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JOURNAL OF
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SPRING 2003

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Correction: The publisher of Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Hallet Stone's *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah*, reviewed 28, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 214-17, was misidentified. This book was published by Utah State University. The *Journal* regrets this error.

COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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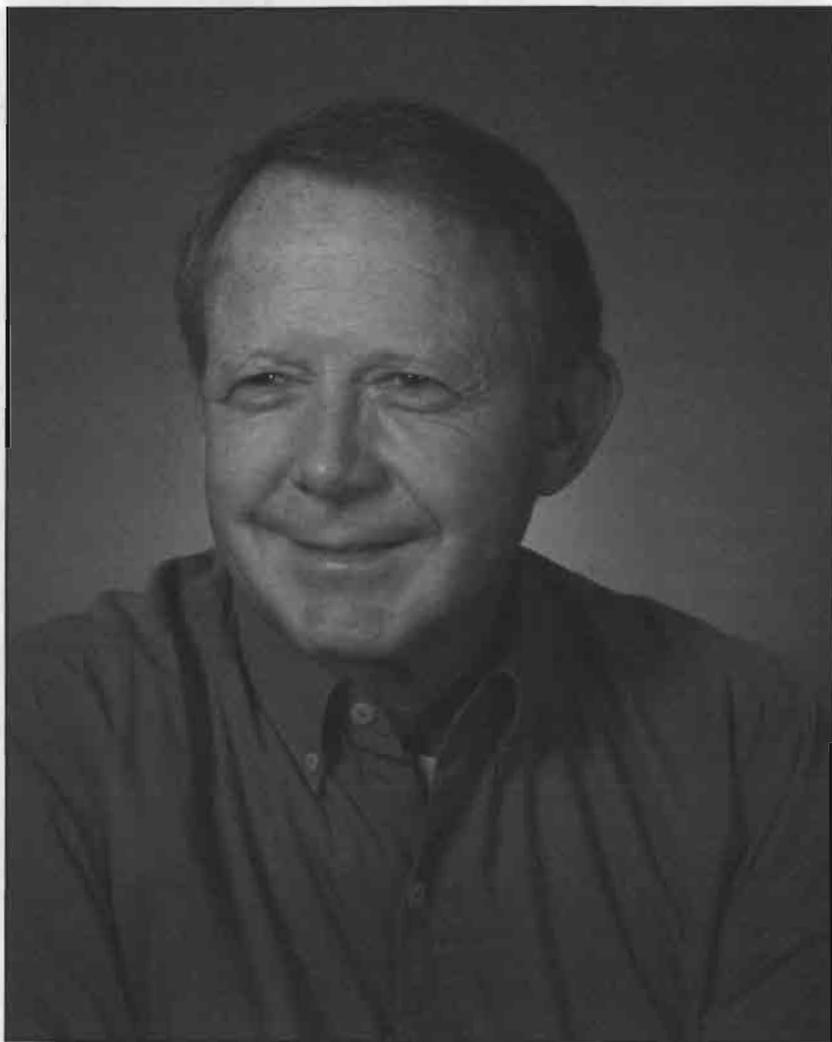
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Dean L. May

rites of passage: the gathering as cultural credo

Dean L. May

IN FEBRUARY 2002, Utah hosted the Winter Olympic Games, a gathering of people from all nations. It was a festive event; and by almost all accounts (one Denver sports writer excepted), a smashing success. Beyond that, it was a historic occasion, thrusting Utah

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Acknowledgments: "I would like to thank Cheryll May for her perceptive and helpful reading of this paper and Michael Cotter for his suggestions and generous assistance in checking the references. A study such as this would be impossible without the knowledgeable and vital assistance of the staff of the Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives)."

into a protracted period of introspection and, at the same time, subjecting Utahns to the intense scrutiny of reporters, athletes, and sports professionals and enthusiasts from many parts of the world.

For months those of us who work in Utah history were asked to offer the media our assessment of Utah's cultural readiness to host such an event and how the state might be changed in the process. While some reporters were looking for pithy sound bites, many were deeply interested in Utah and the Mormons, spending several hours in conversation as we discussed the state's past and present as they might relate to the Olympics.

