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Fred E. Woods
fred_woods@byu.edu

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Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840–46

Fred E. Woods

The gathering of the Mormon pioneers to Utah (commencing in 1847) has received extensive attention; however, the earlier LDS immigration to Nauvoo has not been adequately treated. This paper is the inspiring story of the British Saints who traveled to Nauvoo between June 1840 and February 1846.

The international call to gather was received by the Prophet Joseph Smith during the second conference of the Restored Church, less than six months after its organization in 1830.

And ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect; for mine elect hear my voice and harden not their hearts;

Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.¹

The gathering of the Saints from abroad did not, however, commence until the necessary priesthood keys were restored to the earth. This event took place just one week after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, on 3 April 1836.² Here, in the Kirtland Temple, the ancient prophet Moses appeared and restored to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery “the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth.”³ During this pentecostal season, the Latter-day Saints in Kirtland rejoiced over the blessings they received in their temple.

The following year, this season of rejoicing was disrupted. An economic panic, later known as the Panic of 1837, struck America.⁴ Hundreds of banks closed. The financial depression did not spare the Saints. As a result of not being

FRED E. WOODS is an associate professor in the department of Church History & Doctrine at Brigham Young University. He presented this article at the Quincy, Illinois, November 6, 1999.

able to incorporate their own bank in Kirtland, they established their own banking system, the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, which opened for business on 2 January 1837. Other banks would not accept the notes, and anti-Mormons claimed that the company's notes were not legal tender. Problems soon arose, and the collapse of the new company was imminent. Many Mormons apostatized when the Church was not spared during this tumultuous period.⁵

During this era of serious crisis, the Prophet received revelation that "something new must be done for the salvation" of the Church.⁶ In the Kirtland Temple on 4 June 1837, Joseph Smith approached one of his trusted associates, Apostle Heber C. Kimball, and whispered to him, "Brother Heber, the Spirit of the Lord has whispered to me: 'Let my servant Heber go to England and proclaim my Gospel, and open the door of salvation to that nation.'"⁷ Just one week later (two days before their departure to England), Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, along with five other elders, were warned by Joseph "to remain silent concerning the gathering . . . until such time as the work was firmly established, and it should be clearly made manifest by the Spirit to do otherwise."⁸ The needed foothold was established after Kimball, Hyde, and their associates had gathered many into the fold. This success was augmented by other members of the Twelve who came on a mission to Great Britain less than three years later.⁹ On 14 April 1840, in a council meeting of the Twelve in England, the following decision was made: "Moved by Elder Brigham Young, seconded by Elder Heber C. Kimball, that the Saints receive a recommend to the Church in America to move in small or large bodies, inasmuch as they desire to emigrate to that new country."¹⁰ Less than two months later, this motion was carried into effect.

The British Saints began their immigration to Nauvoo with the launching of the *Britannia* on 6 June 1840, with English convert John Moon leading a group of forty Saints from Liverpool.¹¹ At the time of embarking on the *Britannia*, Hugh Moon recalls that members of the Twelve were present to lend their support: "We found Elders Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball aboard. They had stretched a curtain across our cabin and commenced blessing the company. They bid us walk in."¹² After arriving safely in Nauvoo, Moon's brother, Francis, wrote back to his native homeland in England to describe the favorable temporal and spiritual conditions that now surrounded him at Nauvoo. He referred to Nauvoo as a refuge in the troubled last days and further noted that a purpose of gathering the people of God in any age was to "build a sanctuary to the name of the Most High."¹³ Francis Moon expressed the hope that

what I might say on this subject might have the tendency of encouraging my fellow Englishmen in the point of gathering. Now I would hold out unto them every thing that is desirable, and would say if you can get to this land, you will be better off than in England, for in this place there is a prospect of receiving every good thing both of this world and that which is to come: then be faithful, for the Lord has said that

his saints shall inherit the earth, and if the Lord has promised it, it is something that will do his people good. Then those who have the means delay no longer but come and unite with us in building the house of the Lord, and in bringing to pass the great things belonging to the kingdom of our God. My fellow-Englishmen and brethren, you may rely upon what I say, for it would be nothing to my profit for to deceive you, then believe me when I say this land is good—the things that have been taught you are true, and Joseph Smith is a prophet of the Most High.¹⁴

This “Mayflower voyage” paved the way for many other Saints, who soon followed. Moon’s glad tidings to his British homeland, along with the letters from other early LDS immigrants, encouraged the British Saints to gather. In February 1841, an article entitled “Emigration” in the *Millennial Star* commented, “The news from the emigrants who sailed from this country last season is so very encouraging that it will give a new impulse to the spirit of the gathering.”¹⁵

These letters also reinforced the call that had been issued a few months earlier (August 1840) by the First Presidency to build a temple in Nauvoo:

Believing the time has now come, when it is necessary to erect a house of prayer, a house of order, a house for the worship of our God, where the ordinances can be attended to agreeably to His divine will, in this region of country—to accomplish which, considerable exertion must be made, and means will be required—and as the work must be hastened in righteousness, it behooves the Saints to weigh the importance of these things, in their minds, in all their bearings and then take such steps as are necessary to carry them into operation.¹⁶

This call to build a temple certainly had an impact on immigration to Nauvoo in the subsequent years. In 1891, Andrew Jenson, in an article on Church emigration during the Nauvoo period, lists thirty-two LDS companies that left England for Nauvoo between June 1840 and January 1846, with the possibility of another undocumented voyage in 1846. Further research suggests thirty-four Mormon company voyages and thirteen additional Latter-day Saint voyages not chartered by the Church, consisting of rather small groups composed of families or individuals.¹⁷ Jenson further estimates that five thousand British Saints gathered to Nauvoo during these years.¹⁸ These statistics suggest that over one-fourth of the Saints who gathered to Nauvoo before the 1846 Mormon exile were British converts.¹⁹

The enthusiasm for those fortunate enough to gather to Zion was balanced by the difficulty of leaving loved ones behind. Seventeen-year-old Mary Haskin Parker Richards remembers with pain the trial of leaving her family and friends before climbing aboard the *Alliance* in December of 1840: “Nevver shall I forget the feeling that shried through my bosom this day. while parting with all my dear Brothers & Sisters. and all my kindred who were near & dear to me by the ties of nature.”²⁰

Three years later, Priscilla Staines voyaged on the *Fanny*. She also recalls the difficulty of leaving her homeland two days after Christmas:

I left the home of my birth to gather to Nauvoo. I was alone. It was a dreary winter day on which I went to Liverpool. The company with which I was to sail were all strangers to me. When I arrived at Liverpool and saw the ocean that would soon roll between me and all I loved, my heart almost failed me. But I had laid my idols all upon the altar. There was no turning back. I remembered the words of the Saviour: "He that leaveth not father and mother, brother and sister, for my sake, is not worthy of me," and I believed his promise to those who forsook all for his sake; so I thus alone set out for the reward of everlasting life, trusting in God.²¹

For many, economics was a main factor in influencing if and when one was able to gather to Zion. George Cannon, who voyaged on the *Sidney* in 1842, writes, "Nothing caused me so much regret as leaving so many of the Saints behind, anxious to go but without the means to do so."²² Some, such as Robert Crookston, a fellow passenger with Cannon, exercised great faith and sacrificed greatly. He recalls, "We had to sell everything at a great sacrifice. But we wanted to come to Zion and be taught by the prophet of God. We had the spirit of gathering so strongly that Babylon had no claim on us."²³

The primary port of departure for these Mormon voyages out of Babylon was Liverpool. By 1840, it was the most active international port of emigration in the world. Its prominence came from its prime location for rail connections in the British Isles and also its excellent navigable channels in the Mersey River.²⁴

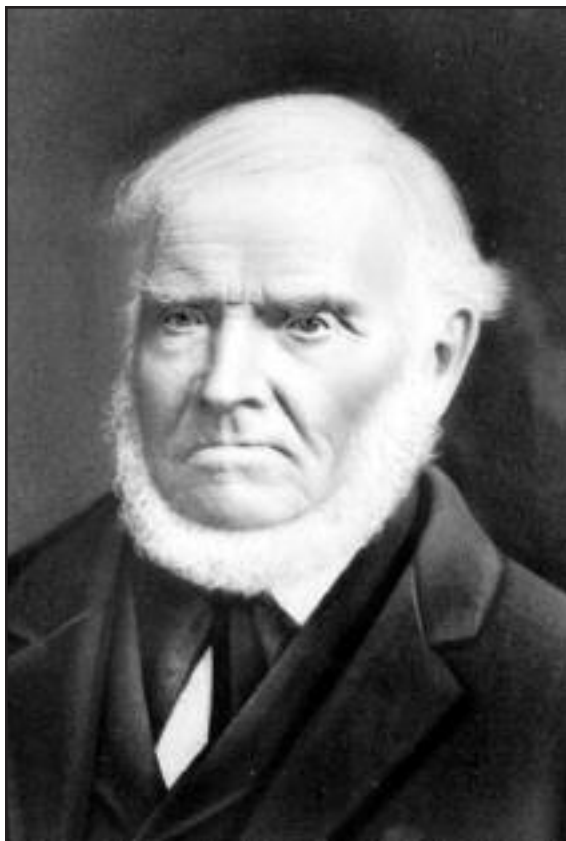
By the spring of 1841, the Quorum of the Twelve had appointed an agent in Liverpool to help steer the Saints through the immigration process and to arrange for group travel, which certainly had its advantages. The following "Epistle of the Twelve" was published in April of 1841 to counsel those who desired to immigrate:

We have found that there are so many "pick pockets," and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of the Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations for a voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding, at Liverpool, as their first movement, when they arrive there as emigrants. There are some brethren who have felt themselves competent to do their own business in these matters, and rather despising the counsel of their friends, have been robbed and cheated out of nearly all they had. A word of caution to the wise is sufficient. It is also a great saving to go in companies, instead of going individually. First, a company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise. Secondly, provisions can be purchased at wholesale for a company much cheaper than otherwise. Thirdly, this will avoid bad company on the passage. Fourthly, when a company arrives in New Orleans they can charter a steam-boat so as to reduce the passage near one-half. This measure will save some hundreds of pounds on each ship load. Fifthly, a man of experience can go as leader of each company, who will know how to avoid rogues and knaves.²⁵

Most of the immigrating Saints followed this sound counsel.

Probably for logistical reasons, in 1841, three separate groups of Saints chose to depart from the port of Bristol and entered North America at Quebec before making their way to Nauvoo via the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes.²⁶ All other LDS company voyages destined for Nauvoo embarked from Liverpool. British immigrants on three early voyages entered the United States through the port of New York, continuing their journey through canals and on the Ohio River before steaming up to Nauvoo.²⁷ All other LDS company voyages disembarked at the port of New Orleans.²⁸

LDS company voyages were known for their hygiene and order. Robert Reid, a Mormon passenger on the 1843 voyage of the *Swanton*, writes:



*Robert Crookston.
Courtesy of Daughters of Utah Pioneers
Cache Pioneer Museum, Logan, Utah.*

We had on board between two and three hundred passengers, under the care of Brother [Lorenzo] Snow. A few days after we left Liverpool, the ship was set in order, and Brother [John] M'Auley and myself were appointed his counsellors, and the ship being divided into two grand divisions, twelve officers were appointed to attend to the comfort and cleanliness of the Saints. The order of the ship was, that the bell went round at six o'clock in the morning for all to arise, which has been attended to: prayer meetings every night at seven o'clock; preaching Tuesday and Thursday nights, and twice on Sunday, with church meeting in the afternoon.²⁹

Regardless of outstanding order or the route of choice, the immigrants faced the same obstacles, which included a sailing voyage across the treacherous Atlantic, often accompanied by seasickness. For example, James Palmer, who

voyaged in 1842 on the *Hanover*, recalls how the sea produced a sudden change in behavior: “This company left the dock singing and rejoicing, . . . and shortly the passengers became sick and all their mirth was turned into sickness.”³⁰

There were also the threat of deadly disease³¹ and the danger of angry storms. Mary Ann Weston Maughan, who crossed the Atlantic in 1841, recalls one memorable storm:

Soon after our Mast broak a young Man in our Company took off his shoes and went on deck going to the forepart of the Ship he raised his right hand to Heaven and in the name of Jesus Christ rebuked the Wind and the Waves and Prophesed that the storme should abate and the good ship *Harmony* would carry her load of Saints in safty to their destination and this came true for all landed safe in Quebeck.³²

In a letter to her homeland, Ann Pitchforth tells of her lively Atlantic crossing in 1845, including what she perceived to be divine intervention:

To be short, the Lord opened my way [to go to Nauvoo], I knew beforehand by prophesy that it would be so. I sailed in the ship *Palmyra*, and left a kind father and friends. When the farewell hymn was sung on shipboard, I felt what it was to leave all for the truth; I had before gone through much persecution as many of you know. Unkindness in all its forms I could cheerfully bear, but to leave a kind and aged parent, was almost more than I could endure. Well did St. John say, “These are they who have come through great tribulation,” &c. We had soon something else to think of than farewells, friends, or any thing else, for the winds arose and our fears with them; wave dashed on wave, and storm on storm, ever hour increasing; all unsecured boxes, tins, bottles, pans, &c., danced in wild confusion, cracking, clashing, jumbling, rolling, while the vessel pitched and tossed and bounced till people flew out of their berths on the floor, while others held on with difficulty; thus we continued for eight days—no fires made—nothing cooked—biscuits and cold water; the waves dashed down the hold into the interior of the vessel, hatchway then closed, all in utter darkness and terror, not knowing whether the vessel was sinking or not; none could tell—all prayed—an awful silence prevailed—sharks and sins presenting themselves, and doubts and fears; one awful hour after another passing, we found we were not yet drowned; some took courage and lit the lamps; we met in prayer, we pleaded the promises of our God—faith prevailed; the winds abated, the sky cleared, the fires were again lit, then the luxury of a cup o tea and a little gruel. Oh! how ungrateful are we for our mercies, because they are so common. We soon sailed joyfully and pleasantly along, rescued a sinking vessel with nine human beings from a watery grave; they had been seventeen days up to their waists in water, sleeping by turns, held up by the others. Oh! we wept for joy to be the means of saving them, remembering our own perilous condition. We arrived at New Orleans. The sight of land caused every face to smile, though on a foreign shore.³³

These captivating accounts demonstrate the ability of these foreign converts to overcome their fear of angry storms through their collective faith.

There was also the potential of human tempest to deal with aboard each vessel. Wilford Woodruff, who returned from a mission in 1841 aboard the

Rochester, records that at the time of an Atlantic storm, the cook had his hands full fighting with the Irish.³⁴ Alexander Neibaur writes concerning the captain of the 1841 voyage of the *Sheffield*, who told his LDS passengers that the ship was in a state of mutiny when one of his crew threatened him.³⁵ William Clayton notes on board the 1840 voyage of the *North America* that “some are not Saints who profess to be Saints.”³⁶ He further relates the challenge of the Mormon brethren to keep their LDS sisters away from the sailors. The crew resented such interference.³⁷

Most voyages, nevertheless, ran fairly smoothly; and there was often time for the Saints to sing, dance, and enjoy themselves. On the 1841 voyage of the *Rochester*, Apostles Orson Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff even found time to try their hand at climbing the rigging; and, though inexperienced, they seem to have “known the ropes.”³⁸

At times, there was also preaching to the Saints and nonmembers who made up part of the load of passengers. Immigrant accounts also provide evidence of blessings to Saint and sinner alike while crossing the Atlantic. In 1843, Elder Lorenzo Snow blessed the steward of the *Swanton*, who was at death’s door. His miraculous recovery led to the conversion of several others, including the first mate.³⁹

Generally, the captains and crew liked to transport Mormon cargo. Some even took time to play with the children. Mary Haskin Parker Richards recalls that on the 1840 voyage of the *Alliance*, “Our captain was an American and was very kind to us. He would often bring a couple of chairs out of the cabin for Ann and me to sit on, in the porch of the cabin door, and would then give each of us a rope from the mast which stood in front of us to balance ourselves by and would then ask if we ever enjoyed a nicer rocking than we was then taking.”⁴⁰

While on the 1842 voyage of the *Sidney*, George Cannon remembers:



Mary Ann Weston Maughan
Courtesy of Daughters of Utah Pioneers
Cache Pioneer Museum, Logan, Utah.

Perhaps a more agreeable ship's company, both of Saints and seamen, never crossed the Atlantic. The Captain and officers are kind and humane men and so far from disputes or hard feelings that the sailors say they never saw a family who agreed better: and they wonder how a company of people who were many of them strangers to each other can bear and forbear in the manner they do. One of the sailors, an intelligent man, told me that he had been in the passenger line of shipping for years and never saw anything like it: in general the Captain kept his distance and did not allow of freedoms from the passengers: but here he allowed them every indulgence, took pleasure in having the children round him on the quarter-deck and would play with them as if they were his own. May the Lord bless him for his kindness!⁴¹

At the other extreme was the behavior of the master of the 1842 voyage of the *Henry*, Captain Peers (Pierce). The *Henry* carried 157 Saints on this passage, and one of the Mormon immigrants, Alfred Cordon, recalls the following:

The Captain swore he would keep us on the ship until we were starved to death. On the 14th of November 1842 we came to the mouth of the Mississippi river remained there six days on account of the evil disposition of the Captain, who was determined to provoke us as much as possible. When Captain Taylor came on board to examine the Log Book he found a charge against Elder [John] Snider [company leader] and James Mormon for Mutiny.⁴²

Another shared reality among these sea-going Saints was their relief on finally arriving at a North American port after a long voyage, as Pitchforth's letter indicates. For most, that port was New Orleans, established as the principal port of arrival during the Nauvoo period, and it remained so until the spring of 1855.⁴³ All but nine voyages during this fifteen-year period docked at New Orleans, amounting to about eighteen thousand Saints. During the sailing era of the 1840s, the voyages to New York averaged about five weeks. The trip to New Orleans took an average of nineteen days longer.⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the extra distance, New Orleans was chosen as the port for the Saints to disembark, primarily for economic reasons and the accessibility of the Mississippi River, which provided a direct route to Nauvoo.⁴⁵ With the exile of Nauvoo in 1846 and the problems with yellow fever and cholera on the Mississippi, the Saints were rerouted to ports on the East Coast.⁴⁶

Although the passage through the port of New Orleans was the preferable route to Nauvoo, it still posed potential hazards. As the sea-going Saints concluded their voyages and entered the Gulf Coast region, they confronted the obstacle of crossing the sand bar at the mouth of "Old Man River." This challenge was met by steam-powered tugboats, which pulled the sea vessels across the bar and towed them about a hundred miles into port. The tugboats were accompanied by pilots who resided in what was referred to as the Balize. A. A. Conway describes an uninviting habitation that the Mormons would have first gazed on as they entered America at the Balize in the early 1840s:

The Balize, as it was known, where the pilot stations were established was little more than a mud bank situated a short distance above the North East Pass. One such station contained sixteen or eighteen houses built upon piles in the midst of the morass. The houses were connected one with the other by raised walks or bridges, laid on the mud, constructed of timber, logs and wrecks of vessels. The pilots at each station were mostly ex-merchantmen, chiefly English with some Americans, French and Spaniards. The monotonous existence at these stations resulted in the deterioration of the conduct of their inhabitants and they became notorious for the frequent occurrences of riots and brawls.⁴⁷

Conway explains further that “once a sufficient number of ships had gathered at the mouth of the river and this rarely involved a long wait, the tow boat would take six ships upstream, one on either side and four towing behind. This allowed easy communication from one ship to another.”⁴⁸ A variation of this process is noted by James Palmer, who voyaged on the ship *Hanover* in 1842:

The first mate was on the look out for land and soon discovered from the main gallant topsail that we are sailing direct towards the mouth of the mississippi river shortly we saw a vessel approaching from our left, that came from Germany and a steam tug came booming over the bar to meet us thay threw their large cables and made fast to our ship and soon we ware anchored safely in the mouth of that king of all rivers, and soon our German friends ware made fast along side and we ware booming up towards New Orleans.⁴⁹

The immigrants were no doubt excited to travel quickly the hundred-mile distance from the mouth of the Mississippi to New Orleans. Mormon immigrant George Whitaker, who voyaged on the *Palmyra* in 1845, notes that this stretch of the river took his party three days. He also describes the beautiful banks of the river as follows: “I thought I never saw anything so beautiful as the sights going up the river. This was in the beginning of March. Everything looked fresh and green—the oranges were hanging on trees. I thought I would very much like to live there.”⁵⁰

Upon arrival at New Orleans, Whitaker adds:

This was the first time I had set my foot on land for about seven or eight weeks. We stayed there one day. I sold some of my shawls and got a good price for them. We met some of our brethren from Nauvoo, who had come to work there through the winter. They did not give a very pleasing account of things at Nauvoo, which discouraged some few of the Saints, and they remained there.⁵¹

During the Nauvoo era, some Saints were not as fortunate economically as Whitaker at the time of their immigration and were forced to stay for a time in New Orleans or somewhere else along the river. The issue of economics was not unique to Latter-day Saint immigration through New Orleans—or any other port, for that matter. A. A. Conway explains the three options that presented themselves to all immigrants disembarking at New Orleans:

If he possessed sufficient money to pay his passage upstream, he could immediately tranship himself with his luggage to a river steamboat and continue his journey inland. If he had sufficient funds to pay his passage, he could take a position at New Orleans until such time as he had accumulated sufficient money to defray the cost of transportation upstream. If he landed destitute, there was no alternative, but to look for employment and to trust to charity to support him in the meantime.⁵²



New Orleans,
by Frederick Piercy,
Route from Liverpool

In addition to the financial concern of securing enough money for the passage, there was also a continual threat of land sharks (river thieves), who waited to rob any and all naive immigrants as they passed into the Crescent city. Although this problem would be eased by the sending of Church agents to New Orleans in the late 1840s, there were no Mormon agents to help protect the LDS immigrants on their arrival during the Nauvoo years as there had been at their departure from Liverpool. One of the agents notes the problems that faced the Saints in New Orleans as late as 1848, which had no doubt magnified, in the absence of Mormon agents. LDS immigration agent Lucius Scovil provides a colorful account of the tactics of these river thieves at New Orleans:

Yesterday, I fell in with one of those sharks, his name is Cook, and the head of one of a company of ten in number, who are engaged in taking out permits and re-shipping passengers. They speak five or six languages, and are determined to monopolize the business. . . . They would send some person . . . on board to make confusion, . . . bringing bills from some boat, and saying that they were captain or clerk of said boat, and would carry them for one dollar to St. Louis. . . . On this account the last company had to stay here six days, just because they were bamboozled by these runners. I consider that there is but one way to do business for the best good of the Saints, and that it is for one person to do all of the business, and the rest remember

the Mormon creed. Those sharpers are threatening me all the time, but I do not fear them. I am satisfied that the church has not known the extent of their speculations from them, and yet were soaping them all the while.⁵³

Another item that caught the attention of the Saints in New Orleans was the issue of slavery. Alfred Cordon, upon arriving in the Delta City in November of 1842, remembers, "There were many slaves working in the streets chained together both men and women." Yet Saints did not always obtain the same view as they passed on their way and therefore had a different opinion of the institution of slavery. The reaction of William Staines, who immigrated to Nauvoo at age twenty-four in the spring of 1843, is especially noteworthy:

When about nine years of age he had been informed that these [American] slaves all worked in chains upon rice and sugar plantations in the Southern States. His sympathies were so aroused by the woeful tale that he refrained from eating sugar in order that the money saved might go to a fund that was being raised in England for the emancipation of the slaves in America. Concerning his observations at New Orleans and along the Mississippi, he says: "Here to my surprise I found them driving fine mule teams, being trusted with cartloads of valuable merchandise, taking the same to all parts of the city and country, apparently equal with the free white man, except in being slaves and owned by someone. I found them working as porters, warehousemen, firemen on steamboats, etc., and their food was as good as that of white men performing like labor. I must confess that this surprised me, and for the first time I regretted that I had quit eating sugar to help to free the negro. I found him in slavery having all the sugar he needed and with a better breakfast than any farm laborer in England could afford to eat."⁵⁴

Yet slavery was not always as sweet as Staines here implies. Another Latter-day Saint who passed through the region of New Orleans summarizes her detestable experience of watching hundreds of sun-baked Negroes on plantations by exclaiming, "Oh! Slavery, how I hate thee!"⁵⁵ This statement may be more of the norm for most passing Mormon immigrants, and even though Staines may have succumbed to sugar, he was not relieved of his repugnant feelings toward the institution of slavery in general.⁵⁶

