrant activities—as well as their interpretation of events simultaneously occurring in Utah.

### **Newspaper Accounts of Mormon Transmigration through Quincy and Hannibal**

Through first-person Latter-day Saint immigrant accounts and from several newspapers, their migration experiences through this area emerge with

striking color and detail. For example, the *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican* provides reports of the passing Saints in eight separate accounts for the years 1860–62, while the [Weekly] *Quincy Whig Republican* mentions them only twice during the migration seasons from 1860–65. The *Quincy [Weekly] Herald* noted the Mormon migrants in nine features for the years 1860–62 and 1864–65, while the *Quincy Daily Herald* featured the Mormon immigrants in fifteen different articles for the years 1859, 1861–62, and 1865–66. Although no known newspapers were published in the small river town of West Quincy, the Hannibal newspapers covered events in the local river regions, which included West Quincy, less than twenty miles north of Hannibal.<sup>17</sup> Although only three years are available from the local Hannibal newspapers for this period of migrant study (1859–61), the Mormon migrants are mentioned in sixteen articles in the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* and in thirteen accounts in the *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, events that suggest the Hannibal papers made more frequent mention of the Mormon transmigrants than the Quincy papers during the same years covered.

These river newspapers often expressed opinions and tones that sharply contrasted to one another. Although it is readily apparent that sarcasm creeps into articles published on both sides of the Mississippi, generally those newspapers in Quincy (which had a population over twice that of Hannibal) reflect a much more civil, objective, and educated professionalism than those papers coming from Hannibal.<sup>18</sup> Reports from Quincy publications indicate that the journalists usually took more time and effort to give detailed accounts of dress and cultural aspects of the migrants, and they were much more favorable and genteel than the journalists in Hannibal. The immigrants themselves provide accounts of contrasting moods from one side of the river to the other.

In light of the prior Mormon-Missouri conflict, it is understandable that the Hannibal publications most often reported antagonistic and hostile accounts of the migrants. Apparently, Hannibal had earned an early reputation of being inhospitable to passing Latter-day Saint migrations that occurred during the Nauvoo period. According to tradition, “News came one day that a Mormon boat was on its way up the river, and some of the Hannibal citizens rigged up a shotted cannon, for the purpose of salute and reception, but the Mormon boat was advised of the danger, and it found a channel east of Glascock’s Island near the Illinois shore.”<sup>19</sup> The story also relates that the cannon continued to be used “so as to compel [other] Mormon steamers to hug the Illinois shore.”<sup>20</sup>

As the 1859 migration season dawned and the Latter-day Saint migrants drew near the Mississippi on their journey west, the *Hannibal Daily*



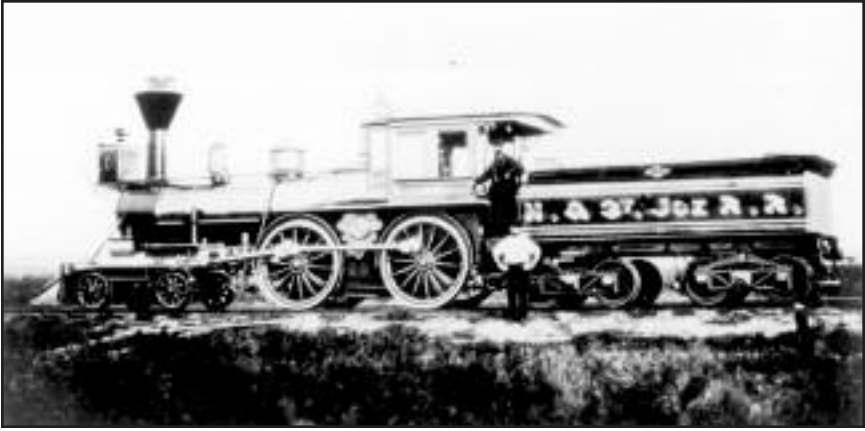
*Birds Eye View of the City of Hannibal, Marion County, Missouri, 1869,  
drawn by Albert Ruger.*

*Courtesy of the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas*

*Messenger* printed an article entitled “Utah and the Mormons.” Among other things, this account stated that “the hypocritical, traitorous [sic], and adulterous Brigham” had been replaced by another, Governor Cummings, but it noted that “Brigham Young is really, Governor of Utah; as much so, as so far as influence for evil is concerned.”<sup>21</sup> Just four days later, this same newspaper printed the first announcement of the Latter-day Saints who had recently crossed the Mississippi to begin their rail journey from Hannibal across Missouri:

MORMONS.—On Thursday morning, about 200 deluded followers of Brigham Young, men, women and children, took the cars of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, at their depot in this city, for St. Joseph, their destination being Salt Lake City. We learn another large reinforcement is just behind. They are principally foreigners of the humbler class. Poor, silly dupes of the greatest scoundrel that walks unhung!<sup>22</sup>





*Steam engine on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, ca 1868.  
Thousands of immigrating Saints crossed war-torn Missouri on this railroad.  
Courtesy of the California State Railroad Museum (neg. no. 23629)*

Five days later, the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* reprinted this same article on the front page of its paper, alongside another article on the Saints entitled “Mormon Civilization.” This entry contained a damaging letter written by a biased army officer at Camp Floyd, Utah. Among other things, this account relates how a mutilated Danish Mormon immigrant had “fled for protection all the way from San Pete to our camp.” The officer noted, “I could fill whole sheets with instances of other cold blooded deeds of brutality.”<sup>23</sup> Such was the slanderous tone of the Hannibal media as they concurrently reported news from Utah while the Mormon transmigrants were passing through Missouri.

During this same month, a bold caption entitled “Arrival of Mormons” ran in the *Quincy Daily Herald*. The article also reported the Latter-day Saint transmigration—yet with a somewhat different tone:

On Thursday last, seven hundred and twenty-five Mormons arrived in this city from Chicago, on their way to Salt Lake. They came down by railroad, filling up some fourteen cars, and left on the morning packet for Hannibal, where they were to take the cars on the St. Joseph railroad yesterday. They were direct from Europe and embraced the following nationalities: English, 233; Scotch, 31; Irish, 7; Welsh [sic], 30; Swiss, 4; Danish, 224; Swedish, 108; Norwegians, 16, the remainder being infants, under one year of age.<sup>24</sup>

What then follows is a detailed list of the occupation of each member of this company as furnished by the head of the group. On this very day (21 May 1859), across the river, the *Hannibal Daily Messenger* noted that it was

necessary for this large Mormon group to make a layover at the depot for a day in Hannibal. This, the reporter noted, not only gave the Latter-day Saints a chance to “stroll through town” but also enabled the citizens of Hannibal to have a closer look at the passing Latter-day Saint migrants. The *Messenger* disdainfully noted the following:

An opportunity was thus afforded us of learning something more of the character of this emigration; of their newly fangled ideas, and of the hold this infamous system hell-born and begotten by the devil, has upon them. We ascertained that there were some five or six different nations represented in this motly crowd, but by far the larger portion were English and Welch. As a general, we might almost say universal rule, they were of the lowest, humblest and most ignorant class of peasantry, giving little or no evidence of intellectual culture, and many of them, by their stupid, brutish and sensual look, indicating unmistakably that they were the slaves of more vices than one.<sup>25</sup>

Quincy newspaper accounts unmistakably reflect a wider acceptance and tolerant attitude among the citizens of that city than among those of Hannibal. For example, the front page of the *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican* made the following informative observation of hundreds of Mormon immigrants on board the Mississippi steamboat *Pike* in May of 1860: “In general appearance they were good looking and well behaved for large a body. They had an unmistakable air of being conscious that they were not only the observed of all observers, but that they had a character to sustain as saints bound to the promised land.” One young Latter-day Saint Englishman they interviewed proved to impress the reporters. The reporters noted, “His dress was rather better than such men generally wear, and his answers were intelligently and freely given.”

