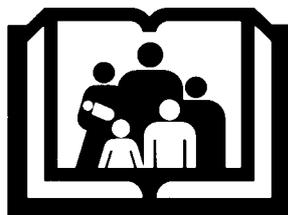

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Life on Board a
Mormon Emigrant Ship

David H. Pratt,
Paul F. Smart

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LIFE ON BOARD A MORMON EMIGRANT SHIP

David H. Pratt and Paul F. Smart

David H. Pratt. Born in Washington. Resides in Provo, Utah. Assistant professor of history, Brigham Young University. Ph.D. (British history), University of Nebraska. Author, lecturer, teacher.

Paul F. Smart. Born in Utah. Resides in Salt Lake City, Utah. Supervisor, British Reference Section, Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. B.S., Brigham Young University. Genealogist, author, lecturer.

Almost from the time The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized in 1830, members of the Church were encouraged to gather to the headquarters of the Church.¹ The first overseas missionaries arrived in England in 1837, but they were told not to preach the principle of gathering. Beginning in 1840, however, each spring Church leaders issued a call for members to emigrate to America. From then until the end of the century, over eighty-five thousand members of the Church left Europe to come to America.

Their reasons for coming can be seen in the testimony of one emigrant: "I believed in the principal of the gathering and felt it my duty to go although it was a severe trial to me, in my feelings to leave my native land and the pleasing associations that I had formed there; but my heart was fixed. I knew in whom I had trusted and with the fire of Israel's God burning in my bosom, I forsook my home."²

Those who responded to the call to emigrate would send their names to the president of the European Mission, along with a recommend from their local Church leaders. From these names, a list of prospective passengers would be drawn up. After chartering a ship and determining the number of possible passengers, the Church leaders would send a list to each branch, or local Church unit, indicating those who could go. Length of Church

membership, age, and marital status were apparently some of the criteria that determined³ how soon an application was accepted.

Once a person had been accepted as a passenger, he still had to raise the fare. Those who paid the lowest fares rode in steerage. Steerage fees ranged from three to five pounds (U.S. \$14.40 to U.S. \$24, or at today's value, \$75 to \$125). The fare for children under fourteen was usually one-third to one-half the adult fare. Although the fares seem reasonable by today's standards, it would have taken over one-third of an average laborer's annual income to bring an average-sized family.

After 1850 the Church helped many emigrate. Funds came from various sources. Members of Church branches often made small contributions. Sometimes family members would send gifts. Some families raised the money by selling personal possessions. One man pawned his clothes to pay for the journey. The gifts and donations one mother received for having given birth to triplets⁴ helped pay for the family's trip.

Once the money was raised, the emigrants set out for the port. Although some ships left from London and Bristol, England, and from Hamburg, Germany, most left from Liverpool, England, where the Church set up a shipping office in 1849.

Saying good-bye was no easy task. Most left family and friends. Some families could afford to send only one or two members, but they would go, giving the rest of the family added incentive to save more and make the trip later themselves. Sometimes those who went ahead could earn enough to help the rest of the family come later. Several older people left as an example to their children, knowing that they probably would not survive the ocean crossing.

For most Church members in Britain, the journey to Liverpool was often just a short train ride. Those who came from Ireland or continental Europe, however, had to travel by ship. Usually such trips were short and uneventful, but there were exceptions. A group of Danish Saints left late in 1854 for a five-day voyage to Hull, England. After nearly being driven back to Denmark twice, they finally arrived, thirty days later. The ship they had chartered had sailed without them but was severely damaged not far from Liverpool and was still under repair when they sailed on the James Nesmith in January 1855.

Until the 1840s, the typical emigrant ship carried such goods as timber and cotton from America to England. Once unloaded, it would have its cargo hold hastily refitted for passengers to take advantage of the extra space on the return trip to America. Thus, passengers sometimes had to live with the remnants of the previous cargo, insecure berths, and a lack of headroom. A British timber ship would allow five and one-half feet between decks, not including space taken up by beams. The deck flooring might be temporary, allowing bilge water and rats to come through from the lower hold.

By the mid-1840s, however, the emigrant trade was dominated by American packet ships. A packet ship sailed for a firm or line between the same ports on set dates, regardless of the weather or the availability of cargo. The packets were square-rigged: they had three masts with long yardarms at right angles. The bows

were "apple-cheeked" to allow for extra cargo. The bulwarks were waist-high and often brightly painted on the inside. Livestock was kept on the upper deck by the two forward hatches to provide for the captain's table and the first-class passengers. Although steerage was not the original plan for the lower deck, the deck was ideal for passengers. There were at least seven feet between decks to accommodate bales of cotton. By the end of the 1840s, many of the packets had installed permanent berths on the lower deck. Figure 1 demonstrates the deck plans of a typical fifteen-hundred ton packet of three decks built about 1850. The hull was made of white oak. The lower steerage deck might hold five to six hundred passengers, with another two or three hundred in the steerage on the main deck.

The first Mormon emigrants were booked individually on ships. However, by the time the Tyrean sailed in September 1841, the Church had settled on the more economical method of chartering ships. By about 1848 Mormon emigrants took up the entire steerage on ships or comprised a portion of it separate from the other passengers.

The Church leaders who chartered the ships were usually experienced. They were able to spare the newly arrived emigrants many of the problems of coping with life in a port city, such as confidence games and racketeering. The emigrants usually found a ship waiting for them. Many boarded the ship the same day they arrived in Liverpool, sleeping in their berths or on deck. Some stayed in the homes of Church members, while others had to stay in lodging houses.

For his fare, each passenger was supposed to receive a portion of a berth, some food and water, and free passage for the first hundred pounds of baggage. Before 1849, the food included seven pounds of breadstuff or cereal per person per week. This often consisted of sea biscuits or hardtack. By 1850, each passenger was supposed to receive three quarts of water

daily and the following rations weekly: two and one-half pounds of breadstuff, one pound of wheaten flour, five pounds of oatmeal, two pounds of rice (five pounds of potatoes could be substituted for one pound of oatmeal or rice), two ounces of tea, half a pound of sugar, half a pound of molasses, and one gill of vinegar. Split peas, corned beef, and pork were added to this protein-deficient diet,⁵ along with mustard and pepper, in 1855.

American ships were reputedly the worst for shortchanging on the standard provisions. An Irish philanthropist, Vere Foster, sailed for America on the Washington in the fall of 1850 to determine what typical conditions were like in steerage for the emigrants he had assisted. Provisions were not issued at all for the first five or six days. Having brought a scale with him, Foster was able to demonstrate that for the entire voyage the passengers did not receive even half of the rations to which they were entitled. Flour⁶ was the only item issued nearly in full.

The act of 1842 required that passengers have contract tickets. Some of the tickets, such as the one in figure 2, contained a warning for passengers to take extra provisions. Those who could afford to, secured extra provisions while they waited to sail. One journal mentioned the following extras: good flour, potatoes, salt preserves, a good cheese and a cooked ham, eggs, lemons, preserved fish, plumb ink, coffee currant, spices, port wine, pepper, ginger, cayenne pepper, sweet biscuits, baking powder, lard, cream of tartar, and pickled cabbage. The naive emigrant, however, would not bring extra food or food of the right kind. He had to pay dearly for some of the ship's private provisions once he was at sea if he wanted a more varied menu or if the journey took longer than planned. Under such trying conditions, a new mother might lose her milk, and adequate food for infants was usually unavailable.

Besides extra foodstuffs, the passengers were expected to bring a strawfilled mattress, bedding, cooking utensils, and provision boxes. Utensils usually included cutlery, a tin plate, drinking can, tin quart pot, and the ubiquitous chamber pot. Some also brought soap, candles, towels, rolling pin boards, carpet slippers, shoe brushes, and, last but not least, consecrated oil. The extra food and articles might add another pound to the passage fare. Before 1846 some of the Saints brought contributions from their branches of the Church for the building of the Nauvoo Temple.

Before the ships would sail, the local Church leaders would organize the emigrants. Not much is known about the organization of the first group of Mormon emigrants, but the second ship to sail for America, the North America, had a presiding elder and six counselors, chosen personally by Brigham Young. On 6 February 1841, the day before the Sheffield sailed, a council meeting was held in Liverpool, to which the ship's captain was invited. Three Mormon Apostles organized the emigrants, with a president as leader, six counselors, and a clerk-historian. By 1848-49, a pattern of organization had emerged. The presiding Church authority in England would choose the emigrant leader, called the ship's president, present him with a letter of authority, and then leave him to organize the rest of the group during the first few days at sea.