Alexander Neibaur notes that the cook on the voyage of the *Sheffield* had been sold in New Orleans, "being one of the chief slave states." On 1 April 1841, he also describes the Saints boarding the steamboat *Moravian* for Quincy, Illinois. He provides a vivid portrait of life along the river. Such items include descriptions of life along the river and of various river towns. At Plaquemine town (which he maintains is "about 150 miles N.W. of the Gulf of Mexico"), he reports, "Several Negroes coming on board some with vegetables, eggs, apples pies, etc." Neibaur describes Natchez as "a neat town" where they stopped to take wood for fuel. Vicksburg he portrays as "an imposing town built upon rising ground; courthouse built upon a hill. Numerous turtles upon the shore." Memphis was "a neat little place on a hill." But the "little place" was soon struck

by a terrifying scene:

At midnight it thundered and the lightning illuminating the objects around us for many a mile. At the same time a terrific storm shook the boat, the Captain and his men being frightened out of their wits, sparks of fire flying about in the sterrage. Many of the passengers were awakened by the fear of fire. The Captain gave orders to stop the engine and make for the land until daylight appear, the cooks window being blown out of the kitchen. It was terrifying. Broke all the windows in the top-house (wheel house).⁵⁷

Also to be reckoned with was the thunderous hatred toward the Mormon immigrants as they steamed up the Mississippi on the Church-owned steamboat *Maid of Iowa*.⁵⁸ William Adams describes the following vivid experience he encountered in March of 1844:

We were very much anoyed also persecuted in towns along the river. News went ahead that a Boat filled with Mormons were on their way to Nauvoo necessity caused the Boat to land to get supplys. Men would rush on to the Boat calling us foul names. Joes rats was a common salutation we received Natchez a town on the east side of the river set the Boat on fire. It was not discovered to we had lefe the place over half an hour and the side of the Boat was a blaze also several Beds and bedding. The fire was extenguished in a short time with the loss of several feather beds and bedding it was a narrow escape for the crew and passangers also the Boat.⁵⁹

Priscilla Staines remembers that the town was Memphis, not Natchez, adding that the fire was started by “some villian [who] placed a half consumed cigar under a straw mattress.”⁶⁰ She also recalls the following incident that soon followed:

At another landing a mob collected and began throwing stones through the cabin windows, smashing the glass and sash, and jeopardizing the lives of the passengers. This was a little too much for human forbearance. The boat was in command of the famous Mormon, captain Dan Jones; his Welsh blood was not throughly warm; he knew what mobs meant. Mustering the brethren, with determined wrath he ordered them to parade with loaded muskets in the side of the boat assailed. Then he informed the mob that if they did not instantly desist, he would shoot them down like so many dogs; and like so many dogs they slunk away.⁶¹

William Adams, a second witness to this episode, adds the following:

Another town that we landed late in the evening Captain Jones ordered that no Person be allowed aboard the Boat, but men came rushing aboard and would not be held back. Br. James Haslem [Haslam] went on the herricon [hurricane] Deck and fired a gun in hopes it would be a warning to the mob that we would not be run over by them, but in quelling them they run for firearms and fired off several shots. Things looked serious, Steam was got up as speedily as possible the Boat was shoved off and they landed three miles up the River and lay over to the next morning . . .

but we were not molested. . . . I will state one incident where the company was in eminent danger of loosing their lives and sinking the Boat, [which] also shows their hatred against the Later-Day Saints. The Lower Mississippi had quite a number of First class Steamboats running between St. Lewis and New Orleans that made the round Trip every week each time they passed the Maid of Iowa we would have a grand salute by cheering and laughing and calling us bad names. One of those Boats I forget her name tried to run us down and would if Captain Jones had not been on the Herricon [hurricane] deck as he was always on duty, made them shear off by holloing and threatening to shoot the Pilot this took place at night when the Company were in there beds.⁶²

In addition to these challenges, there were the normal obstacles of river travel, including sandbars, snags, currents, and ice. For example, the 1842 LDS voyages of the *Sidney* and the *Medford* were each stuck on the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi for nearly a day and a half.⁶³ Mormon passenger Alexander Wright made the best of the situation. While the *Sidney* was caught on the bar, he managed to catch enough young catfish to feed his fellow Saints.⁶⁴ Mormon immigrants from the two companies then joined together in New Orleans, took the steamboat *Alex Scott* up river, and were stuck for three weeks ninety miles below St. Louis because the water was so low in the river. By the time they got to St. Louis, the river froze over, and they had to spend the winter of 1843 in St. Louis.⁶⁵ Another LDS company, which crossed the Atlantic a month later on the *Emerald*, was also detained in the river cities of Alton, Chester, and St. Louis for three cold winter months because of the ice on the Mississippi.⁶⁶ Parley P. Pratt, who was the company leader of the *Emerald*, decided against St. Louis on the following grounds: "I landed with my family in Chester, Illinois—eighty miles below St. Louis. The company continued on to St. Louis. My reason for landing there was, that I would not venture into Missouri after the abuses I had experienced there in former times."⁶⁷

The following year, a number of LDS immigrants from the 1844 *Norfolk* voyage were stuck in St. Louis for a different reason: they did not have sufficient funds to continue the journey to Nauvoo.⁶⁸ St. Louis was a place most Nauvoo-bound immigrating Saints wanted to pass through in a hurry. The threat of cholera or yellow fever was common, and also a hardness exhibited itself in the hearts of the St. Louis apostates, who seemed as cold as the winter ice on the Mississippi.⁶⁹ Such hardness sometimes affected the Mormon immigrants on their way to Nauvoo. For example, Hiram Clark, who gathered to Zion with a group of 181 Saints in 1841, notes that about thirty of his group had been "disaffected through false reports" and therefore chose to tarry at St. Louis.⁷⁰

Thomas Wrigley, who gathered to Nauvoo in 1843 to prepare the way for his British family, met opposition on two fronts. When he visited his sister's non-member family, he relates that "they tried their best by every means to persuade me to give up my faith."⁷¹ When he returned to St. Louis the following year to bring his family up the Mississippi, he was delayed there for a season. He

describes the dark conditions then present in the city:

We for some time felt afraid of the exterminating orders of Governor Boggs, which were still in force, but our numbers began to increase in that city and we took courage and a few met in a private house and organized a branch of the Church and the Lord blest the faithful but it was hard work having to contend with the prejudice of the people of the world and every apostate that left Nauvoo came there and did their best to bring persecution on us.⁷²

Joseph Fielding, company leader for more than two hundred Saints on the 1841 *Tyrian* voyage, summarizes in a letter his view on the apostate spirit in St. Louis:

At St. Louis we found a number of Saints, at least who have a name among the Saints, some of these prove a trial to those who call there. They tell you many evil tales; I wish they would stop all who are like themselves. The faithful need not be troubled by them; let them talk and have all they can get, they seem afraid to suffer affliction with the people of God, and so go to Missouri, where there are none, thinking also to get a little more money.⁷³

In his journal, Fielding adds, “Here we saw some poor, faithless Saints something like spiders webs set to catch flies. They came to us with fair words as our best friends, but their counsel was that of enemies, but did not prevail to stay any of our company except two.”⁷⁴

This determined spirit helped push most Saints to their desired haven. After crossing the Atlantic on the *Metoka* in 1843 and finally reaching Nauvoo that fall, William Rowley writes of the pleasant surprise he found there:

You may suppose we were most pleasingly surprised, after having had our ears continually assailed with the doleful accounts of “the wretchedness of the place,” its “log and mud” built “cabins,” its “knee deep” muddy streets, the “poverty and starvation” that awaited us, the “villainy and roguery” of its inhabitants, the “awful delusion of Mormonism,” “beware of old Joe Smith,” and a thousand other such salutations; you may judge then, how much we were gratified at be holding the striking contrast, while gazing with rapturous delight, first upon the “temple,” which already assumes a lofty bearing from the commanding eminence on which it is being erected; then the Nauvoo House; the Mansion House, (the residence of him of whom the world is not worthy); the masonic, music, and public halls; some completed, and others are being so, besides numerous well-built and substantial brick stores, and private dwellings. The whole site and aspect of the city, presenting a most cheering picture of the enterprise and industry of its inhabitants, exhibiting a remarkable difference to many of the western towns which we passed in coming up the Mississippi, of far longer standing and origin.⁷⁵

Once the Saints reached Nauvoo, they found not only the making of a beautiful city but also a warm welcome by fellow Saints, which seem to have caused the inbound converts to forget for a time some of the dark challenges of

immigrating. Hiram Clark, who gathered in 1841, was grateful for the reception he received, which no doubt brought light to his night voyage: "We landed in Nauvoo on the 18th of April, about eleven o'clock in the evening, yet many of the brethren stood on the shore to welcome us on our arrival."⁷⁶ Alexander Neibaur, who immigrated with Clark, writes:

A number of the brother[s] was ready to receive us; they kindly offered their houses, many slept in a large stone building belonging to one of the brethren, myself & William Gross, with some others kept up a large fire all night and stayed with our luggage. Some of the brethren that had come here before us kept us company. Early in the morning a number of the brethren came to Inquire whether all of us had obtained habitations. We got in very comfortable with a brother.⁷⁷

Another example of a warm welcome is found in a letter to the *Millennial Star*, in which Heber C. Kimball related the welcome that the Twelve and over a hundred immigrating Saints received in the summer of 1841: "We landed in Nauvoo on the 1st of July, and when we struck the dock I think there was about three hundred Saints there to meet us, and a greater manifestation of love and gladness I never saw before. President Smith was the first one that caught us by the hand."⁷⁸

James Burgess, who left Liverpool in the fall of 1842 for Nauvoo, remembers, "When our boat arrived at the city [Nauvoo] there were hundreds to welcome us."⁷⁹ In this same year, Robert Crookston also left England for Nauvoo with another company of Saints. He testifies, "As we approached the landing place to our great joy we saw the Prophet Joseph Smith there to welcome his people who had come so far. We were all so glad to see him and set our feet upon the promised land so to speak. It was the most thrilling experience of my life for I know he was a Prophet of the Lord."⁸⁰

The Saints who had crossed the Atlantic on the *Emerald* and come up river by the *Maid of Iowa* were also warmly greeted, first by the Prophet, who describes the following:

I was present at the landing and the first on board the steamer, when I met Sister Mary Ann Pratt (who had been in England with Brother Parley,) and her little daughter only three or four days old. I could not refrain from shedding tears; so many of my friends and acquaintances arriving in one day kept me very busy receiving their congratulations and answering their questions. I was rejoiced to meet them in such good health and fine spirits; for they were equal to any that had ever come to Nauvoo.⁸¹

The *Maid of Iowa* also brought the Saints who crossed the Atlantic on the *Fanny* in 1844. When this group of British converts reached the shores of Nauvoo, William Adams noted the joy of being greeted by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and two hundred others.⁸² Priscilla Staines, another immigrant, felt that

notwithstanding the masses who had assembled to greet the Saints, she would be able to recognize the Prophet Joseph Smith. She says, "I felt impressed by the spirit that I should know him. As we neared the pier the prophet was standing among the crowd. At the moment, however, I recognized him according to the impression and pointed him out."⁸³

Notwithstanding such satisfaction the Saints enjoyed on arriving at Nauvoo and beholding the Prophet, William Clayton penned the following words to a fellow Church member in England, recalling all the things the British immigrating Saints would have to endure throughout the gathering process:

It is impossible for pen to describe to you the difficulties you will have to endure. . . . You must either come or suffer the vengeance of heaven and for my part I will say that if I was in England now and had experienced all the journey it would not in the least deter me from coming for I have often found that in the greatest seasons of suffering we have the greatest cause of rejoicing and so it has been with us for when we have been enduring things which we should once have thought impossible even then was our happiest moments.⁸⁴

This letter is an illuminating summation of the spirit of the gathering. It is imbued with a sense of the unity the Saints often felt as they gathered. Perhaps it also describes how the gathering to Nauvoo did more than bring a people from one location to another; it also served as a rallying point for these covenant people to meet and overcome obstacles together and to reach their desired haven, prepared with one mind and one faith.

After the Nauvoo Temple was erected, over fifty-six hundred Saints (including many British converts) made sacred covenants there to assist others who desired to gather.⁸⁵ When these covenant people were exiled from Nauvoo, commencing in the winter of 1846, they made their way again upon the Mississippi. On this occasion, they crossed horizontally. After the driven Saints reached a temporary abode on the west bank of the Missouri River, Brigham Young received at Winter Quarters (Florence, Nebraska) an emigration revelation. Among other things, the revelation reemphasized, "Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a stake of Zion. And if ye do this, ye shall be blessed."⁸⁶

The Nauvoo gathering prepared the Saints to make this covenant a reality, and those who lived up to the stipulations therein moved west and indeed were blessed as they assisted others in their quest to obtain Zion.