Although the second half of the article has more of a sarcastic tone, it provides information on the number of immigrating Saints (a total of 594) as well their origin (British and Scandinavian) and their company leader (Elder James D. Ross). The article further contains a very detailed analysis of four prominent Latter-day Saint women who stood out from the rest. The first lady was described as a forty-five-year-old woman with a “green camblet dress, and a cotton umbrella.” The second was thought to be about twenty years old and wore a “small bonnet of straw with a once gay braid under its front, a shawl of grayish faded cotton with a dark border and green camblet or alpaca dress.” The third woman wore a straw hat with “white beads in wrought-linsey woolsey dress, with pearl buttons down the bodice, Scotch shawl, and heavy calf shoes with eyelets and strings most the length of the foot.” The last woman was described as having a “velvet flat with a black plume, all quite jauntily worn, a fine eye, complexion denoting exercise and

health, grey Raglan, dress of same color.” Finally, according to the article, “Others had a kind of zebra stripe running down their shoulder in queer taste.”<sup>26</sup>

The *Quincy Weekly Herald* also noted the absence of the Saints’ attire on two separate occasions. Passing Latter-day Saint immigrants stopped at Quincy for a bath in the Mississippi. One account carried a front-page story in bold letters entitled “More Mormons,” which noted that “some of the women [were] entirely nude” and, not surprisingly, that “the ‘boys’ were around seeing all they could see.”<sup>27</sup> Four years later, the same newspaper reported that nearly eight hundred Scandinavian and British Mormon immigrants had arrived in Quincy and that “one of the first acts of many of the party was to rush to the river and take a bath in a very conspicuous situation, not having the fear of the City Bathing Ordinance before their eyes.”<sup>28</sup>

When a group of about five hundred “Swedes” (Scandinavians) passed through Quincy, they were described as being “an exceedingly thrifty appearing people, who had abundant means with which to purchase their own farms and implements after arriving at their destination.”<sup>29</sup>

A few Quincy inhabitants did not view the passing migrants so favorably. The *Quincy Daily Herald* made note of “hard words” exchanged when some overzealous Quincy citizens tried to persuade Mormon migrants from going on to Utah, as this article explains:

At one time the excitement ran so high that a general row was feared, and Policeman Palmer was compelled to interfere to prevent serious trouble.—While in the city these Mormons conducted themselves in a quiet and orderly manner interfering with no one, and bearing many insults in silence rather than create a disturbance. Some over-zealous parties who had failed in their efforts to dissuade them from continuing on to Salt Lake City, commenced abusing their leaders in the most shameful and ungenerous manner and it was this that caused what little trouble occurred. As soon as they were able to secure their baggage they were crossed over.<sup>30</sup>

Notwithstanding this incident, the Quincy newspapers generally reflected a more broad-minded community. Consequently, the passing Saints probably felt a bit more secure as they stopped on the Illinois western border before crossing the Mississippi River. Once the Mormons entered Missouri (usually at Hannibal), a heightened sense of tension and potential conflict arose, resulting in part from past and current Mormon events. The dark memories of the injustices incurred by the “extermination order” were not yet dim in the minds of both Latter-day Saints and the inhabitants of northern Missouri, commencing in the Hannibal region. The Saints also had to contend with an abundance of guerilla warfare during the years of the War

of the Rebellion (1861–65), threatening the migrants' safety as they tried to pass "east to west through north and south" to their eventual refuge in the Salt Lake Valley.<sup>31</sup>

To make matters worse for the Latter-day Saints, negative reports were flowing into these newspapers during the mid-nineteenth century on such controversial issues as polygamy, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Utah War, and Brigham Young's view of the Civil War.<sup>32</sup> Some newspaper accounts were also based on interviews with passing Mormon migrants. Some of the comments would probably have stimulated a prejudiced reaction among "Gentiles" in northern Missouri communities.

For example, after the War of the Rebellion had dawned, the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* ran the following article on Independence Day, 1861, taken from an overland traveler on his way to California:

MISSOURI THREATENED BY MORMONS IN CASE SHE SECEDES.— . . . We met a large party of Mormons at Scott's Bluff, [Nebraska] numbering about four hundred, going to the States to purchase goods and get recruits. Some of the elders informed me that they intended at no distant day, in case Missouri secedes, to march an army against her, and recover their lands.<sup>33</sup>

Such a report during this time of conflict must have sent additional sparks flying on Independence Day in Hannibal, and they may have ignited additional brush fires for the migrating Saints who were yet to cross over the war-torn land of Missouri.<sup>34</sup>

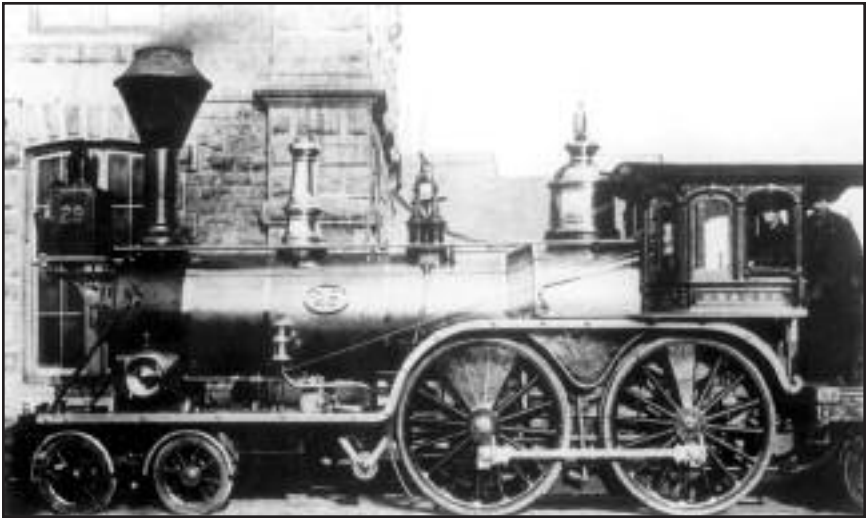
Three years later, a reporter for the *Quincy Weekly Herald* interviewed Elder John M. Kay, who had recently brought 863 immigrants across the Atlantic to New York on the *Hudson*. The journalist reported that the group "fear they will be detained owing to the operations of the guerillas in Mo. Until allowed to proceed they expect to encamp in the woods near West Quincy." The reporter added, "They seem to want to press ahead however, declaring they have no fears of being molested, but have a firm trust that the same Providence that has so far safely guided and guarded them on their way will continue His fatherly protection to them."<sup>35</sup>

The war seems to have added a general suspicion during this period of turmoil in American history. For example, just six weeks after the first shots of the War of the Rebellion were fired at Fort Sumter, an ill-born rumor informed Confederate sympathizers that a large group of federal soldiers would be crossing the Mississippi on the steamboat *Black Hawk*. This large crowd of sympathizers who gathered at the Hannibal levee were surprised to discover that the supposed soldiers (in disguise) were in reality a large group of about four hundred Latter-day Saint immigrants (including an infantry of children) on their way to "the promised land."<sup>36</sup>

A week later, the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* noted the following appraisal, entitled “More Mormons”: “Mr. Hall, the second clerk of the Black Hawk, informed us yesterday that they would bring down another large company of Mormons this morning. We make mention of the fact now that our secession friends may not think they are U.S. Soldiers again in disguise.”<sup>37</sup>

### Mormon Immigrant Descriptions of Passing through Quincy and Hannibal

Along with various newspaper stories reporting the passing Mormon immigrants on both sides of the Mississippi, the Latter-day Saint migrants themselves kept accounts of their 1859–66 transmigrant experiences in both Illinois and Missouri. Although many of their physical challenges were common to all overland migrants, their unique religion created additional social challenges.