As the emigrants boarded the ship, the British Mission president or his agents would assign them berths. Samuel W. Richards, president from May 1852 to July 1854, was known to work from daybreak to 2:00 a.m. preparing a ship to sail. All his work paid dividends. In 1854 a select committee of the House of Commons on emigrant ships concluded "that no ships under the provisions of the 'Passengers Act' could be depended upon for comfort and security in the same degree as those under his administration. The Mormon ship is a Family under strong and accepted discipline, with every provision

for comfort, decorum, and internal peace."⁸

The order that prevailed on Mormon emigrant ships was described by no less an observer than Charles Dickens, who visited the Amazon before it set sail in 1863:

Now, I have seen emigrant ships before this day in June. And these people are so strikingly different from all other people in like circumstances whom I have ever seen, that I wonder aloud, "What would a stranger suppose these emigrants to be!"

. . . The most of these came aboard yesterday evening. They came from various parts of England in small parties that had never seen one another before. Yet they had not been a couple of hours on board, when they established their own police, made their own regulations, and set their own watches at all the hatchways. Before nine o'clock, the ship was as orderly and as quiet as a man-of-war.

I looked about me again, and saw the letter-writing going on with the most curious composure. Perfectly abstracted in the midst of the crowd; while great casks were swinging aloft, and being lowered into the hold; while hot agents were hurrying up and down, adjusting the interminable accounts; while two hundred strangers were searching everywhere for two hundred other strangers, and were asking questions about them of two hundred more; while the children played up and down all the steps, and in and out among all the people's legs, and were beheld, to the general dismay, toppling over all the dangerous places; the letter-writers wrote on calmly. . . . I should have said they were in their degree, the pick and flower of England.

He concluded with this remark:

I went on board their ship to bear testimony against them if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would; to my great astonishment they did not deserve it; and my predispositions and tendencies must not affect me as an honest witness. I went over the Amazon's side, feeling it impossible to deny that, so far, some remarkable influence had produced a remarkable result, which better known influences have often missed.

Even though the emigrants were on board, they had to pass a medical examination before their passage was guaranteed. The ship's doctor (if there was one), along with a government inspector, would usually carry out this examination, which usually consisted of little more than having the person stick out his tongue and stamping his ticket. In one case, however, several Danish Saints were put off a ship because they "were not considered to be well." They were back on the ship that evening, and nothing was ever said again of their illness.

Some had to leave the ships for nonmedical reasons. Several men were removed from one ship when it was discovered they had deserted their families. Just as one ship was preparing to leave, a man came on board with some detectives to search for his wife and children. The wife did not want to go back, but her husband promised to sell his property and later go to America (or Zion, as the Mormons called it) with her. She still objected, but the ship's presidency encouraged her to stay with her husband. She and three of her children did, but she left two of her girls on board to make the journey, perhaps as incentive for her husband to keep his promise.

Others were less successful in their efforts to persuade their families not to leave: One passenger was given permission to go back to shore to get more sup-

plies even though his ship had already left the dock. He relates:

I reached the shore, I saw Mr. Ould (my wife's father) in a boat accompanied by two detectives going to the "Manchester" in search of his wife and two sons--and of me and my wife too. I suppose I was powerless to help them, as their boat would reach the ship before I could. Therefore I called upon the Lord to protect them, and placing them in his care, I attended to my duties. Later, I went to Princes Landing and saw Mr. Ould and the detectives there. They had returned from the ship. Took a small boat, and . . . went to the "Manchester," undiscovered by the detectives or Mr. Ould. On arriving at the ship, I found the detectives and Mr. Ould had searched the ship from stem to stern, and then Mr. O. went over it a second time, but they failed to find what they sought, although they passed close to them. I could give more detail here, but suffice it to say that Sister Ould and her boys were hid in the Passenger's luggage. The government and medical officers came aboard, and the detectives and Mr. O. came also again. In the examination, I and my wife passed close by the detectives and Mr. O. but was not recognized. They closely watched every passenger, made inquiries for Sister O. and the boys, and done all they could to find them, but all to no purpose, and they had to leave without their prey. The power of God was manifested in blinding the detectives and especially Mr. O. for he was near one of his sons and did not recognize him, and his daughter, my wife, passed so close to him that her dress nearly touched his legs, but he did not know her.¹⁰

As the ships at last set sail, there were many tender moments. "The vessel began

to move out of dock," one man recalled, "and what feelings of anguish stole upon my mind as I gazed upon my parents and relatives, perhaps never, never to see them again until we meet in an eternal world."¹¹ The life of the emigrants would never be the same.

The westward crossing of the North Atlantic in the first half of the nineteenth century was still a slow and perilous journey. Because of the prevailing winds, ships traveling west had to travel five hundred miles further than eastbound ships. The average voyage from Liverpool to the east coast of the United States was thirty-seven days, just over five weeks. The voyage to New Orleans took about two weeks longer.

Life on board emigrant ships was beset with many problems, not the least of which was overcrowding. All vessels leaving from Liverpool were required to obey British law. The passenger act of 1835, under which the Mormon emigration began, allowed three adult passengers for every¹² five tons registered for the ship. Under that provision, the Mayflower could have packed in six more passengers. However, the emigrant ships often exceeded the legal limit.

Four to six persons were packed into berths of wooden slats measuring six feet square. Two people might share a berth six feet long and three feet wide. The berths were arranged along both sides of the ship in double or triple tiers. The passenger would sleep with his feet towards the center aisle, where provisions for the voyage, hand luggage, and items too fragile for the hold would be stored. Tin utensils and other light items would hang on the sides of the berths and the beams above. The hatches had to be closed during storms, but it might be wet below even in less violent weather, particularly if the cargo consisted of iron rails, which might cause greater rolling. The berths were sometimes made of green wood and would creak horrendously as the ship rolled. In a storm, temporary berths were known to come tumbling down.

The passenger act of 1852 required that single men be berthed separately in the forward portion of the steerage and that a division two planks high (about eighteen inches) be placed between strangers sharing a berth. The rush to berth eight hundred passengers, though, produced repeated violations of the law. However, President Richards of the British Mission assured a select committee of the House of Commons in 1854 that young men were berthed separately and single women were "generally berthed in families." President Richards added to the passengers' convenience by having seats put up alongside the berths.¹³

Still, life aboard ship was crowded. Joseph Greaves complained that his berth on the International was so small that if he were to turn, his partner in the berth had to turn at the same time.¹⁴ Another emigrant complained: "There is not room in the beds only for 2. We must mind our heads when we crawl in our 'dogkennels' for you must go [in] head first and out the same or you will knock your head against the top. A bottom hammock is the best. . . . We have to get lamp and oil. The place is verry dark. We can't see to read only by the small light that comes in the door. . . . The single folks have a curtain, goes over 8 births. We go to dress and undress."¹⁵

The advice given to women passengers in an emigrant journal published in 1849 was to wear "dresses made to close in front; it is very awkward to lie in your berth and try to hook-and-eye behind."¹⁶

John Woodhouse described his new home as follows:

I suppose we had all the room allowed us by law, 18 inches of breadth each, but we were still very crowded. Our sleeping arrangements were berths, two tiers high all around the vessel and down the center of hold. And two cabins on deck. The berths allowed for a family were allotted together as much as possible. There was about

6 feet of space in front of the berths, for passage way and storage room for provisions, boxes, etc. We were instructed to make everything fast, but as we did not understand the term in a suitable sense we could not foresee the result. In those days all did their own cooking and furnished their own utensils, so that the amount of tinware we needed was enormous, and a look at the ceiling of our vessel, when all were hung up, might cause a stranger to think that quite a proportion¹⁷ of the vessels cargo was tinware.

Storms would send tinware, baggage, and passengers flying from one side of the ship to the other. In 1853 the Ellen Maria experienced a storm "so awful as to mix us up badly with our trunks, cooking utensils, and other baggage, some of the people sliding up and down the ship on upset molasses cans."¹⁸

John Woodhouse gave the following vivid description of a storm: "Our tinware, water bottles, provisions chests, etc. broke loose from their moorings and dropped from their nails overhead. . . . The articles [chased] each other from side to side of the vessel, spilling their contents as they travelled. . . . And we were all too sick to interfere. . . . We could only look on out of our berths. . . . We had enough to do to keep from rolling out ourselves."¹⁹

The crowded conditions made sanitation difficult. After his arrival on the Zetland in 1849, Orson Spencer laconically noted in his report to the British Mission president, "A hint to emigrants about cleanliness may be, safely and frequently administered."²⁰ Charles W. Penrose awoke one morning on the Underwriter in 1861 to find that a mother rat had given birth in his shoe during the night. The Saints aboard the Enoch Train in 1856 had to form a louse committee.