The most common questions of the reporters arose from the notion that Utah is a remote, provincial, cloistered part of the world. Was it ready for, wouldn't it feel threatened by, would it ever be the same after, this invasion of foreigners? It was a remarkable thing. I don't recall the media dwelling on such questions at Calgary, Nagano, or Lillehammer, perhaps more remote and provincial—but, we must concede, not equally cloistered.

And of course the cloister, its association with secluded religious devotion, is the crucial difference. Salt Lake City is unique among American cities in being the center of a world religion. Temple Square and the surrounding buildings are the closest thing in all the Americas to a St. Peter's Square and Vatican City and, as such, occasion curiosity, scrutiny, and sometimes distrust and animosity all over the world. However galling the fact may have been to some, these *were* the Mormon Olympics, and the Church did not have to lift a finger to make it so. The media moguls were happy to take on that task.

The Salt Lake Olympic Committee (SLOC) may have planted questions in the minds of reporters by its somewhat defensive slogan "The World Is Welcome Here." When reporters asked me skeptically if that were really true, I assured them that it was and, more than that, that the world *is* in Utah and has long been so. I told them that Utah has been populated by American Indian peoples for millennia; that it enjoyed a considerable influx of Chinese, Japanese, and the so-called New Immigrants—Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and others—during the end of the last century and the beginning of this. And I reminded them that, from 1837 on, Mormon missionaries have gone to all the parts of the world, bringing back to Nauvoo, and later to farms in Payson, Moroni, and Millville, a cultural reach

that most farmers and ranchers of western Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, or Montana could not imagine. A member of our Salt Lake City ward, recently returned from a Russian mission, was one of fifteen volunteers assigned to help the Russian-speaking Kazakh delegation to the Olympics. They told her that their country's delegation had no Russian speakers among the volunteers assigned to them in Atlanta and only one in Sydney. In Salt Lake thirteen of the fifteen were Russian speakers.

The foreign missions broadened the world of the local people. But, perhaps more importantly, they brought many converts from abroad. This has been an ongoing process, but was especially intense in the nineteenth century. In 1837, Joseph Smith, then in Kirtland, was overwhelmed by financial woes and the apostasy and betrayal of some of his closest associates. "In this state of things," he wrote, "God revealed to me that something new must be done for the salvation of His Church. That "something new" was the opening in England of the first foreign mission.¹ The mission, followed by that of the Twelve in 1839, was a stunning success, spreading within a decade to Scandinavia, and the continent. Ultimately some 85,000 British, Scandinavian, and European converts immigrated to Nauvoo and Utah between 1840 and 1890. That number is impressive in itself, but one has to look a little closer to understand its full import. The 1880 U.S. census, reporting numbers of foreign-born by age, tells the story. In the fortieth year since overseas converts began to come to the United States, 65 percent of all Utah people age twenty-five and older were foreign born. Of Utahns forty-five and older, 74 percent were foreign born; and of those sixty-five and up, an astonishing 97 percent were foreign born.² Clearly, the British converts attached themselves in great numbers to Brigham Young

¹Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932), 2:489.

²Data calculated from tables in the *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, June 1, 1880, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), esp. Table 42, pp. 607-48.

³The Utah sex ratio by age group and nativity is also dramatically at odds with that of their neighbors. In all the surrounding states, older men were much more likely to be foreign born. In Utah older women were more likely to be foreign born.

and the Twelve during the succession crisis; and they, together with Scandinavian and European converts, became vital to the very survival of the Utah church.