C. B. & Q. Engine #29, ca. 1862.  
Courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Society

The Illinois transmigration experience for the Latter-day Saints began in Chicago. Here the migrants boarded the CB&Q Railroad and traveled from Chicago via such railroad stops as Aurora, Mendota, and Galesburg before arriving in Quincy.<sup>38</sup>

The CB&Q ran daily, and there was always a schedule to be kept. According to one Mormon immigrant, David M. Stuart (eyewitness of this 1863 event), one CB&Q conductor became very frustrated when a Mormon

migrant gave birth to twins while en route to Quincy and thus delayed the train:

On the way from Chicago, William Hoggen's wife was taken sick, about to be confined, and the cars jostled so, I had to ask the conductor to stop at a siding about half an hour. As we were in a special train, he said with a great oath, "I'd run these Mormons to hell, if I could." I went in the car where Mrs. Hoggen was, I had the women folks put up some quilts around her in a corner of the car, where she lay in pain on the floor to be delivered. I put my hands upon her head, and prayed God to hear me in her behalf, and bless her so she, might be safely delivered. I asked that she and her offspring might live to honor God. One of the mothers on the train acted as midwife, and success attended our united labors. She was delivered of twin girls by the blessing of God.<sup>39</sup>

Another railroad man, also very disgruntled by his 1860 Mormon cargo, noted the following account:

We had proceeded in safety thus far but reaching this place [Chicago] upon the Sabbath and again pursuing our journey upon the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad seemed to enrage the engineer very much. He said he would drive the Mormons to hell and used considerable abusive language. He did his best to carry out his threat. He drove us at a great speed, a mile a minute, and before reaching Quincy, either through friction or sparks from the engine, one of the freight cars caught fire and instead of allowing the brethren to take out the freight while the fire was in its incipience, he had the other cars uncoupled and drove the engine with the burning car attached at a very rapid rate causing the flames to gain full control inasmuch that upon reaching the station, six miles from where the fire was first noticed, the car was thrown from the track, a mass of ruins. (The affair was afterward investigated. The engineer lost both character and situation and the losers of property were partially reimbursed, probably about 30% being paid).

After performing this feat he returned to the engine and instead of slacking speed sufficiently, drove rapidly, causing a violent and unexpected concussion. As his passengers not knowing anything about the fire after the car was taken ahead or yet when the engine would return were talking excitedly and in every direction and positions that they would not have been if they had noticed the engine so rapidly approaching and no signal was given to warn them so that they might be on their guard. Fortunately, no one was injured seriously.<sup>40</sup>

For another Latter-day Saint company, a worse situation occurred when cholera broke out among the group who were at Chicago, en route by rail for Zion. Magnus Cederstorm wrote:

Cholera broke out so badly that many of the passengers became sick, and one of them by the name of Christen Hansen from Lolland had to be left behind because of his inability to stand or walk. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon Anna Malena Berbom [Bernbom] died at the age of 70. In the evening we arrived at Quincy where she was buried. Tuesday the 7th—At 7 a.m. we went over the Mississippi River at Quincy.

Erasmus Pedersen was left there because he was stricken so hard by the cholera.”<sup>41</sup>

Aside from these physical hardships, sobering thoughts occurred while the migrants were en route for Quincy. Past memories of Latter-day Saint history that had occurred in the region affected the migrant Saints: B. H. Roberts wrote, “The journey was continued through Chicago, thence to Quincy, Illinois, where much of the conversation among the emigrants turned to Joseph Smith and Nauvoo.”<sup>42</sup> Another immigrant wrote as he passed near Carthage by rail, “We were not far from the place where the Prophet, Joseph Smith, was martyred.”<sup>43</sup>

Joseph Coulson Rich remembered being en route for Quincy when his mind flashed between thoughts of a current thunderstorm and the black night of 27 June 1844 when Joseph the Prophet and Hyrum the Patriarch were murdered:

One of the most dismal and black thunder storms arose near Galesburg that I ever saw, the rain poured down in torrents for some two hours, while the blackness of the clouds were rendered grand by the occasional flashes of lightning which seemed to burst from all directions. About the same hour of the evening, eighteen years ago today Joseph & Hyrum Smith were assassinated in Carthage Jail some twenty miles from where the storm came on us.<sup>44</sup>

However, with the morning arrival of the train at Quincy, the storm passed and the darkness fled. The mood shifted as Coulson later wrote, “stopped at the Quincy House being the finest hotel in town.”<sup>45</sup> Others appear not to have been as fortunate as Coulson. For example, Mary Anne Savill Tame recorded that when her 1861 company reached Quincy, they “slept in the cars all night.”<sup>46</sup>

At this time, the man in charge of arranging for both passenger and freight rail travel through Quincy was Chas. W. Mead, listed in the 1859–60 Quincy City Directory as “General Agt. Quincy & Chicago R.R.”<sup>47</sup> The directory further notes that Mead lived in Quincy on Vermont, between 8th and 9th, which was not far from the railroad office noted at 102 Main.<sup>48</sup> Mead played a key role not only in the CB&Q Railroad but also in the transference of passengers and freight across the Mississippi. This is evidenced by an advertisement of steamboats appearing in the *Quincy Daily Herald* as early as May of 1859, when transmigration via Quincy commenced. This advertisement indicated that “all bills for the Pike and Fannie, must be ordered by the Superintendent” (who is noted as “C. W. Mead, Ass’t Supt. C.B.&Q R.R.”).<sup>49</sup> One Mormon immigrant noted, “A steamboat named ‘Pike’ was then our conveyance on the Mississippi River to Hannibal where we landed



*Quincy House, ca 1858.*

*Courtesy of the Historical Society of Quincy & Adams County*

the same evening.”<sup>50</sup> Latter-day Saint migrant usage of the steamboat *Pike* is also supported by several articles that appeared in local newspapers.<sup>51</sup>

In 1861, Mormon immigrant Barry Wride wrote of his travel by steamer, “Having had a desire for a long time to behold the great Mississippi River this was gratified on the 21 of May by steamboat from Quincy to Hannibal. A fine sheet of water appeared [that is] almost still considered the longest river in the world. I visited the city of Quincy at this time. ’Tis an elegant town. I made some purchases at a store there.”<sup>52</sup> Another passing Saint who made purchases in Quincy noted, “Here we found provisions still cheaper than in Chicago, butter 8 cents per pound, beef 3 cents a pound, eggs 5 cents



per dozen.”<sup>53</sup>

Another Mormon migrant wrote upon arrival at Quincy in 1863: “We found a little bread for sale close by the depot & bought it. But the stores were all closed, in consequence of a state law that came in force for the first time today compelling all stores to be closed on Sundays.”<sup>54</sup>