A constant characteristic of the steerage was the stench. After his first night at

sea on the North America, William Clayton wrote that "such sickness, vomiting, groaning and bad smells I never witnessed before and added to this the closeness of the berths almost suffocated us for want of air."²¹ There might be a hatch or raised structure that would allow air to flow down even in bad weather. However, there were no washing facilities.

In the warmer latitudes of the New Orleans run, saltwater baths might be available, at least for the men. If the ship was becalmed, some might go swimming. The captain of the Carnatic in 1848 provided a cask and canvas curtain for a primitive shower for himself and many of the brethren.

The lack of water closets was an even greater problem. American ships were preferred because they usually had two permanent lavatories on each side of the top deck. Although the passenger act of 1855 called for two water closets on each ship, Herman Melville's line from Redburn: His First Voyage probably described Mormon emigrant ships as well: "To hold your head down the fore hatchway was like holding it down a suddenly opened cesspool."²²

The emigrants were supposed to clean their living quarters daily and air their bedding twice a week, but further measures were required to mask the odors. After one and a half weeks on the North America in 1840, "gas was burned to sweeten the ship air." About once a week, most ships received a good general scrub down. All the passengers would be called on deck. Then the steerage area would be smoked and washed. The floor would be scraped and then scrubbed with water and often vinegar. Sometimes they would sprinkle the decks with lime.

Illness was another problem the emigrants had to face. Most of the passengers, and sometimes the crew, were seasick the first few days at sea and were often left with a "protracted debility" for the rest of the voyage.

The crowded and unsanitary conditions led to occasional outbreaks of epidemic proportions. Cholera killed forty-three people on the Berlin in 1849. Measles took the life of twenty-one children and two adults on the Clara Wheeler in 1854 and wreaked havoc among Danish children on the John J. Boyd in 1855 and the Franklin in 1862. In the latter case, forty-three children under the age of eight died, plus five adults. But illness was not the only cause of death. At least one young child was washed overboard, never to be seen or heard of again.

The death of loved ones was the hardest thing for the emigrants to face. The loved one would be placed in a box or, more often, in just a sheet with something to weigh it down and would then be placed overboard. One journal describes the death and burial of a little boy:

The sad news is made known that the little boy is dead causing a gloom of sadness to pass over the entire company on board. Towards night preparations were made for funeral services at night and the little boy to be buried in the ocean. I cannot describe my feelings at this time, but will say my heart gave way, thinking of my own family, and the sharks following the ships for a purpose. Brother Hamilton G. Park the President of our company spoke of the resurrection of the dead, and offered the dedicatory prayer. The little fellow was placed upon a wide board, down he slides and is gone.²³

Many blessings of health were given to those who requested them. But aside from the spiritual healings of the priesthood, the emigrants did their best with medicines. One potion for bruises was an oatmeal poultice with some oil. Sometimes a little cayenne pepper was used to cause a sweat. Castor oil was much used for colds and bowel problems. Stomach problems accompanied by chills were

treated with a little brandy in warm gruel. Colic was treated with a dose of peppermint and laudanum, with reported success.

Sometimes emigrants were appointed to help look after the sick and feeble. One was Zebulon Jacobs, who was described as carrying a bottle of castor oil in one pocket and several boxes of pills emptied into the other one. His treatments seemed to help those who took them, but not everyone appreciated his help, as he relates in the following incident:

One old lady by the name of Ainsworth, could not get out of bed she was so sick. Several days passed. I visited her regular, to see how she was getting along, finally decided she must get out. Went to work "Come now get up, I can't, yes you can, get up or I will pull your ears. You pull my ears, you pull my ears, what do you mean? I mean just what I say, If you don't get up, I will pull your ears, besides take this shoe to you she replied "you saucbox, get away from here!" I replied I would not and at the same time caught hold of the bed cloths and commenced to pull. She commenced to scream. I pulled and she pulled. Finally she let go, and gathered a shoe and let fly. I dodged, another followed with the same result. Next came a tin cup and a plate, finally she gathered a piece of board and jumped out after me. I ran and she ran until she saw how her clothing was arranged and starts back to the bunk, me after her, don't you get in there I cried, if you do I'll pull you out by the heels. Another race started amid screams of laughter from about 30 people, she went back about as mad as people generally get, so did I. When I could get near enough with safety, told her to dress and I would assist her on deck, she looked surprised and at the same time realized what I was doing for her, she dressed. I

carried her up the companion way to the deck, placed her on the sunny side of the vessel where she remained all the afternoon and was last to go below at night. It done all who saw me, good, for they tried to get up. Whenever they saw me coming, they would say here comes Brother Jacobs, lets get up. Those too ill and weak to walk asked to carry them on deck. When tired carried them back.

The emigrants' health was not helped much by their diet. The standard fare lacked variety. A typical menu for a week might be the following: Monday, rice; Tuesday, oatmeal; Wednesday, pork and potatoes; Thursday, rice again; Friday, oatmeal; and Saturday, pork and potatoes again. Those who brought some of their own, more palatable items were glad they did. By 1850, Mormon officials were supplementing the emigrants' diet with pork, butter, and cheese.

Often the different nationalities would have their own ideas of what to eat. One man said that he had reached the point where he could not stand the smell of the onion soup that seemed to be a favorite dish of the Scots on board. He wrote a note to his posterity saying that even in his last years of life he detested cooked onions.

Although for the most part there were plenty of supplies, on at least twelve ships between 1846 and 1866 the fare was poor or ran short. On the Kennebec in 1852, the Scottish members traded their pork ration to the English for oatmeal, but both were reduced to half rations of oatmeal and rice for the last four days of the voyage. They traced part of their difficulty to the thefts by Irish non-members. Three ships reported shortages in 1855. The passengers of the James Nesmith hinted that they were short-changed by the second mate, "who was a wicked man." The captain of the Helios refused to surrender their pork, butter, cheese, and vinegar when the Saints had to transfer to the Charles Buck. Further

shortages occurred with two weeks yet to go. The captain donated half a barrel of sugar, and they had to purchase pork and molasses from him.

The amount of drinking water carried on board was adequate for the voyage from Liverpool to New York, but barely sufficient if New Orleans was the destination. The water was frequently foul before the journey's end. It was often drawn from an impure source, stored in rotten casks, or unchanged if there were a surplus from the previous trip. The vinegar ration could be used to dilute the taste and smell of water gone bad. At least one ship was able to replenish its water supply in the West Indies.

Despite these shortages, most of the ships had sufficient provisions for adults. There are several entries in the Millennial Star in the late 1840s and early 1850s concerning the "good" and "ample" supplies. Unfortunately, the supplies were not always suitable for infants, a group with which the Mormon emigrants were abundantly blessed and one which was likely to suffer most from a poor diet and overcrowding. Adults could cope with cake made from ground sea biscuits or biscuit pudding, but little children had special needs not so easily met. As early as 1849, Thomas Clark reported from the James Pennell: "We lost three children, which were weaned just before they were brought on board; all the rest of the babes have done well. I think it would be well to inform the Saints not to wean their children just as they come; for if they do, they will be likely to lose them before they get across."²⁵ But what about the mother who lost her milk, did not have enough, or became seriously ill? In 1866, the one-year-old daughter of William Driver nursed on cold tea and sugar, sucked baked flour through a tube, and survived on a donated can of condensed milk. William's advice was: "Those who come to sea should be very careful to bring with them as many comforts as possible, especially for the children such as Arrow root, Soft Biscuits, Port Wine, Brandy,

Preserved Milk, Sherbert, & This from bitter experience."²⁶

Although provisions were not always adequate, "the cooking seemed to try our patience most," reported President Thomas Day of the Josiah Bradlee. The facilities were usually too small for large groups to use. A cook usually supervised but did not help unless paid to do so. John Woodhouse described the facilities aboard his ship:

Our cooking arrangements consisted of a [galley] about four feet long, and three feet wide. The top full of holes over which to place vessels to boil. A fire was along each side with bars lengthwise. Some of our tins had a flat side and hooks on them to hang on the bars, these we called "Hangers on." There was an oven down the center between the two fires for baking, this completed our cooking accommodations which were meager. Especially as we were not skilled in the use of it.²⁷

With all the problems the emigrants faced, it was essential that they be well organized. The ship's president, appointed by the presiding Church authority in England and sustained by the emigrants, would select his counselors, a clerk to keep a record of the voyage, a sergeant-at-arms to keep order, and occasionally cooks. The president would also divide the steerage into smaller units, usually called wards, each with its own priesthood leader to conduct morning and evening prayers and to help keep order. The number of wards varied from four to nineteen with approximately ten berths or forty persons per ward in the early period, followed by larger units in the peak years of emigration in the late 1850s, and then smaller ones again in the 1860s. The size of a ward apparently depended on the number of Melchizedek Priesthood bearers, the space arrangements, and the discretion of the president.