Of course, the predominance of the foreign-born among the adult Utah population was a consequence of the gathering, a doctrine and a process leading tens of thousands of men and women to sever ties and connections with their homeland and head out for a new life in the new world. Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn has described many dimensions of the broader migration of which the gathering was a part. He emphasized that immigration to the New World was an eddy in a vast migration taking place in Europe in the nineteenth century, more commonly from rural to urban, from traditional farms and country villages to places like Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Oslo, London, or Hamburg. Almost universally the aims of migration were to rise in economic well-being and/or civil status, and the question most commonly was not whether, but where to migrate.⁴

Converts to Mormonism no doubt shared the more general motivations of the 15 million immigrants who came to America between 1840 and 1890. But there were also profound differences. Since the Reformation, religious awakenings had been recurrent in Europe and America, the new religious commitments and attachments changing peoples' lives in profound ways. But those who responded to the Mormon message did so with more than a burning desire to get right with God. As William Mulder so eloquently put it, "After baptism by immersion, . . . and the laying on of hands at confirmation, came the baptism of desire, a strange and irresistible longing which ravished them and filled them with a nostalgia for Zion, their common home."⁵ The commandment that missionaries "bring to pass the gathering of mine elect . . . unto one place on the face of this land" had come early, in the fall of 1830 (D&C 29:7-8). Although Moses did not bestow the keys to the gathering until the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in 1836, the doctrine was there from the beginning; and the process began that first year, as the New

⁴Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

⁵William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957; reprint, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 19.

York Saints and the Prophet himself gathered to Ohio and very shortly thereafter fostered a gathering to Jackson County, Missouri. Already in 1839, when John Corrill wrote the first general history of the Saints, he devoted a chapter to "The Gathering" as one of the unique and important teachings of Mormonism.⁶

Many have studied perceptively the philosophy, logic, demography and mechanics of the gathering.⁷ I here have tried to understand the meaning of one segment of that process—the crossing of oceans. I am interested in what that process meant to the participants themselves, the thoughts and reflections of those colliers, farmers, domestics, coopers, and tailors, as they undertook what for each of them was an epic, truly life-altering journey. One of them, in his teens at the time, captured the experience with eloquent understatement. His father had settled the family of nine in the parish of Chieveley, west of Reading, England, when "a man called Allen came along with what is called Mormonism. After hearing it a few times he gladly accepted it. This changed the aspect of our after lives."⁸ Perhaps this spare utterance was an admission that no words

⁶John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints (Commonly called Mormons)*; . . . (St. Louis, Mo.: Corrill, 1839), 15.

⁷See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983); Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (1964; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992); Gustive O. Larson, "History of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1926); Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*; P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (1965; reprint, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849-1900" (M.A., University of Utah, 1961); Hamlin M. Cannon, "The 'Gathering' of British Mormons to Western America: A Study in Religious Migration" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1950); Dean L. May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁸James May, *Memoir*, 9, holograph, LDS Church Archives, photocopy in my possession. Unless otherwise noted, all other manuscripts

were sufficient to help others understand the full impact of the gathering on his life.

His family, like thousands of others, went through the stages of anticipation and longing, preparation for the journey, departure, shipboard life, and landing. Each stage taxed to the limit spiritual and emotional, as well as physical resources. While the waters made their vessels roll and pitch, the very cultural foundations of the emigrants were also being shaken. And yet most, once again on land, did not reflect upon or understand how much their ocean crossing had transformed them.⁹

ANTICIPATION AND LONGING

The gathering clearly began for most with their being touched after conversion by, in Mulder's phrase, that "strange and irresistible longing"—the spirit of gathering. George Dunford, a merchant of footwear who was serving as branch president in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, England, explained his 1849 decision to gather in doctrinal language:

cited in this study are also in the LDS Church Archives.

⁹I have tried to grasp what the many thousands of the gathered, like this young man, were feeling, by reading all the diaries, memoirs, letters, and other documents relating to Mormon emigration I could find at five-year intervals between 1840, the first year of the overseas gathering, until 1870, by which time steamships and railroad travel had dramatically altered the migration experience. More than a thousand such personal accounts of Latter-day Saints who emigrated to Nauvoo or to Utah are on LDS Family and Church History Department, *Mormon Immigration Index*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: LDS Family and Church History Department, 2002). This compact disk is an enormously useful resource for historians and family researchers, including as it does a good many memoirs, diaries, and letters, including those of emigrants and returning missionaries. Their arrangement on the disk makes it possible to search the accounts by name of passenger, by ship, and by year of travel. All sources were microfilms of holograph journals, unless otherwise noted, cited by date if the author made daily entries or by page number if the author did not or if the memoir was composed over an extended period of time. Michael Cotter and I have checked each cited document for accuracy, returning spelling and punctuation to those of the manuscript except for the addition of initial capitals at the beginnings of sentences.