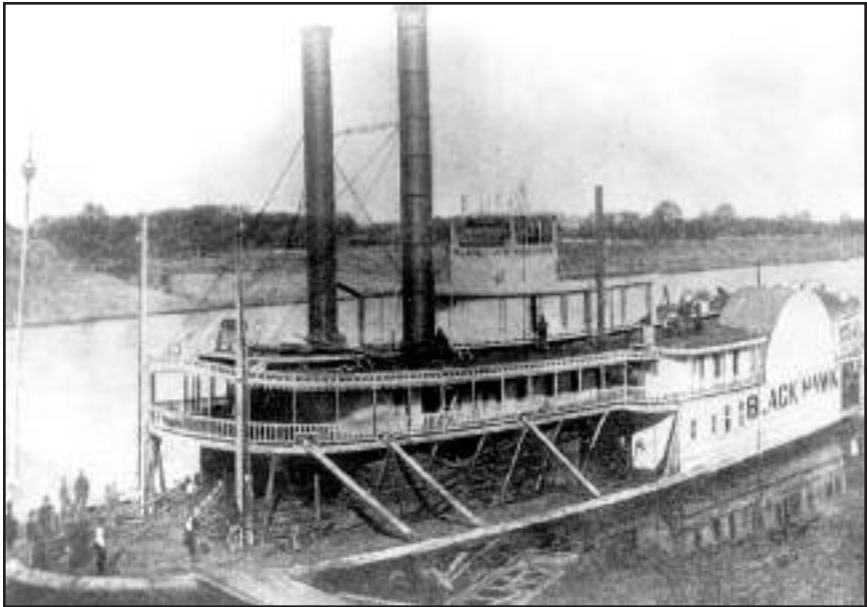
*Quincy Union Passenger Station, 1864.  
Courtesy of the Historical Society of Quincy & Adams County*

One passing Saint who paused in Quincy in 1866 for only about an hour and a half noted, “Stopped to get refreshment, shift luggage—several men were loud in their declamations against the Mormons, Brigham in particular. Some were against such expression and wished us as a people our rights.”<sup>55</sup>

Mary Ann Ward Webb provides a glimpse of the contrast of travel for Mormon immigrants on both sides of the Mississippi and notes conditions faced by the Saints once they reached the other side of the Mississippi in Missouri territory:

The trip from Chicago to Quincy, Ill., was a pleasant one. We arrived there on July 26th [1864]. We crossed the Mississippi River and had to walk from the landing to the railway station over a very rough road. We had to stay for two days waiting for a train. A heavy storm came up; there was not room for all in the station so we had a most miserable time. Some of us went down to the river where some men tried to drown us. They were very bitter against the Mormons. The second night we had to sleep on the damp ground.<sup>56</sup>

The Mississippi was also used for more redeeming purposes. John Henry Humphrey Barker wrote, “Reached Quincy. Got our baggage on board the ‘Black Hawk,’ a very large boat. Went down the Mississippi 20 miles to Hannibal, State Missouri. It well deserves to be called the ‘Father of Waters.’ Went from the ‘Black Hawk’ onto the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. J. Lloyd, the sailor, was baptized.”<sup>57</sup>



*The steamboat Black Hawk transported thousands of Latter-day Saints from Quincy, Illinois to Hannibal, Missouri in 1861-62.  
Courtesy of Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County*

The *Black Hawk* transported several thousand Latter-day Saints and many of their wagons across the Mississippi, as evidenced in several newspapers that document twenty-one separate references during the years 1861–62 as well as several Mormon immigrant accounts.<sup>58</sup> The master of the *Black Hawk* during this period was Captain Brand. The 1861 Quincy City Directory notes that Captain Chas. C. Brand lived in Quincy during this period, on Broadway and Seventh, and further notes that the *Black Hawk* was advertised as running daily.<sup>59</sup> Brand no doubt found the transference of the Latter-day Saints lucrative, though he may have become a little perplexed at times when carrying large groups of foreign-speaking converts. For example, on 4 July 1861, the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* carried a front-page article that reported about six hundred Mormons (with an additional five

hundred soon to follow) had come down to board the *Black Hawk*. The article notes that “they were by far the hardest looking crowd that we have yet seen, many of them being old and infirm, and some lame, blind, and halt.” The reporter further notes, “Capt. Brand informed us that he had got members of several different races to talk to them, but none could understand them. He inferred, however, that they were from Switzerland and Sweden, the lands of Wm. Tell and Jenny Lind, but we think they were descendents nor kindred of neither.”<sup>60</sup>

In 1863, the *Black Hawk* was taken by Brand to the Lower Mississippi, where together they were employed in government service because of the Civil War.<sup>61</sup> Brand returned to Quincy in June 1863 after six months of service to his country, and the *Black Hawk* returned shortly thereafter, but without Brand. The captain was in poor health because of severe diarrhea. It was hoped he would recover, but he died a short time later at the Quincy House, where, coincidentally, some of the Mormon immigrants he had transported had previously stayed.<sup>62</sup>

One immigrant describes his experience aboard the *Black Hawk* as follows: “We were packed more like a lot of beasts than anything else.”<sup>63</sup> Another migrant describes his encounter on this same vessel: “All ordered upon the steamboat & after some little confusion in the storing of the luggage & the seating of the people the bell sent forth a peal & puff, puff, puff went the engine, sending us onward up the river on the borders of which the green trees were thickly studded. . . . I never had an idea that the steamers were fixed up in half so smart a style as they are.”<sup>64</sup>


As previously noted, during the period of the Civil War (1861–65), the journey through Missouri was even more challenging than Illinois because of unpredictable guerilla warfare.<sup>65</sup> Quincy was a lull before a storm, as described by Andrew Christian Nielson, who passed through this turbulent region in 1864: “In Quincy, Illinois we stopped several days and then had to take cattle cars for St. Joseph through Missouri. We had some trouble in getting through the wars. Here was the ruins of whole towns as had been laid waste by the terrible struggle.”<sup>66</sup> In 1862, another Saint summarized his journey through Missouri during the Civil War as a “mournful picture. In many places houses were burned down, fences destroyed, and crops unattended. All the bridges were well guarded by Union troops to prevent the Secessionists from burning them. The fulfillment of Joseph Smith’s prophecies concerning Missouri can be visibly seen in passing through the state.”<sup>67</sup>

In the Hannibal region, the Saints had their initial glimpse of the Civil War. Federal troops were stationed there beginning as early as 1861, and they stayed for the duration of the war.<sup>68</sup> Thomas Memmot wrote in 1862, “Left Hannibal. . . . Saw first signs of the Civil War, passing a party of sol-

QUINCY DIRECTORY. 185

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**QUINCY & CHICAGO**



**RAILROAD.**

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Two Express Trains leave daily, making connections at Chicago with the great Eastern lines, for all prominent cities East. Also, at Galesburg with Peoria R. R.; at Wyanet with Rock Island R. R., and at Mendota with Ill. Cent'l R. R.

Fare always as low as by any other route.

C. G. HAMMOND, Gen'l Sup't.

C. W. MEAD, Ass't, Quincy.


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**QUINCY & HANNIBAL FERRY.**

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**THE STEAMER**

**BLACK HAWK**



Runs daily between Quincy and Hannibal, making sure connections between the Q. & C. R. R. and the H. & St. Jo. R. R.