On the Ellen in 1851, there were wards in the second cabin and instructions to see that each family was visited twice daily. A survey was made on board the Falcon and International in 1853 to determine the name and priesthood office of each male before making further assignments. The leaders of the International divided the steerage into six wards and the second cabin into two wards. The ward president was assisted by a priest or teacher of the Aaronic Priesthood. Meetings were held every evening, with the ward presidents reporting each Thursday. The presidents of the fourteen wards on the Hudson in 1864 met each evening with one another. Robert Reid wrote at the end of the Swanton's journey that, "although some have been disposed to murmur, yet those spirits have been subdued by the authority of the holy priesthood."²⁸

The priesthood organization tried various solutions to the cooking problems, including volunteer cooks, a series of three cooks working four hour shifts to receive the pans impartially, supervisors to see that each had a fair turn at the fire, and cooking on alternate days. The most satisfactory approach used from at least the early 1850s allowed each ward to cook on a rotating schedule. Apparently, the ward presidents and their assistants gathered the rations and saw to the cooking for their group. The leadership of the various wards on the Falcon scheduled baking for each side of the vessel on subsequent days and even planned a uniform dinner menu to be followed by all the wards on a given day.

The galleys were closed during Sunday services on the John M. Wood, but some left plum pudding to boil during that time. One group decided there would be no cooking on the Sabbath but that hot water would be served in the morning and evening for all who wanted.

Despite the problems of emigrant life on board a ship, much of the time passed uneventfully. John Jaques gave this

realistic description of life on the Horizon in 1856:

Sea-sailing is very pleasant at times. I could sit for hours on the forecabin, and watch our noble vessel dashing through the briny waves, and lashing them into an innumerable variety of fantastic forms of spray and foam. But then, who can possibly like to be continually rocked about. . . . Who admires treading on a platform that seems the plaything of an everlasting earthquake? I have no great taste for these things. I can make myself, with a little exertion, tolerably comfortable at sea, whenever it is advisable for me to go there, but when I have the privilege of choosing, I like to be where I can enjoy myself more naturally. . . . The idea of waiting, day after day, on the idle wind is bad enough, but the reality is much worse. It makes one feel like getting out and pushing behind. Then the wind comes with a bit of a vengeance, as if to make up for lost time, just as people hurry when they have been loitering on the way. Then the willing ship dashes through the waters like a mad thing, at the rate of a dozen miles or more an hour. We tack to the right and tack to the left, and, after sailing so heartily for 200 or 300 miles, the captain takes an observation and finds that we are 20 miles worse for all our trouble, or perhaps we are in about the same place as when becalmed.²⁹

A typical day on board ship began at 5:30 or 6:00 a.m. with a wake-up call from a bell or a trumpet, or from the frantic rolling of the ship. Cleaning was followed by prayers at 7:00 or 7:30 a.m. and then breakfast. The emigrants would pray again at 7:00 p.m. and retire at 9:00 or 10:00 p.m.

The rest of the day's activities were as diverse as dawdling in boredom or admir-

ing a splendid sunset to singing, dancing, and giving concerts. Several of the ships had formal, organized bands. Many spent their spare time practicing their instruments. Some, such as Henry Maiben on the International, even composed songs describing life aboard ship.

Tea parties and other celebrations were common. On the John M. Wood in 1854, the emigrants held a party to mark the birth of twins. Marriages were another cause for celebration, even though the tight quarters left little room for a traditional honeymoon and the reassigning of berths must have caused some confusion.

Holidays were usually celebrated with some sort of festivity. The holiday most often mentioned in emigrants' journals was the founding of the Church, April 6. Sometimes it was a day of worship and fasting, even when it was not a Sunday. Sometimes a conference was held as part of the worship, and the General Authorities of the Church were sustained. On one ship, muskets were fired, followed by a military service. The sacrament was passed, and four couples were married. The afternoon services included speeches, recitations, and music. Among the more popular recitations were "Joseph Smith and the Devil";³⁰ "The Death of the Prophet and Patriarch," by Eliza R. Snow; and poems such as "Absalom," by N. P. Willis. The evening program consisted of inventive pastry cooking, country dancing, and singing.

The other holiday most often celebrated was the American Independence Day, July 4. Occasionally July 24 was also celebrated, marking the day the first group of pioneers entered the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847. These celebrations were similar to those for April 6, only without the religious services.

Many emigrants spent their spare time reading and writing. Schools were conducted for both children and adults in English, French, and other subjects. One ship held "evening lectures at 5 p.m., the congregation sitting around the lec-

turer, on the deck floor, the subjects being various, such as astronomy, geography, agricultural improvements, [and] conversational meetings to refresh the mind, with history, themes, essays, &c."³¹

Increasingly in the 1850s, the adults were occupied with making canvas tents and wagon covers for the overland journey that lay ahead. Schools might then be used to keep the children out of the way.

Some of the men signed on as sailors to earn extra money. The ladies were involved with sewing and knitting. In good weather, the children ran, hopped, skipped, jumped rope, and enjoyed other outdoor games on deck. When the weather was bad, though, everyone had to stay below in very close quarters, and morale suffered.

No account of the emigrants' activities would be complete without mention of the religious services. Sometimes all of the passengers would meet together. At other times, they would meet as individual wards. Meetings were often held Tuesday and Thursday evenings and two or three times each Sunday. There was usually preaching and, on Sundays, the sacrament and sometimes testimonies. Talks covered a wide range of subjects but often dealt with such topics as the promised land, the gathering to the Salt Lake Valley, obedience, salvation, and the first principles and ordinances of the gospel. Sometimes testimony meetings were held during the week, usually on Thursdays.

Occasionally the Mormons' religion and way of life brought them in conflict with non-Mormon captains and crews, who were often hard-bitten men used to violence. Referring to the officers of the John M. Wood, Frederick Andrew complained that "they will not hearken to anything you have got to say so the best way is to keep out of their way as much as possible and have nothing to say or do with them."³² On some ships, crew members would kick over wash buckets, throw belongings overboard that were found left

on deck, become too familiar with the women, abuse the sick, mock the prayers and services, hold back food rations, and even physically abuse the passengers. On one early sailing, the crew were carrying on so much that the captain had to side with the Saints, prompting the crew to mutiny. Order was restored when the emigrants took up arms to assist the captain. As a final insult to the emigrants, after arriving at the mouth of the Mississippi, one captain swore that he would keep them on board until they starved to death.

However, the order and cleanliness of Mormon emigrants in general relaxed the tensions that frequently existed between passengers and the captains. For example, one emigrant described the officers of the William Tappscott as "wild arum Scarum fellows & very rough with the Sailors; Butt quite Sociable with us."³³ The captains of other ships were quick to compare the conduct of the Mormon emigrants with the quarreling and fighting of others they had brought over. Captain Reed of the Horizon was not "particularly enamoured" of the Mormons' religion, but was pleased with the "proper respect" paid to him and his crew. He was relieved not to have to use his usual "peacemaker": the hose.³⁴

In the information available for this study, thirty-one of the captains were praised, while only six were condemned. Some emigrants even named their children after the captain or the ship. Deacan Westmoreland Garff was born on the Westmoreland, under Captain Robert R. Decan. Some captains invited the leaders of the Saints to dinner. Some would assist with routine problems and even provide extra food. A charming picture emerges from emigrant journals about Captain J. S. Taylor of the Siddons, who spent time jumping rope with the children on board ship.

The Saints on board the Falcon presented certificates of appreciation to the cap-

tain and mate. The captain's memorial was as follows:

TO ALL WHOM THIS MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that having decided in our council that a memorial should be presented to you for your gentlemanly and Praiseworthy conduct to us as a company of Latter-day Saints sailing from Liverpool to New Orleans enroute to the Great Salt Lake City, we have much pleasure in doing so.

In addition to your arduous duties as Captain you have at all times showed the Gentleman the Father and the Friend for you have throughout the voyage manifested much anxiety for our comfort and welfare to such a degree as has most agreeably surprised us for it is our candid opinion that no company of Emigrants were ever so happy or had so much attention shown them by a person of your station.

Our people to an individual feel to tender you our best and warmest acknowledgements for such a line of conduct, for when they were sick you visited them and paid unremitting attention to their comfort, these and other marks of kindness from you call forth in us deep feelings of Gratitude and respect and your name and generosity will ever have a warm place in our affections.