Notes

1. The date of this conference is 26 September 1830; the date of the organization of the Restored Church is 6 April 1830. Although it was known as the Church of Christ at the time of its organization, the official name of the Church was given on 26 April 1838 as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by which it has been known ever since

(see D&C 20:1; 115:4).

2. D&C 110.

3. D&C 110:11. Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were designated by revelation as the first and second elders of the Church (D&C 20:2, 3).

4. *Church History in the Fullness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 171–72.

5. Milt Backman Jr., “A Warning from Kirtland,” *Ensign* (April 1989): 30, estimates that about 13 percent, or 50 out of 475 families, left the Church at this time in the Kirtland region. Yet he also notes that about 40 percent of this number later returned to the Church.

6. B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1952), 2:489, hereafter cited as HC.

7. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 103–4. The uneducated Kimball, initially overwhelmed by the thought of going to the learned country of England to preach the gospel, nevertheless was determined to carry out what he perceived was the will of heaven.

8. HC, 2:492.

9. For excellent reading on this subject, see James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, “The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class,” *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 499–526; James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).

10. HC, 4:119. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 278 indicates that on the second day of this council meeting, the total member of the Church in the British Isles was reported as 1,631, including 132 priesthood holders.

11. HC, 4:134.

12. Autobiography of Hugh Moon, LDS Church Archives, 2. Such support was also provided on subsequent voyages destined for Nauvoo. See, for example, the Diary of William Clayton, LDS Church Archives, 73; and the Reminiscences and Autobiographical notes of Thomas Callister, LDS Church Archives, 8.

13. Francis Moon, letter to the editor, *The Latter-day Saint Millennial Star* (hereafter cited as *Millennial Star*), 1 (February 1841): 253.

14. *Ibid.*, 254–55.

15. “Emigration,” *Millennial Star*, 1 (February 1841): 263.

16. HC, 4:186.

17. Andrew Jenson, “Church Emigration,” *The Contributor*, 12 (October, 1891): 441. Though my research generally parallels that of Jenson, a notable exception is that although he lists only one LDS voyage from Bristol in 1841, there were, in fact, three voyages. Jenson accurately lists 181 Saints who embarked from Bristol on what he refers to as an unnamed ship in February of 1841. This ship was the *Caroline*. It is also probable that the *Caroline* brought another group of about a hundred Saints in August of the same year. The ship *Harmony* also carried a group of approximately fifty Saints across the Atlantic in 1841. The 1846 unknown voyage that Jenson notes may be the *Windsor Castle*, which embarked from Liverpool on 17 February 1846.

18. *Ibid.* M. Hamblin Cannon, “Migration of English Mormons to America,” *American Historical Review* 52 (October 1946–July 1947): 441 maintains that from 1840 to 1846, 4,733 British Saints gathered to Nauvoo from the 16,241 people who were baptized in the British Mission. Mormon immigration historian Richard L. Jensen, “Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter-day Saint Immigration on Nauvoo,” *BYU Studies* 31 (Winter 1991): 77–78 estimates that between 1840 to 1846, there were

at least 4,600 LDS immigrants and that 90 percent of them gathered to Nauvoo before the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on 27 June 1844.

19. James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 160, most probably following the research of Cannon noted above, also accept the figure of 4,733 British Saints who gathered to Nauvoo before their exile, which thus boosted the population over 25 percent; Susan Easton Black, "New Insights Replace Old Traditions: Membership of the Church in Nauvoo, 1839–1846," paper presented at a Brigham Young University symposium; "Nauvoo, the City of Joseph," (21 September 1989), 12, indicates that 26 percent of the LDS Church membership from 1830–48 originated in England. Black also notes that her statistics parallel those of M. Hamblin Cannon, "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review* 52 (1946–47): 441, who estimates that 25 percent of the British Saints who immigrated to Nauvoo between 1837 to 1846 had been baptized in England before their departure to America.

20. Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters: The 1846–1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 60.

21. [Reminiscences] of Priscilla Stains, in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormonism* (New York: n.p., 1877), 288.

22. [Journal of George Cannon] in John Q. Cannon, *George Cannon, The Immigrant* (n.p., 1927), 110.

23. Autobiography of Robert Crookston, LDS Church Archives, 5. Note that Babylon, once a cosmopolitan city in the ancient world, became a symbol to Latter-day Saints of the world and worldly influence. See, for example, D&C 1:16.

24. Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," paper presented at the Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, England, on 10 July 1987.

25. "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star*, 1 (April 1841), 311.

26. As noted above, the names of the ships that voyaged from Bristol, England, to Quebec were the *Caroline* (embarking February 1841), a second voyage on the *Caroline* (8 August 1841), and the *Harmony* (10 May 1841).

27. The names of the three ships debarking in New York are the *Britannia* (41 Saints, departing 6 June 1840), the *North America* (201 Saints, departing 8 September 1840), and the *Rochester* (130 Saints, departing 21 April 1841). These three combined voyages brought a total of 372 Saints.

28. Of the thirteen voyages that did not travel with an LDS company, twelve disembarked in New Orleans and one in Philadelphia. In 1845, the Forsyth family of four voyaged on the *Susquehanna* before making their way up the Delaware to Philadelphia. (See "History of John Irwin Forsyth," unpublished manuscript compiled by Grace Meldrum Smith, 1, copy in possession of author).

29. Letter of Robert Reid to Brother Ward dated 15 March 1843, *Millennial Star*, 4 (May 1843): 15.

30. Reminiscences of James Palmer, LDS Church Archives, 63.

31. Only twenty-five total deaths were mentioned out of ninety first-person LDS immigrant accounts examined. In contrast, an estimated 670 Mormon deaths of Saints crossing the oceans occurred between 1847–69. (See response by Susan Easton Black, et. al, "I Have a Question," research compiled by Fred E. Woods, June 1998, *Ensign*, 40–44).

32. Journal and Autobiography of Mary Ann Weston Maughan, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 16, italics added. It is also of interest to note that over five hundred voyages with Latter-day Saints aboard all safely crossed the Atlantic between 1840–90. This is in sharp contrast to the fact that between 1847–53, at least fifty-nine immigrant vessels that were not carrying companies of Saints sank. However, on the Pacific, there was one known accident. The *Julia Ann* wrecked in 1855, with twenty-eight Saints

among her fifty-six passengers. Of those twenty-eight, only five drowned; and the rest spent two months on an uninhabited island until they were eventually rescued. See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 139. For more information on the 1855 voyage of the *Julia Ann*, see John Devitry Smith, “The Wreck of the *Julia Ann*,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 29 (Spring, 1989): 5–29.