C. C. BRAND, Master.

*Advertisement for the steamboat Black Hawk and the Quincy & Chicago Railroad in the 1861 Quincy City Directory.  
Courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library*

diers guarding a bridge.”<sup>69</sup> In June of 1862, Jens Christian Anderson Weibye indicated, “We left Hannibal . . . where we saw American soldiers who had raised their tents, partly at the towns and partly at the bridges to prevent the Southern people to break up the railroad or the bridges.”<sup>70</sup>

One immigrant noted, after crossing over the Mississippi to Hannibal, “We had to change into a train of cattle cars and the car I got in was a car that hogs had been shipped in. Everything was dry. The dust from the hogs’ excrement was something very unpleasant. We could smell and taste hogs for two or three days afterwards.”<sup>71</sup> Another migrant explained his 1864 rail ride: “The ride was very bad as the cars were terrible.”<sup>72</sup> “Although the cattle cars were at times dangerous, they were actually safer than the passenger cars, which carried Union soldiers and thus became the constant target of Confederate attack. However, railway passage through the North did not carry the threat of combat that was found in Missouri, which was a hotbed of guerrilla warfare.”<sup>73</sup>

Not only were the immigrants consigned to cars fit only for beasts but also the roads were of very poor quality. One passing migrant remarked, “We had a rough ride through the State of Missouri. The H. & St. Joseph’s Railroad was new but not finished. Appeared to be the most uneven road for a railroad I ever traveled on.”<sup>74</sup> At times, the threat of destruction to the tracks posed an additional challenge. One passing immigrant wrote, “To Quincy. Got over the Mississippi River to a grove of trees and laid there to the 11 of June 64. (All the cars was in the South with the soldiers) Then to Palmyra [just north of Hannibal], we saw 1000 of soldier. They tore the track.”

In this same year, Joseph A. Young (the eldest son of President Brigham Young) was given general charge of Latter-day Saint immigration through America by his father. As Joseph crossed the Missouri border to make plans for the 1864 migration season, he noted that “the whole face of the country from where we crossed the Mo line to St. Joseph, bears the impress of the judgments of the Almighty.”<sup>75</sup> He also recorded that there was more evidence of the Civil War in Missouri along the Hannibal and St. Joseph tracks than anywhere else in Missouri. He observed “every few miles the debris of a ‘wrecked’ train” and surmised the situation by stating, “Were it not that ‘God is with his people’ the thought of the saints traveling over such a road would be almost unbearable.”<sup>76</sup>

Even after the bloody conclusion of the Civil War, other conflicts tormented the passing migrants. Andrew Jenson related that the Scandinavian Saints who crossed the Atlantic on the *Kenilworth* (1866) en route for Zion had “a very disagreeable ride through the State of Missouri, where the inhabitants at nearly every station did all they could to insult the emigrants.”<sup>77</sup>

## Conclusion

Although the mid-nineteenth century Latter-day Saint immigrants had a variety of travel-related challenges common to other passing migrants, their unique religion presented additional obstacles as they journeyed through Illinois and Missouri. When the Saints left Quincy and traversed the Mississippi, they left not only a larger, more refined community but also a city that had matured in tolerance, influenced no doubt by the large number of European immigrants there. However, as they entered the Hannibal region, they not only encountered different demographic circumstances but also faced a tumultuous environment influenced by past and current episodes of discord. The newspapers also played a significant role in fueling local prejudices by their interpretation of prior Latter-day Saint incidences—as well as beliefs and practices. The Mormon-Missouri conflict and the Utah War, combined with the advent of the Civil War, all sparked a press smoldering in enmity.

This study of Latter-day Saint transmigration represents a mere fragment of what these foreign converts encountered as they journeyed to Zion in the mid-nineteenth century. A dissection of each migrant mile begs further study. This microcosm of the Mormon experience in Quincy, Illinois, as compared with the Hannibal region and the rest of the H. & St. Joe Line, is a fascinating study of the geopolitical and social venues that produced abrupt changes for the Mormon migrants.

## Notes

1. *Church History in the Fullness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 213.

2. Quincy Branch Manuscript History and Historical Report, 27 February 1839, Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as QBMH, Church Archives). Henry Ashbury notes that he was a member of a committee sent from Quincy as mediators to prevent further problems during the Battle of Nauvoo. Henry Ashbury, *Reminiscences: Quincy, Illinois* (Quincy, Illinois: D. Wilcox & Sons, printers, 1882), 164. In his research on Quincy, Landry C. Genosky notes that some of the Latter-day Saints who had witnessed the Battle of Nauvoo “escaped to Quincy and asked the town to mediate.” Landry C. Genosky, “The Story of Quincy, Illinois 1819–1860” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1949), 52.

3. QBMH, 25 October 1841, 5 November 1840, and 6 September 1845, Church Archives. Andrew Jenson notes that with the Nauvoo exodus, there was no longer a branch in Quincy. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 688. However, the St. Louis Stake Historical Record provides evidence that in 1856 there was again a branch of twenty-five members in Quincy (represented by T. H. Giles), which was at that time a part of the St. Louis Stake. St. Louis

Stake Historical Record, 1852–1856, 380, Church Archives. The stake existed for only three years, 1854–57, because of the sudden threat of the Utah War. For further information on the St. Louis Stake during this period, see Stanley B. Kimball, “The Saints and St. Louis, 1831–1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 512–18.

4. For more information concerning the gathering of the British Saints to Nauvoo, see Fred E. Woods, “Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840–1846,” *Nauvoo Journal* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 43–62. This article is based on a paper presented at the Quincy History Symposium in Quincy, Illinois, 6 November 1999.

5. Richard Rushton, *Diary of Richard Rushton*, 15, Church Archives.

6. *Conclin's New River Guide or a Gazeteer of All the towns on the Western Waters* (Cincinnati: J. A. & U. P. James, 1852), 74. According to John Clayton, the actual population of Quincy at this time was slightly larger. He compiled statistics evidencing that by 1850, the population of Quincy was 6,902 and would nearly double to a total of 13,718 by 1860. *Illinois Fact Book and Historical Almanac 1673–1968* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970), 40.

7. Asbury, *Reminiscences*, 90.

8. Stanley B. Kimball, “Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869,” *BYU Studies* 35, no.2 (1995): 21.

9. George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, 23 April 1859, 1–2, Church Archives. Stanley B. Kimball points out that “riding these two railroads [CB&Q R.R. and the H. & St. Joe R.R.] in sequence made immigrating much easier and faster. Saint Joseph, then the westernmost point on the national railway system, was about 240 miles farther west than Iowa City.” He further notes that it took about fifteen hours to ride from Chicago to Quincy and another eleven hours to go from Hannibal to St. Joseph. Kimball, “Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869,” 23, 26, and 39, note 57. According to W. W. Baldwin, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company was officially incorporated on 9 July 1856, when the CB&Q Railroad and the Central Military Tract Railroad Company were consolidated. W. W. Baldwin, *Corporate History of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company and Affiliated Companies* (n.p., 1921), 11–12. The record is housed in the Mercantile Library, University of Missouri—St. Louis. The Hannibal city directory notes that the rail distance from Chicago to Quincy was 268 miles. *Hannibal City Directory for 1859–1860* (Hannibal: H. Fotheringham, publisher, 1859), 88. See R. C. Overton, *Milepost 100: The Story of the Development of the Burlington Lines 1849–1949* (Chicago: n.p., 1949), 11–13, for a synopsis of its early history. Baldwin further notes that the H. & St. Joe Railroad was opened for service on 15 February 1859 and that the total distance from Hannibal to St. Joseph was 206.41 miles. Baldwin, *Corporate History*, 223–24. For an excellent article on this railroad, see Perrin Kent Hannah Jr., “The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad ‘The Joe Line,’” *Railway History Monograph* 8 (1978): 1–61. For a study of the impact this railroad had on incoming settlers immediately following the Latter-day Saint transmigration period through Missouri, see Howard F. Bennett, “The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad and the Development of Northern Missouri, 1870: A Study of Land and Colonization Policies (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1951).