And we pray God our Father to bless you, and give you health and many happy days, and make you the medium of much good in your day and generation, hoping you may bring many other companies, making them as happy as you have made us and we Sir shall ever be your most respectfully.

On behalf of the company on board the Falcon comprising 300 souls. May 9th, 1853.³⁵

After the captain received his memorial he told the president of the ship's company, Cornelius Bagnall, how he felt:

I can truly say that I have taken more pleasure with my present passengers, have been aided more by them in carrying out my wishes with regard to sundry matters, have found universal among them that kind of cheerful obedience to all rules which makes government easy and pleasant; indeed I have been better pleased with them on all occasions than I have been with any other that I ever brought. I feel to thank you for the pains you have taken to maintain order and cleanliness amongst your people thereby promoting in a very large degree the health we have all been blessed with during the passage thus far.

...

Conversions occurred, both among the crew and other passengers. Several of the crew, including the first mate, of the Swanton were baptized in New Orleans. Four sailors from the Hartley and two from the George W. Bourne were also baptized in New Orleans. On the Olympus in 1851, fifty persons were baptized either in a huge barrel on deck or from a floating platform, consisting of a hatch placed on the water beside the ship. President Howell felt that some of the sailors would be the means of taking the Mormon message to foreign lands, and remarked that at least one sailor, who "was afraid to go up the rigging," had been fortified by his new religion.³⁷ The captain of the International had a dream just twelve days after sailing that he and his crew were all baptized members of the Church. Before arriving in New Orleans six weeks later, the captain, his two mates, eighteen of the crew, and twenty-seven passengers—or all except three of the people on board—had been baptized. A passenger on the Marshfield suggested, however, that it was "not prudent to baptize seamen on board—it has been proved that they sometimes get baptized on board merely to assist in their

designs upon the honour of our sisters."³⁸

Keeping the sisters away from unscrupulous seamen was a constant concern. On the North America in 1840, five women replied to the entreaties of their leaders that "they could take care of themselves."³⁹ By the 1850s, watchmen were regularly employed, not only to prevent thefts by outsiders, but specifically "to keep a few females in their proper place, after bedtime."⁴⁰ Two women married sailors after the arrival of the Zetland in 1849 which led Orson Spencer to remark, "If they had been married sooner, it would have been some apology for previous conduct."⁴¹ Three sisters were tried on the Falcon in 1853 for being on deck after 9:00 p.m. and refusing to come below. Though they were pardoned, it is interesting to note that one later married the second mate as the group traveled up the Mississippi. A meeting was held within a week of the sailing of the Charles Buck in 1855 to request that the sisters stay aloof and let the brethren do the preaching to the sailors. Before the journey's end, two sisters were cut off for their conduct with the officers.

The journey across the Atlantic changed lives in other ways, too. Some grumbled and complained that "the Church is certainly different on the sea than on the land." Some became disenchanted. A few lost their Church membership, and some were reprimanded. But many became staunch and stalwart. Through it all, they managed to "keep the faith," as the following examples show.

In 1853 the International had been at sea for five weeks but was still only ten days' distance from its starting point. The ship's president called a meeting, explained the situation, and asked for a fast. All agreed to fast and pray. The next day the wind changed, and the journey was completed in three more weeks. The captain said that he had never sailed that distance faster.⁴²

John Woodhouse tells of his experience on the Ellen. They had left Liverpool and were in the Mersey River. The first day they were nearly struck by a passing steamer. About midnight they experienced a violent shock which caused the ship to sway from side to side for a period. When morning came they found themselves anchored in North Wales. They found out that their fears were justified—they had been struck by a schooner that night. Their ship had considerable damage, but the schooner had gone down with all on board.

After being in Cardigan Bay for two weeks, he records:

Next morn found myself and others early on deck, expecting and hopeful, the wind had changed, but we were disappointed, it was still blowing right into the entrance of the Bay. While I yet remained on the deck, the Captain came up. He paced the deck in a nervous and hurried manner, frequently pausing to scan the horizon. Then he hurriedly gave the order, "Hoist the signal for the pilot." This was done. The pilot soon came on board in his boat and asked what was wanted. The Captain told him we would try to get out of the bay. The pilot said it could not be done. Brother Dun was standing by, he immediately answered, "It can be done." The Pilot said, "We can try gentlemen, but no ship has ever left this bay with such a wind as this." In the mean time quite a number of us had been at work, trying to raise the anchor, which was fast and took much work to raise it. But we got it up and commenced to move. We sailed around the bay, acquiring speed and force, and then by a dash passed the entrance, and out into the Irish Channel. Thus in the face of the wind and the Pilot's opinion we realized the results of our faith, and proved that the faith of a Latter-day Saint can accomplish even against the wind

and the opinion of an experienced pilot.⁴³

Perhaps the ultimate in faith is the miraculous saving of the Argo in 1850. According to two different accounts, the ship was near Cuba and almost to run aground. Severe damage, possibly total destruction, could have taken place. One account said it was about 9:00 p.m. when "there appeared in the heavens, as if a streak of lightning or fire came down from heaven which caused the horizon to be lit up. Immediately after, there appeared as if a star had shot down into the water." Because of this, the captain's attention was drawn to the land within a stone's throw. All were called to help, and the ship was spared even though the captain and all expected to be lost.⁴⁴ A second account confirms this report: The captain "thought he had cleared the south point of Cuba but through a most remarkable phenomena, that was a light shining in the air, his attention was drawn to notice land which lay directly before the ship and in less than 10 minutes the [ship] would have dashed to pieces. He ran to the wheel, turned the ship long side, and then called the seamen from their berths." The ship finally cleared the land.⁴⁵

Finally, the long journey came to an end. To the emigrants, who had not seen land for weeks, the shore was beautiful. There were houses with trees, gardens, lovely walks, and picturesque views. Before the emigrants could become a part of this new land, however, they still had to pass another medical inspection and clear customs.

Those who arrived in the 1860s often had to deal with the military. There was a war going on, and the draft was in force. The journals searched so far do not indicate that many were drafted, but if they weren't it was not for lack of effort.

Those who arrived in New Orleans saw animals they had never seen before. They could see large groves of orange and lemon trees. One account mentioned see-

ing slaves and their houses. It was thought that such an existence would be better than the poverty the emigrants had left in England; however, that idea would soon be put to rest. Several emigrants were approached by apostate Mormons, who tried to deceive them and persuade them to stay in New Orleans rather than to move on to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Some listened and stayed, but most went on.

All in all, the history of the Mormon migration is a story of success. With time, the life on board emigrant ships was made more secure, and the experience was used to fellowship converts into a new way of life and discipline them for survival in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Perhaps the words of William Clayton, one of the earliest emigrants, summarizes

best the life and sacrifices of those who made the journey:

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 were our happiest moments.⁴⁶

EMIGRANT SHIP

Circa 1850

STEERAGE DECK

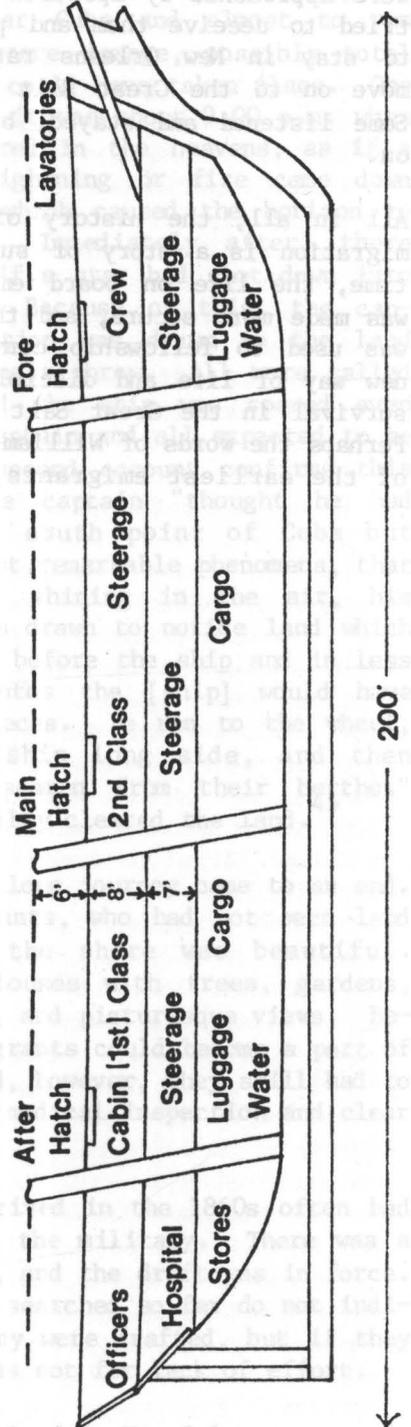
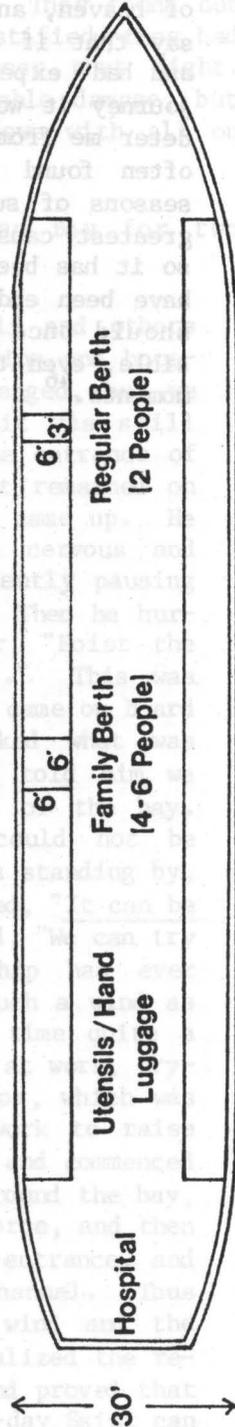