33. Ann Pitchforth, “To the Saints in the Isle of Man,” *Millennial Star* 8 (15 July 1846), 12–13, italics added.

34. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 2:98.

35. Journal of Alexander Neibaur, BYU Special Collections, 6.

36. Journal of William Clayton, LDS Church Archives, 76.

37. *Ibid.*, 78–79.

38. *Journals of Wilford Woodruff*, 2:99.

39. Andrew Jenson, *The Contributor*, 12 (October 1891), 447; see also Journal of Lorenzo Snow, LDS Church Archives, 82–83. The first mate was Louis Gaultier. For his own recounting of his conversion, see *Journal of History* 10 (July 1917): 328–29.

40. Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters*, 61.

41. Cannon, *George Cannon, the Immigrant*, 111–12.

42. Reminiscences and Journal of Alfred Cordon, LDS Church Archives, 163.

43. For an excellent article on the Mormon episode in New Orleans during this era, see David Buice, “When the Saints Came Marching In: The Mormon Experience in Antebellum New Orleans, 1840–1855,” *Louisiana History* 23, no. 3 (1982): 221–37.

44. Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 69.

45. Church leaders issued an epistle to the British Saints on 15 November 1841, directing them when immigrating to the United States to use the port of New Orleans rather than Montreal, New York, or Philadelphia because New Orleans was the least expensive and also provided the convenience of water travel (“Journal History,” 15 November 1841, 3). Several years later, LDS Liverpool immigration agent Reuben Hedlock again reminded the Saints that fares to the East Coast ports were higher than fares to New Orleans. See *Millennial Star* 5 (March 1845), 155.

46. In a letter from Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards dated 2 August 1854, “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 16 (October 28, 1854), 684, President Young states, “You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, giving preference in the order named.” However, again for economic reasons, the port of New York became the primary port on the East Coast until the close of the nineteenth century.

47. A. A. Conway, “New Orleans as a Port of Immigration, 1820–1860,” master’s thesis, University of London, 1949, 79. The earliest mention of the Balize occurs in a letter by Phineas H. Young, “Journal History,” 14 December 1842, 2, wherein Young describes the arrest of John Snider by the boarding officer at the Balize. Snider was the LDS company leader of the ship *Henry*, which came into port in New Orleans in 1842. A year later, Thomas Bullock, who voyaged on the *Yorkshire*, indicates that he came in sight of the Balize on 8 May 1843 (“27th Quorum 70’s Record,” *The Autobiography of Thomas Bullock*, LDS Church Archives), 14.

48. *Ibid.*, 79–80.

49. Reminiscences of James Palmer, LDS Church Archives, 66. See also the Journal of Richard Rushton, LDS Church Archives, 9–10, who relates how in this same year, another group of immigrating Saints aboard the ship *Hope* were towed with another ves-

sel up the Mississippi.

50. Autobiography of George Whitaker, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 7.
51. Ibid.
52. Conway, "New Orleans as a Port of Immigration," 98–99.
53. Letter of Lucius N. Scovill to Parley P. Pratt, 15 December 1848, *Millennial Star*, 11 (1 March 1849): 72.
54. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904), 4:117.
55. Diary of Jean Rio Baker Griffeths, transcript, LDS Church Archives, 9. Baker voyaged to America on the *George W. Bourne* in 1851.
56. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:117.
57. Journal of Alexander Neibaur, typescript, Brigham Young University Special Collections, 8–10.
58. For an excellent article on this topic, see Donald L. Enders, "The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 321–35.
59. Autobiography of William Adams, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 4.
60. [Reminiscences of Priscilla Staines] in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.p., 1877), 289.
61. Ibid., 290–91.
62. Autobiography of William Adams, 4.
63. Andrew Jenson, *The Contributor* 12 (1891), 445.
64. Journal of Alexander Wright, March 1839–January 1843 (LDS Church Archives), 398–99.
65. Jenson, *The Contributor* 12 (1891), 445–46.
66. Ibid., 446.
67. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 285.
68. Jenson, *The Contributor* 12 (1891), 450. Matthias Cowley indicates that the previous year his father James was offered \$10 per day to stay and work in St. Louis. His father emphatically said "No!" He adds, "I started from home to go to Nauvoo, to see the Prophet of the Lord, Joseph Smith, and I'm going, bless your souls. I would not stop here for all of St. Louis." Reminiscences of Matthias Cowley, LDS Church Archives, 1.
69. However, Stanley B. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831–1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security," *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 489–519, presents a broader picture of St. Louis in recounting how this city was used as a Mormon refuge, in spite of the 1838 extermination order by the governor of Missouri. He also points out that many Saints fled to St. Louis following the Nauvoo exile (1846) and demonstrates how this inland city was an important stop for poor Mormon immigrants, who, after receiving needed employment, continued their journey on the Missouri River from 1846 to 1855 to the West. Sheri Slaughter, "Meet me in St. Louie': An Index of Early Latter-day Saints Associated with St. Louis, Missouri," *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (Fall 1998): 49–108 provides a useful resource for a study of the Saints in St. Louis during the mid nineteenth century.
70. Journal of Hiram Clark, excerpt quoted in *Millennial Star* 4 (February 1844), 147.
71. [Autobiography] of Thomas Wrigley, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, vol. 5 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers), 496.
72. Ibid., 497.
73. Joseph Fielding to Parley P. Pratt, January 1842, *Millennial Star* 3 (August 1842): 77.
74. Journals of Joseph Fielding, vol. 5, LDS Church Archives, 2.
75. W. Rowley, letter to the editor, 25 January 1844, *Millennial Star*, 4 (April 1844): 193–94.

76. Journal of Hiram Clark, 147.
77. Journal of Alexander Neibaur, typescript, Brigham Young University Special Collections, 12.
78. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 312.
79. Journal of James Burgess, LDS Church Archives, 65.
80. Autobiography of Robert Crookston, LDS Church Archives, 6.
81. HC, 5:354.
82. Autobiography of William Adams, 4.
83. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom*, 291.
84. William Clayton to Edward Martin, 29 November 1840, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 1.
85. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 210.
86. D&C 136:10–11.