10. For example, during the period of 1859–61, the established rail route from New York to Chicago was a direct line that traveled within the boundaries of the United States, although the lines sometimes varied. Yet, beginning in 1862, other Mormon immigrant companies chose (due to economic concerns, rail availability, or the threat of the war) to follow a route that took them through Canada on the Great Western Railway of Canada—commencing at the Suspension Bridge at Niagara, and ending at Windsor,

Canada, where the migrants returned to United States soil at the Detroit River. From Detroit, they traveled on the Michigan and Central Railroad to Chicago. See Fred E. Woods, "East to West through North and South: Mormon Immigration during the Civil War," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 6–29 for a more detailed discussion of this issue. Another notable exception occurred in the migration season of 1866. During this year, New York Church immigration agent Thomas Taylor chose a more economical route from New York to Chicago. Taylor arranged to have the incoming Saints take a steamer from New York to New Haven, Connecticut, before taking the Vermont Central and Grand Trunk railroads into Canada and back across the United States border to Chicago. These Saints then took the CB&Q route that brought them through Quincy and across Missouri on the Hannibal and St. Joseph rail line. See Thomas Taylor to Brigham Young Jr., 30 May 1866, in the New York Emigration Book, 22 March 1866–10 July 1866, 34, Church Archives. It should be noted that some evidence purports that a minority of Latter-day Saint migrants traveled in smaller independent groups by steamboat rather than go by rail in larger Mormon companies. For example, the *Hannibal Weekly Messenger* reported, "It appears that all of the Mormons do not go this route after all. Fifty went up the Missouri river on the [steamboat] Sam Gaty, last week, bound for Salt Lake." *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 3 June 1861, 3. These Saints were possibly transmigrant converts who had been employed in the St. Louis area raising additional funds to continue their journey.

11. When the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad (Q&P) opened up at West Quincy, Missouri, (which lay directly across the Mississippi from Quincy, Illinois), western-bound rail migrants crossing the river from Quincy now had a more immediate route for travel, which would take them to the town of Palmyra where they were transferred to the H. & St. Joe Line. The town of Palmyra (a station on the H. & St. Joe Line) lay about equally between Hannibal and West Quincy, which required for both the Q&P Railroad as well as this branch of the H. & St. Joe Railroad about thirteen miles of track each. Although the town of Hannibal would have provided more options for provisions than West Quincy, which was much smaller, it meant for those migrant companies who selected Hannibal for their landing site an additional one and a half hours of river travel to cover the twenty-mile distance between Quincy and Hannibal. Notwithstanding, local newspapers and Mormon immigrant accounts indicate that companies of Saints crossed the Mississippi to Hannibal continuously for the years 1859–63. Baldwin notes that although this railroad was incorporated in 1856, it was not opened for traffic until 1860. Baldwin, *Corporate History*, 224–25. Therefore, the 1859 Latter-day Saint migrant companies did not have this option. Furthermore, the Q&P was not consolidated with the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad until 1867, whereas the Saints ceased using the Quincy-Missouri transmigration route in 1866. Therefore, those who chose the Q&P route would have been required to take the extra time and effort to transfer their luggage from one depot to another, although both depots were in the same town of Palmyra. Yet this is overshadowed by a greater economic factor. Several newspaper advertisements note that the CB&Q Railroad agent at Quincy (Chas. W. Mead) is also the sole negotiator for the river packet line from Quincy to Hannibal. See, for example, "Quincy and Hannibal Ferry—Special Notice," *Daily Quincy Herald*, 19 May 1859; "Quincy and Hannibal Ferry—Special Notice," 17 July 1861, 3. Further, the 1861 Quincy city directory not only advertises the CB&Q Railroad on the same page as the Quincy & Hannibal ferry connection but also notes that this connection (via the steamer *Black Hawk*) makes "sure connections with the Q. & C. R. R. (meaning this branch of the CB&Q from Quincy to Chicago) and the H. & St. Jo. R. R." See advertisement in A. Bailey, *Quincy Directory and Business Advertiser*, vol. 1 (Quincy, Illinois: A. Bailey, 1861), 185.

Evidence of Latter-day Saint companies crossing the Mississippi to West Quincy



begin to occur for the first time in 1864. For example, see “More Mormons for Utah,” *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 4 July 1864, 2; “Another Arrival of Mormons,” *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 1 August 1864, 2. Such reports are also supported by 1864 LDS immigrant accounts. See David L. Davis, *The Journal of David L. Davis*, 7, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; and John Lyman Smith, *Diaries of John Lyman Smith*, vol. 2, 97, Church Archives. Several newspaper accounts and one Latter-day Saint immigrant account also reveal that the Saints were still crossing the Mississippi to West Quincy in 1866. See “Mormons en route West,” *Quincy Daily Herald*, 22 June 1866, 4; “Mormons Bound Westward,” *Quincy Daily Herald*, 13 July 1866, 4; “Mormons en route West,” *Quincy Daily Herald*, 8 August 1866, 4; and the Mormon migrant account of William Driver, “London to Salt Lake City in 1867: The Diary of William Driver,” ed. by Frank Driver Reeve, reprinted from *New Mexico Historical Review* (January 1942), 55. Although there is no current evidence in either newspapers or first-person migrant accounts to indicate whether the Saints then chose West Quincy over Hannibal, it seems logical that they would use the same Missouri entry point they used both before and after the 1865 migration season.

12. *LDS Church Almanac, 1997–1998* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1998), 173–76. As noted previously, the Latter-day Saint migration entry point on the western side of the Mississippi in Missouri changed in 1864. Such a change may have been made when the Mormon outfitting post was changed from Florence to Wyoming, Nebraska, this same year.

13. These statistics are calculated from the *LDS Church Almanac, 1997–98*, 162–63. There may be as many as ten additional voyages, as noted in the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD, (published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000), but the information is scarce. Both the *Almanac* and the *Mormon Immigration* CD agree that between 18,000 to 18,500 Saints made the voyage. However, it must be understood that these figures include several hundred returning missionaries who often served as company leaders so they could watch over their new foreign converts on each of the Latter-day Saint chartered voyages.

14. In a letter dated 2 August 1854, Brigham Young instructed Elder Franklin D. Richards, a Latter-day Saint emigration agent at Liverpool, as follows: “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, or New York, giving preference to the order named.” Cited from “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 16 (October 28, 1854): 684. Another secondary factor may have been Young’s awareness of the advancement of the eastern rails, which would soon prove to be a more effective means of transportation. On this topic, see John F. Stover, *Iron Road to the West: American Railroads in the 1850’s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 176–85; and Louis C. Hunter, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History* (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1993), 481–519.

15. The best source for an in-depth study of Castle Garden is George J. Svejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigration Depot, 1855–1890* (U.S. National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1968). On the Latter-day Saint immigration experience through Castle Garden, see Don H. Smith, “Castle Garden, the Emigrant Receiving Station in New York Harbor,” *Nauvoo Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 41–52.

16. For more information on the role of New York Church immigration agents, see the forthcoming article by Fred E. Woods, “The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents at New York,” *Regional Studies in LDS Church History, Volume 3: New York and Pennsylvania* (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2001).