Fig. 1. Deck plans of a typical emigrant ship ca. 1850.

NOTES

¹Doctrine and Covenants 29:8.

²Jane C. Robinson Hindley, Reminiscences and Diaries, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereinafter referred to as HDC, Salt Lake City.

³John W. Southwell Autobiography, HDC, Salt Lake City.

⁴Autobiography of John Woodhouse, HDC, Salt Lake City.

⁵The various British and American passenger acts are summarized in appendix A of Terry Coleman, Passage to America: A History of Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1972).

⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Correspondence on the Treatment of the Passengers on Board the Emigrant Ship Washington," 1851, (198) vol. 40; reprinted in Emigration (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), 22:403, 407.

⁷Diary of Samuel W. Richards, 1839-1874, 2:121, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁸Lord Houghton, Edinburgh Review, Jan. 1862, quoted in Charles Dickens, The Uncommercial Traveler.

⁹Dickens, The Uncommercial Traveler.

¹⁰William Jeffries Reminiscences and Diary, HDC, Salt Lake City.

¹¹Journal of Alfred Cordon, HDC, Salt Lake City.

¹²The earliest passenger acts, from 1803 to 1842, are discussed in K. A. Walpole, "The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser. 14 (1931): 197-224.

¹³Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), "Second Report of the Select Committee on Emigrant Ships," 1854 (349), vol. 13, pp. 109, 111; reprint ed., Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968.

¹⁴Joseph Greaves to William Greaves, 10 September 1897, MSD 3915, p. 2, HDC, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵Jim Warner to John Kettle, Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

¹⁶Quoted in Coleman, Passage to America, p. 17.

¹⁷Autobiography of John Woodhouse.

¹⁸Autobiography of Eugene A. Henriod, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹⁹Autobiography of John Woodhouse, p. 12.

- ²⁰Orson Spencer to Orson Pratt, 10 April 1849, printed in Millennial Star 11 (15 June 1849):185.
- ²¹James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842 (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), p. 173.
- ²²Quoted in Coleman, Passage to America, p. 20.
- ²³Samuel P. Horsley Record Book, HDC, Salt Lake City.
- ²⁴Journal of Zebulon Jacobs, HDC, Salt Lake City.
- ²⁵Millennial Star 11 (1 Dec. 1849):363.
- ²⁶Frank Driver Reeve, ed., "London to Salt Lake City in 1866: The Diary of William Driver," New Mexico Historical Review, Jan. 1942, pp. 41, 43, 46.
- ²⁷Autobiography of John Woodhouse, p. 11.
- ²⁸Millennial Star 4 (May 1843):15.
- ²⁹Millennial Star 18 (30 Aug. 1856):553-57. He goes on to discuss the need for steam to be applied more liberally in ocean navigation.
- ³⁰The recitation was probably based on Parley P. Pratt's A Dialogue between Joe. Smith and the Devil., first published in 1845.
- ³¹Millennial Star 13 (15 June 1851): 188-91.
- ³²Journal of Frederick C. Andrew, Sept. 1853 - May 1854, MSD 1864 p. 13, HDC, Salt Lake City.
- ³³Journal of Henry Hobbs, HDC, Salt Lake City.
- ³⁴Millennial Star 18 (30 Aug. 1856):556.
- ³⁵Journal of James Jack, HDC, Salt Lake City.
- ³⁶Ibid.
- ³⁷Millennial Star 13 (15 June 1851): 190-91.
- ³⁸Thomas F. Fisher to William Fisher, 29 May 1854: an extract from this letter appeared in the Millennial Star 16 (15 July 1854):446-48.
- ³⁹Allen and Alexander, eds., Manchester Mormons, p. 179.
- ⁴⁰William L. Cutler Diary, HDC, Salt Lake City. (Cutler presided over the James Pennell.)
- ⁴¹Millennial Star 11 (15 June 1849):183.
- ⁴²Joseph Greaves to William Greaves, 10 Sept. 1897.

⁴³Autobiography of John Woodhouse.

⁴⁴George Kirkman Bowering Journal, HDC, Salt Lake City. Used by permission of Bernon Jensen Auger.

⁴⁵Journal of the Milo Andrus Emigrating Company, HDC, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁶William Clayton to Edward Martin, 29 November 1840, MSD 3682, p. 1, HDC, Salt Lake City.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Alesto	17 Mar 1841				N.O.		420	54		1840			
Amazon	04 Jun 1863		28	Black X	N.Y.	Hen R. Hovey	1771	894	15	1854	216'	42'	51,60,85,95
American Congress	23 May 1866		36	Red Swallow Tail	N.Y.		864	350		1849	162'4"	34'	
Antarctic	10 Jul 1859	42		Red Z	N.Y.	George E. Stouffer	1115	30		1850	180'	38'	
Antarctic	18 May 1862			Red Z	N.Y.		1115	38		1850	180'	38'	
Antarctic	23 May 1863	49		Red Z	N.Y.		1115	486		1850	180'	38'	
Argo	10 Jan 1850	58	37	Union Line	N.O.	Mills	967	402	6	1841	161'	36'4"	10,58
Arkwright	30 May 1866	37	37	Dramatic	N.Y.	Daniel P. Caulkins	1244	450	8	1855	197'	37'6"	98
Ashland	06 Feb 1849				N.O.	Harding	422	187					
Athenia	21 Apr 1862			German (?)	N.Y.	Schilling		486					
Belle Wood	29 Apr 1865	33		British (?)	N.Y.	T. W. Freeman	1399	636	9	1854	195'6"	39'4"	96
Benjamin Adams	02 Feb 1854	48		Tappcott	N.O.	John Drummond	1457	384	5	1852	186'8"	39'9"	65,122
Berlin	05 Sep 1849	47		New Line	N.O.	Alfred P. Smith	613	253		1842			117
Brittania	06 Jun 1840	44	38	Black Ball	N.Y.	Enoch Cook (?)	630	41		1826	132'10"	32'6"	
B. S. Kimball	08 May 1863	37			N.Y.		1192	657		1857	183'6"	37'6"	
B. S. Kimball	10 May 1865	36			N.Y.	Deerborn	1192	558	8	1857	183'6"	37'6"	43

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Buena Vista	25 Feb 1849			New Line	N.O.	Linnell	661	249		1848	142'5"	31'11"	47
Camillus	13 Apr 1853	53			N.O.	Day	716	228	6				66A
Caravan	14 Feb 1856	41		Dramatic	N.Y.	M. A. Sands (?)	1362	457		1855	195'	38'10"	14,93
Carnatic	22 Feb 1848	59			N.O.	Wm McKenzie	633	120		1847			24,78
Caroline	1841												
Caroline	08 Aug 1841			British (?)	Que.			est 100					
Caroline	05 May 1866	36			N.Y.	Stephen Adey	1130	389	7				
Cavour	01 Jun 1866			Geiman (?)	N.Y.			201					
Champion	21 Oct 1843			British (?)	N.O.	Cochrane	795	91					
Chaos	08 Nov 1841			Taylor & Merrill	N.O.		771	170					
Charles Buck	17 Jan 1855	57		Crescent City	N.O.	W. W. Smalley	1424	403	4	1853	202'	38'11"	6
Chimborazo	17 Apr 1855	35		Line of L'pool	Phil.	Peter Vesper	937	431	7				67,90
Claiborne	21 Mar 1843				N.O.	Joseph S. Burgess	686	106					
Clara Wheeler	24 Apr 1854			Train	N.O.	Nelson	996	29		1849/50			
Clara Wheeler	27 Nov 1854	43		Train	N.O.	Nelson	996	422	4	1849/50			12,91
Colorado	14 Jul 1868			Gulfon Line (?) Steamship	N.Y.			600					

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Columbia	16 Nov 1856	45	32	Black Ball	N.Y.	Chas. Hutchinson	1060	223		1846	170'6"	36'8"	124
Consignment	08 May 1863			Warren & Thayer	N.Y.		1131	38		1856			
Constitution	25 Jun 1868	40			N.Y.	Wm Hatlen		457	6				16
Cornelius Grinnell	30 May 1866		33	Red Swallow Tail	N.Y.	Albert Spencer	1118	27		1850	182'	36'5"	
Cynosure	29 Jul 1855	38			N.Y.	Pray	1258	159	6				84
Cynosure	30 May 1863				N.Y.	Williams	1258	755/ 775	6				
David Hadley	10 May 1865			Hurlbut	N.Y.		975	24		1853/54	163'	36'	
Echo	16 Feb 1841	75		British (?)	N.O.	Wood		109					
Electric	21 Apr 1862			S Line	N.Y.	Johannsen	1274	336		1853	185'1"	38'6"	
Ellen	08 Jan 1851	60		Brown & Co. British (?)	N.O.	Phillips	893	456/ 466	12				99, 112
Ellen Maria	02 Feb 1851	63		Nesmith & Walsh	N.O.	A. Whitmore	769	378		1849	150'9"	33'5"	105, 123
Ellen Maria	11 Feb 1852	58		White Star	N.O.	A. Whitmore	769	369		1849	150'9"	33'5"	
Ellen Maria	18 Jan 1853	49			N.O.		769	332		1849	150'9"	33'5"	27, 39, 110
Elvira Owen	15 Feb 1853	45		Owens & Co. British (?)	N.O.	Charles Owen	873	345	8	1852			102
Emblem	12 Mar 1849			Hurlbut	N.O.	W. Cammett	610	est. 100		1838			
Emerald	29 Oct 1842	70	36	Whitlock (?)	N.O.	Leighton	518	250		1835	128'6"	29'10"	

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE	
		LDS	AVG								L	W		
Emerald Isle	30 Nov 1855	29			Tapscott	N.Y.	Geo. B. Cornish	1736	350		1853	215'	41'6"	
Emerald Isle	20 Aug 1859				Tapscott	N.Y.	Geo. B. Cornish		54		1853	215'	41'6"	
Emerald Isle	20 Jun 1868					N.Y.			876		1853	215'	41'6"	
Empire	06 Jul 1847	35			Sam. Thompson (?)	N.Y.	Joseph G. Russell		24					82
Empire	19 Feb 1858	40				N.Y.	Combs		64					
Enoch Train	23 Mar 1856	38			Train	Bos.	Rich	1617	534	5	1854	211'	40'6"	86,94,114
Erin's Queen	09 Sep 1848	49			British(?)	N.O.	Campbell	821	232					50
Falcon	28 Mar 1853	51				N.O.	A. T. Wade	900	324	6				4,44,53,79
Fanny	23 Jan 1844	37				N.O.	Patterson	529	210	(?) 12				
Forest Monarch	16 Jan 1853	52			British (?)	N.O.	Brewer	976	297					36,68
Franklin	15 Apr 1862	51			Schmidt & Balchen (German)	N.Y.	R. Murray	708	413		1854	162'6"	30'6"	
Gen. McClellan	21 May 1864	33				N.Y.	Trask	1518	802		1862	191'	39'4"	47
George Washington	28 Mar 1857	23			Train	Bos.	Josiah S. Cummings	1534	817					72
George W. Bourne	22 Jan 1851	58				N.O.	Williams	663	281					5
Germanicus	04 Apr 1854	69			Regular	N.O.	Arthur H. Fales	1167	220					28,111
Glasgow	05 Mar 1844					N.O.	Lambert	594	150		1837	135'	31'2"	
Colconda	23 Jan 1853	63			Tapscott	N.O.	A. Kerr	1224	321					11,33

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Golconda	04 Feb 1854	43			N.O.	A. Kerr	1224	464					71, 113
Hanover	15 Mar 1842	44			N.O.	J. Drummond	557	230		1838	135'	30'8"	72
Harmony	10 May 1841			British (?)	Que.			50					129
Hartley	05 Mar 1849	54		White Star	N.O.	Stephen Cummett	466	220					
Hartley	02 Mar 1850	61		White Star	N.O.	Chas. M. Morrill	466	109					
Henry	29 Sep 1842				N.O.	Benj. Pierce	396	157					17
Henry Ware	07 Feb 1849	61			N.O.	Edward Nason	540	225					9, 35
Hope	05 Feb 1842	56		Weston & Sons	N.O.	Freeman Soule	880	270		1841			81
Horizon	25 May 1856	36			Bos.	W(?) Reed	1666	856	8	new			23, 59, 70, 89, 116
Hudson	04 Jun 1864	48	33	Black X	N.Y.	Isaiah Pratt	1801	863	14	1863	205'	42'	87
Hudson	01 Jun 1867		33	Black X	N.Y.		1801	20		1863	205'	42'	
Humboldt	09 Apr 1862			German (?)	N.Y.	H.D. Baysen		323					
Humboldt	02 Jun 1866			German (?)	N.Y.			328					
International	28 Feb 1853	55		White Star	N.O.	David Brown, Jr.	1003	425	8				3, 34, 56, 126
Isaac Allerton	06 Feb 1844				N.O.	Thos. Torry	594	60					
Isaac Jeanes	03 Feb 1855	31		Black Diamond	Phil.	Wm. Chipman	843	16		1854	157'	35'	

*See listing following this chart.

SHIPS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Isaac Newton	15 Oct 1840	48			N.O.	Lyman D. Spaulding	600	est. 50		1836			
Italy	11 Mar 1852	60			N.O.	Reid	749	28					
James NeSmith	07 Jan 1855	46		Train	N.O.	Goodwin	991	440	4				36,64
James Pennell	02 Sep 1849	50			N.O.	James Fullerton	570	236	10	1848			109,117
James Pennell	02 Oct 1850	51			N.O.	James Fullerton	570	254		1848			21
Jersey	05 Feb 1853	45		Washington	N.O.	John Day	849	314					125
Jesse Munn	03 Jan 1854	48			N.O.	Duckett	895	333					52
John Bright	22 Mar 1858	32		Williams & Gufon	N.Y.	Cutting	1445	90		1853	191'7"	40'6"	
John Bright	30 Apr 1866			Williams & Gufon	N.Y.		1445	747		1853	191'7"	40'6"	
John Bright	04 Jun 1868			Williams & Gufon	N.Y.		1445	720		1853	191'7"	40'6"	16
John Cumming	20 Feb 1842				N.O.	George Thayer	721	est. 200					
John J. Boyd	12 Dec 1855	66		Tapscott	N.Y.	Thos. Austin	1311	512					
John J. Boyd	23 Apr 1862				N.Y.	H. Thomas	1311	702					
John J. Boyd	30 Apr 1863				N.Y.		1311	767					127
John M. Wood	12 Mar 1854	51			N.O.	Hartley	1146	397	8	1854	178'8"	37'	1,75,107
Joseph Badger	17 Oct 1850	36		NeSmith & Walsh	N.O.	J. Schofield	891	227					

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Josiah Bradlee	18 Feb 1850	60		Regular	N.O.	Mansfield	648	263	7	new			22
Juventa	31 Mar 1855	35		Black Diamond	Phil.	Watts	1187	573	12				
Kenilworth	25 May 1866			British (?)	N.Y.			684					
Kennebec	10 Jan 1852	62		Kendal & Co. British (?)	N.O.	Smith	926	333		new			37,40
Liverpool	16 Jan 1846	67			N.O.	S. Davenport	623	45		1837	137'8"	31'7"	83
Lord Sandon	Nov 1848			British (?)	N.O.	Walsh	678	11					
Lucy Thompson	05 Jul 1856	34		Sam Thompson	N.Y.	Pendleton	1500	14		1852			120
Manchester	16 Apr 1861	28			N.Y.	Trask	1065	380					46
Manchester	06 May 1862	38			N.Y.		1065	382					7,31
Manhattan	21 Jun 1867		13 1/2	Guion Steamship British	N.Y.		2869	482		1866			
Marshfield	08 Apr 1854	51		Regular	H.O.	Joseph Torrey	999	366	8				30,66A
Medford	25 Sep 1842	49			N.O.	Uriah Wilber	545	214					
Metoka	05 Sep 1843	49		Dunham & Dimon	N.O.	John H. McLaren	775	280					
Minnesota	30 Jun 1868		13 1/2	Guion Steamship British	N.Y.	Price	2869	668		1867			45
Monarch of the Sea	16 May 1861	34		Washington	N.Y.	Pitkin Page (?)	1971	955	12	1854			69
Monarch of the Sea	28 Apr 1864	35			N.Y.		1971	974		1854			67