17. According to the 1860 U.S. Census Records, the total population of Hannibal was 6,505 residents, while West Quincy was so small it was not even listed. The *Quincy Daily Herald* (30 July 1861), 3, carries an article describing West Quincy, stating, among other things, that it contained “not less than one dwelling house, a hotel, and a railroad depot.” Palmyra, listed also in the census with a larger population of 1,999, lay between these towns and had begun publishing the *Palmyra Spectator* in 1863, which currently boasts itself as the oldest continuously running Missouri newspaper. Unfortunately, the *Spectator* did not provide newspaper accounts noting the passing Latter-day Saint migrants for the years 1863–66 during which they passed through Palmyra on their way west.

18. At the time the Mormon migration commenced, Quincy was the third-largest city in Illinois. Less than seven months before the westward-bound Saints passed through her streets, the bustling Quincy played host to a debate between Lincoln and Douglas. Lincoln represented the Republican Party, which two years earlier had launched its 1856 platform on the theme of the “twin relics of barbarism, slavery, and polygamy.” According to Thomas J. Brown, “Quincy in 1858 bore the aspect of a thriving town that had but recently achieved maturity.” Brown also noted that this city, incorporated in 1834, had emerged from two sources. The first was due to the influx of settlers who had arrived from the mid-Atlantic States and from New England in the mid-1830s. The second was based on a wave of Irish immigrants (late 1830s) and an even greater flood of German immigrants in the 1840s that made up more than one-third of Quincy’s population at the time the Saints came marching in. See Thomas J. Brown, “The Age of Ambition in Quincy, Illinois,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75, no. 4 (Winter 1982): 246–47. Perhaps this large body of immigrants contributed to the Quincy tolerance toward the Mormon migrants. This seems to also be true of St. Louis, which likewise boasted a substantial population consisting of many immigrants during this same period. Although this large metropolitan city was on the other side of the Mississippi in Missouri, Stanley B. Kimball has compiled sufficient evidence to sustain his assertion that during the mid-nineteenth century, St. Louis was indeed “an oasis of tolerance and security.” See Kimball, “The Saints and St. Louis,” 512–18. In contrast, Hannibal did not have the large influx of immigrants that we find in the larger, more-advanced cities of Quincy and St. Louis.

19. Thomas H. Bacon, *Mirror of Hannibal, Including Biographies and Portraits of Two Hundred Hannibal Citizens of 1905*, compiled by C. P. Greene (Hannibal: C. P. Greene, 1905), revised by J. Hurley and Roberta (Roland) Hagood (Topeka: Jostens Printers, 1990), 92. Roberta, (age 90) informed me in a phone conversation on 17 March 2001 that this tradition was based on an element of truth regarding how the Mormon migrants were generally treated better on the Illinois side than they were on the Missouri side of the Mississippi. Appreciation is expressed to the Hurleys, who not only brought this story to my attention but also allowed me to make visits to their Hannibal home in the summer of 2000 to use a variety of sources they have gathered for decades regarding the history of Hannibal.

20. Henry N. Stone, compiler, *Stone’s Hannibal City Directory 1897–98* (Hannibal: H. N. Stone & Co., 1897), 35.

21. *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 3 May 1859, 2.

22. *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 7 May 1859, 3.

23. *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 12 May 1859, 1. For a history of the contentious relationship between the Latter-day Saints and the United States military during the Utah War, see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict 1850–1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Donald R. Moorman and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the*

Mormons: *The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992).

24. *Quincy Daily Herald*, 21 May 1859, 3.

25. *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 21 May 1859, 2.

26. *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 8 May 1860, 1.

27. *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 9 July 1860, 1.

28. *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 13 June 1864, 2.

29. *Daily Whig and Republican*, 9 June 1862, 3.

30. "Mormons en route West," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 22 June 1866, 4.

31. It should be noted that Missouri chose to be a neutral state during the War of the Rebellion. Yet her land was stained by much bloodshed as a result of federal troops being forced to deal with Confederate sympathizers in Missouri who launched continuous series of guerilla assaults. Not only were the lives of the Mormon migrants in danger as they traveled through this state but also the lives of local Missouri civilians were in danger. For an excellent treatment on this topic in general, see Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

32. For articles treating polygamy, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and the Utah War, see, for example, "What Utah Has Cost," *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 2 June 1859, 2; "Latest from Salt Lake," *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 2 June 1859, 3. For Brigham Young's negative view of the federal government during a portion of the Civil War, see "Brigham Young's Loyalty," *Daily Quincy and Republican*, 29 May 1863, 1. His position of not wanting to support the government during the War of the Rebellion was heavily influenced by President Lincoln's 1862 decision to replace Young's Mormon troops who had faithfully helped guard the mail route with soldiers under the direction of Colonel Patrick Connor. Furthermore, Connor had established a military post (Fort Douglas) that overlooked Salt Lake City. Young suspected the purpose of this military surveillance was to keep a thumb on Latter-day Saint activity. Young therefore determined from that point on not to send men to fight for the Union, if called upon, although the Saints in general were thought to be Union sympathizers. For more information of the history of the controversial relationship between the Mormons and the United States military during the Civil War era, see E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

33. *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 4 July 1861, 4.

34. In the summer of 1857, a similar matter had taken place when a group of west-bound migrants had stopped to graze their cattle in Southern Utah en route for California. According to Kenneth W. Godfrey, "[I]t appears that some of these emigrants told a few Latter-day Saints that when they had transported their families to the Golden State they were going to return, join the army, and subdue the Saints." Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Mountain Meadows Massacre," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, eds. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 2000), 799. This resulted in the infamous tragedy known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Such hostile reactions seem to have been evoked by an ever-present war hysteria commencing at the dawn of the Utah War until the end of the Civil War (1857–65).

35. *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 1 August 1864, 2. Kay's declaration of faith was no doubt bolstered by the deliverance he and his company of Saints had experienced aboard the *Hudson* while crossing the Atlantic in 1864. On this voyage, sailors aboard a Confederate warship had pulled alongside the *Hudson* and taunted the migrants by yelling, "Say your prayers, you Mormons, you are all doing down." Fortunately, nothing came of the boastful threat. For more information on this encounter, see Woods, "East to West through

North and South," 9–10.

36. *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 22 May 1861, 2.

37. *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 30 May 1861, 3.

38. Richard C. Overton provides a map of the route of the 261-mile CB&Q Railroad from Chicago to Quincy as of 30 July 1865. The segment of track from Aurora to Mendota (45 miles) was completed by 1853, Mendota to Galesburg (79 miles) by 1854, and Galesburg to Quincy (99 miles) by 1856. The thirty-eight-mile portion of track from Chicago west to Aurora was shared by four railroads commencing in 1856, and the CB&Q did not have its own track in this segment until 1864. Richard C. Overton, *Burlington Route: A History of the Burlington Lines* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 71.

39. David M. Stuart, "Autobiography of David M. Stuart," 113–14, Church Archives.

40. George Isom, *Memories of George Isom*, 10–12, Church Archives.

41. Magnus Cederstorm, *Diary of Magnus Cederstorm*, Conway Sonne Collection, Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archive, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan Utah.

42. B. H. Roberts, *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 20, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

43. Christian Peder Nielsen, *Journal of Christian Peder Nielsen*, 29, Church Archives.

44. Joseph Coulson Rich, *Journal of Joseph Coulson*, vol. 4, part 2, 17–18, Church Archives.

45. Rich, *Journal of Joseph Coulson Rich*, 18, Church Archives. Carl A. Landrum indicates that the Quincy House was completed in 1838 at the cost of \$106,000. It was a very impressive building, becoming a relic by the time it burned in 1883. During its days of glory, it was a prestigious social institution. Carl A. Landrum, *Historical Sketches of Quincy, Illinois* (Quincy, Illinois: Historical Society of Quincy, 1986), 87–89.