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Neva	09 Jan 1855	44		White Star	N.O.	Brown	849	13					
Niagra	06 Mar 1852		12	Steamship British	Bos.			est. 20					103
Norfolk	19 Sep 1844				N.O.	Elliott	661	143					
North America	08 Sep 1840	33	36	Black Ball	N.Y.	Alf. B. Lowber	610	201		1831	134'5"	31'5"	15, 121
North Atlantic	04 Sep 1850	58		Train	N.O.	Hen. Cook	799	357					
Old England	05 Mar 1854			Regular	N.O.	Barstow	917	45		1849	166'8"	34'10"	106
Olympus	04 Mar 1851			White Star	N.O.	Horace A. Wilson	744	245					104, 115
Oregon	Sep 1845				N.O.	James Borlan	649	est. 125					
Page	24 Aug 1853				N.O.			17					
Palmyra	17 Jan 1845	42		New Line	N.O.	Barstow	612	est. 200					
Rochester	21 Apr 1841	28	33	New Line	N.Y.	Philip Woodhouse	715	130		1839	144'6"	33'	
Rockaway	06 Mar 1852	46			N.O.		1162	30					
Rockaway	06 Jan 1855	53			N.O.	Mills	1162	24					
Sailor Prince	09 Mar 1848				N.O.	Allen McKechnie	950	est. 80					
Sailor Prince	24 Sep 1848	57			N.O.	Allen McKechnie	950	311					
Saint Mark	06 Jun 1866				N.Y.			105					

*See listing following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
Samuel Curling	22 Apr 1855	30		Train	N.Y.	Sanders Curling	1467	581	7				80,96
Samuel Curling	19 Apr 1856	34		Train	Bos.	Sanders Curling	1467	707					25,26,49, 73,128
Sheffield	07 Feb 1841	51			N.O.	R.K. Porter		235					63
Siddons	27 Feb 1855	53	34	Foster's L'Pool Line	Phil.	J. S. Taylor	895	430	4	1837	157'6"	35'4"	32,41,63
Sidney	17 Sep 1842	56			N.O.	Robert Cowen		180					77,100,123
Swanton	16 Jan 1843	59		British (?)	N.O.	S. Davenport	677	212	2	1839	144'10"	32'	76,88
Swanton	11 Feb 1844			British (?)	N.O.	S. Davenport	677	81		1839	144'10"	32'	
Thornton	04 May 1856	41		Warren & Thayer	N.Y.	Chas. Collins	1422	764	7	1854	190'	40'6"	55,92,97,119
Tremont	12 Jan 1842				N.O.	Gillespie		143					
Tuscarora	30 May 1857	34		Cope	Phil.	Rich M. Dunlevy	1232	547		1848			
Tyrean	21 Sep 1841				N.O.		511(?)	207					29
Underwriter	21 Jan 1858	48	33	Red Star	N.Y.	John P. Roberts	1168	25		1850	183'	37'2"	57,74
Underwriter	30 Mar 1860	32	33	Red Star	N.Y.	John P. Roberts	1168	594	14	1850	183'	37'2"	38,101
Underwriter	23 Apr 1861	29	33	Red Star	N.Y.	John P. Roberts	1168	624	9	1850	183'	37'2"	2,8
Wellfleet	31 May 1856	43		Train	Bos.	Westcott	1353	146		1853			
Westmoreland	25 Apr 1857	36		Black Diamond or Line of L'Pool Packets	Phil.	Robt. R. Decan	999	544	4				18

*See list following this chart.

LDS SAILING VESSELS, 1840-1868

SHIP	SAILING DATE	VOYAGE (IN DAYS)		LINE	PORT OF ENTRY	CAPTAIN	TONS	PASSENGERS	WARDS	YEAR BUILT	SIZE		REFERENCES* FOR VOYAGE
		LDS	AVG								L	W	
William Stetson	26 Apr 1855	31		British	N.Y.	Jordan	1146	293					
William Tapscott	12 Apr 1859	31		Tapscott	N.Y.	James B. Bell	1525	726	10	1852	195'	41'3"	42
William Tapscott	11 May 1860	35		Tapscott	N.Y.	James B. Bell	1525	731		1852	195'	41'3"	48
William Tapscott	14 May 1862	42		Tapscott	N.Y.		1525	807	19	1852	195'	41'3"	
Windemere	22 Feb 1854	61		Regular or Train	N.O.	John W. Fairfield	1107	477					108
Windemere	15 May 1862			Regular	N.Y.		1107	110					
Wyoming	18 Jul 1857			Cope	Phil.	Brooks	897	36		1845			
Yorkshire	08 Mar 1843			British (?)	N.O.	William Bache	808	83					13
Zetland	29 Jan 1849	64			N.O.	Harrison Brown	1283	358		new			
Zetland	10 Nov 1849	44			N.O.	Harrison Brown	1283	est. 250		new			

NOTE: The compilers would welcome any changes or additions to this chart.

*See listing following this chart.

JOURNAL AND OTHER ITEMS AVAILABLE
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1. Andrew, Frederick C.
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- 66A. Nield, John
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86. Smith, Andrew
87. Smith, John Lyman
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89. Southwell, John William
90. Stevenson, Edward
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92. "Thornton"
93. Tyler, Daniel
94. Walters, Archer
95. West, Charles Henry John
96. Willes, William
97. Willie, James G.
98. Wixon, Justin
99. Woodhouse, John
100. Wright, Alexander
101. Wright, George
102. Young, Joseph W.
103. Young, Phineas Howe

REFERENCES IN THE
MILLENNIAL STAR (MS)

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>SHIP</u>	<u>MS REFERENCE</u>
104.	Olympus	15 Aug. 1851, p. 255
105.	Ellen Maria	15 Aug. 1851, p. 255
106. John Angus	Old England	3 June 1854, p. 346
107. Robert Campell	John M. Wood	10 June 1854, p. 366
108. Daniel Carn	Windermere	3 June 1854, p. 345
109. Thomas H. Clarke	James Pennell	11 Dec. 1849, p. 363
110. Moses Clawson	Ellen Maria	16 Apr. 1853, p. 253
111. Richard Cook	Germanicus	15 July 1854, p. 440 22 July 1854, pp. 462-63
112. J. W. Cumming	"Ellen"	10 May 1851, pp. 158-59
113. Dorr P. Curtis	Golconda	22 Apr. 1854, p. 255
114. J. Ferguson	Enoch Train	7 June 1856, pp. 353-55
115. William Howell	Olympus	15 June 1851, pp. 188-91
116. John Jaques	Horizon	28 June 1856, pp. 411-13 30 Aug. 1856, pp. 553-57
117. Thomas McKenzie	Berlin James Pennell	1 Dec. 1849, pp. 363-64
118. Robert Reid	Swanton	May 1843, pp. 14-15
119. Anna F. Tait	Thornton	26 July 1856, pp. 478-79
120. James Thompson	Lucy Thompson	27 Sep. 1856, p. 623
121. Theodore Turley	North America	23 Feb. 1856, p. 121
122. John VanCott	Benjamin Adams	11 Feb. 1854, pp. 94-95
123. George D. Watt	Ellen Maria Ellen Maria Sidney	1 July 1851, p. 200 15 Aug. 1851, p. 255 6 Mar. 1858, p. 152
124. John Williams	Columbia	14 Feb. 1857, p. 106

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<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>SHIP</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
125. George Halliday	Jersey	Diary of George Halliday, 1823-1900, pp. 123-24; Genealogical Society Library, call no. 921.73 H155h
126. William G. Hartley	International	<u>New Era</u> , Sept. 1973, pp. 6-9
127. Ole A. Jensen	John J. Boyd	Kate B. Carter, comp., <u>Our Pioneer Heritage</u> , 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 7:33-36
128. John Kettle	Samuel Curling	"List of Members . . . and Letters and Notes on the Warner and Kettle Families of Spanish Fork, Utah," mimeographed (Salt Lake City, 1957); Genealogical Society Library, call no. Q942 A1 #55.
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