46. Mary Anne Savill Tame, *Journal of Mary Anne Savill Tame*, in Florence C. Youngberg, *Saville Heritage* (privately printed, 1985), 496.

47. C. S. Williams, *Quincy Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror*, vol. 1, 1859–60 (n.p.: 1859), 97.

48. Williams, *Quincy Directory*, 97. According to William A. Ardsen, "[A]t the time the Lincoln and Douglas debate was held in Quincy in the fall of 1858, C. W. Mead, as general agent of the Quincy and Chicago Railroad company, occupied the room just east of the Quincy House entrance, with William D. Welles as ticket agent." William A. Ardsen Jr., "Pen Pictures of the Central Part of the City of Quincy as It Was When Douglas and Lincoln Met in Debate," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 18, no. 2 (July 1925): 399.

49. "Quincy and Hannibal Ferry—Special Notice," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 19 May 1859, 3. Two years later, this same advertisement appeared with one minor change. The steamboat *Pike* had been replaced by the steamboat *Black Hawk*. See "Quincy and Hannibal Ferry—Special Notice," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 17 July 1861, 3.

50. Lars Christian Pederson, *Autobiography of Lars Christian Pederson*, 3, Church Archives.

51. "Arrival of Four Hundred Mormons," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 8 May 1860, 3; "Arrival of 50 Mormons," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 23 June 1860, 3; "The Boats," *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 7 May 1860, 1.

52. Barry Wride, *Journal and Autobiography of Barry Wride, 1861–1868, 1901–1903*, 14, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

53. William Yates, Journals of William Yates, 1848–91, 187, Church Archives.
54. Elijah Larkin, Diaries of Elijah Larkin, 472, Church Archives.
55. "London to Salt Lake City in 1867: The Diary of William Driver," 50.
56. "The History of Mary Ann Ward Webb and Her Diary of the Journey to Utah (1864)," in Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King, *Mary Ann Webb: Her Life and Ancestry* (McLean, Virginia: America Society for Genealogy and Family History, 1996), 108.
57. John Henry Humphrey Barker, Journal of John Henry Humphrey Barker, 30, Church Archives.
58. Newspaper references to the *Black Hawk* include the following: "More Mormons," *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 30 May 1861, 3; "Mormon Wagons," *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 30 May 1861, 4; "River News—More Mormons," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 27 June 1861, 3; "The Mormons—A Hard Crowd," *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 4 July 1861, 1; "Mormons! Mormons," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 22 May 1861, 2; "The Mormons—More Still to Come," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 30 May 1861, 2; "More Mormons," *Hannibal Daily Messenger*, 18 June, 1861, 3; "River News," *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 21 May 1861, 1; "River News," *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 29 May 1861, 1; "River News," *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 28 May 1862, 3; "River News," *Daily Quincy Whig and Republican*, 5 June 1862, 3; "More Mormons Arrived," *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 3 June 1861, 2; "More Mormons!" *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 24 June, 1861, 1; "More Mormons," *Quincy Weekly Herald*, 30 June 1862, 1; "Mormons Arrived," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 21 May 1861, 3; "More Mormons Arrived," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 29 May 1861, 3; "More Mormons," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 18 June 1861, 2; "River Items," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 7 June 1862, 3; "More Mormons Arrived," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 10 June 1862, 3; "River Items," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 17 June 1862, 3; "More Mormons," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 23 June 1862, 2.
59. A. Bailey's *Quincy Directory and Business Advertiser for 1861*, vol. 1 (Quincy, Illinois: A. Bailey, 1861), 27, 185.
60. *Hannibal Weekly Messenger*, 4 July 1861, 1.
61. Along with an image found in the *Quincy Herald Whig*, there is also the following concerning the *Black Hawk*: "It was used in government service to bring wounded from the Shiloh (Pittsburgh Landing, Tenn.) battlefield to military hospitals in Quincy and Keokuk. Many Quincy and western Illinois soldiers were borne by this boat. Later, it took part in operations at Vicksburg." *Quincy Herald Whig*, 20 January 1863.
62. See "Captain Brand Returned," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 8 June 1863, 3; "Death of Capt. Brand," *Quincy Daily Herald*, 9 June 1863; "Death of Capt. Brand," *Quincy Daily Whig and Republican*, 8 June 1863. Of interest to note that in the aforementioned paper relating the captain's death, there appears in the same column the caption, "Mormons for the Land of Promise." Shortly after Captain Brand's death, there appeared an article entitled "River News," which stated that the *Black Hawk* had been released from government service and had again returned to Quincy. It further noted that she would be overhauled and sold. *Daily Whig and Republican*, 29 June 1863, 3.
63. William Ajax, Diary of William Ajax, 108, Church Archives.
64. F. W. Blake, Diary of F. W. Blake, 49, Church Archives.
65. For more detail on Mormon transmigration through Missouri during the Civil War, see Woods, "East to West through North and South," 13–23.
66. Andrew Christian Neilson, Autobiography of Andrew Christian Neilson, 5, Church Archives.
67. Rich, Journal of Joseph Coulson Rich, 19, Church Archives.
68. J. Hurley Hagood and Roberta (Roland) Hagood, *The Story of Hannibal*

(Hannibal: Standard Printing Company, 1976), 53.

69. Thomas Memmott, *Journal of Thomas Memmott*, vol. 1, ed. by H. Kirk Memmott (privately printed, 1976), 47. In *War of the Rebellion*, it notes that according to General Order No. 4 issued from Brigadier-General S. A. Hurlbut (the commander who oversaw the H. & St. Joe Line), this railroad was divided into two divisions and four sections. Strung out across the entire distance of the northern portion of the state of Missouri from the Mississippi to the Missouri River, the first division extended from St. Joseph to Brookfield and the second from Brookfield to Hannibal and Quincy. Regiments were stationed at each of these sections along the rail route from Hannibal to St. Joseph. The fourth section (which was part of the second division) covered the area from the Salt River to Hannibal and Quincy, and it was guarded by the Fourteenth Illinois Regiment, which had its headquarters in Palmyra, Missouri. Although Quincy was also considered part of this fourth section, there is no mention by Latter-day Saint migrants of federal troops being stationed in Quincy during the period of their transmigration throughout the Civil War. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 1:188.

70. Jens Christian Weibye, *Reminiscences and Journals of Jens Christian Andersen Weibye*, 285, Church Archives.

71. William Wood, *Autobiography of William Wood*, 105, Church Archives.

72. Peter Nielsen, *Journal of Peter Nielsen*, 357, Church Archives.

73. Woods, "East to West through North and South," 16.

74. Wride, *Journal and Autobiography*, 14.

75. Some Latter-day Saints viewed the raging effects of the Civil War (especially in Missouri) as fulfillment of a portion of the "migration revelation" received by Brigham Young at Winter Quarters in 1847 after the Saints were forced to leave the Union: "And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great unless they speedily repent, yea very speedily. For they killed the prophet and them that were sent unto them and they have shed innocent blood which crieth from the ground against them" (D&C 136:35–36).

76. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission to the Eastern States [1864]," as cited in Craig S. Smith, "Wyoming, Nebraska Territory: Joseph W. Young and the Mormon Emigration of 1864," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 31, 34.

77. Andrew Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 193.