One of the Fundamental principles of the gospel . . . is that in the Latter days . . . [God] would gather all things in Christ Jesus, whither they be things in Heaven or things in Earth. . . . The churches in . . . England could not afford to pass it by so the Saints in Great Britain. . . began to gather to the Great Salt Lake. . . . I could [not], nether did desire to resist this command, so I began to make my arrangements to emigrate and in the course of time I had completed my arrangements, and after duly warning the people, the time arrived.¹⁰

A more common expression was that of George Whitaker, a twenty-four-year-old Worstershire brickmaker, who remembered that in 1845 “the voice of the Spirit had said to me, ‘Go to America,’ and I felt that now was the time. (If I had stayed another year, I might have spent what little money I had, and would not have been able to go).”¹¹ Jane Charters Robinson Hindley wanted no confusion about whether her gathering was the result of spiritual or material longings:

In the year 1855 . . . , I together with a younger sister left home . . . for the purpose of going to America, very much against my father’s wishes, but I believed in the principle of the gathering and felt it my duty to go although it was a Sever 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 Isrel’s God burning in my bosom I forsook my home but not to gather wealth or the perishible things of this world and on the 23 of February, 1855 embarked on board the ship *Siddons* bound for Philadelphia.¹²

Like Jane, many woman, especially the unmarried, were strongly pressured not to gather. Sarah B. Layton remembered that, as she left for Liverpool in 1850:

My relatives and friends were there in full to persuade me to stay, and not go to Utah, where they said I had neither friends nor money. I told them that the gospel taught me that unless I was willing to forsake all for the Gospel’s sake, I was unworthy to be called one of the chosen. I shall never forget my feelings on that occasion, for though my heart

¹⁰George Dunford, *Reminiscences and Journal*, 26.

¹¹George Whitaker, *Autobiography*, 5.

¹²Jane Charters Robinson Hindley, *Journals*, vol. 1, 2-3.

felt as though it would break, I felt that my way had been opened in answer to my prayer. . . . I would not let them see that it worried me in the least.¹³

Elizabeth Sims buried a child on the beach while waiting to depart from Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in 1865. Her former minister urged her to not to go. Apparently conflating in his mind the Utah War and the Civil War, he assured her that “the United States is sending an Army to Utah for the purpose of exterminating all Mormons. They will kill and hang them all.” Undaunted, the plucky Elizabeth replied, “Alright I will go and be hanged with the rest of them.”¹⁴

Such expressions could be multiplied by almost the whole number of those who wrote of their experience. I, among others, have suggested that the spirit of the gathering had as its economic and social foundation a longing to escape the Babylon of dislocation, dependence, and chaos brought by industrialization. But I have found only one possible instance where the gathered expressed themselves in such terms. You can almost hear the zealous populism of David Moffat, a Scot, embarking in 1855 on the *Samuel Curling*. He rejoiced as “we bade farewell to Britain’s shore, the land of Kings and Queens, Dukes & Lords, Rich Bishops, Priests, and Medical Doctors, Lawyers and Coal Kings.”¹⁵

THE PREPARATION

And so, “ravished” by the Spirit of the gathering, the Saints feverishly prepared for their fateful journey. Henry Stocks, an iron moulder from Lancaster, was thirty-three when his opportunity came. He preserved in his diary the text of the letter he received in 1855 from Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission:

Dear Brother

I have great pleasure in informing you that I shall endeavour [sic] to send you out this season by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, & you may prepare for emigration please send your names for that purpose;

¹³“Autobiography of Sarah B. Layton,” *Woman’s Exponent* 29, nos. 18-19 (15 February 1901 and 1 March 1901): 86-87.

¹⁴Elizabeth McDermott Sims, *Autobiography*, 9.

¹⁵David Kay Moffat, *Writings*, 1850-61, 68.

may the Lord bless you in this opportunity of Gathering to Zion, your
Bro, in Christ,

F. D. Richards
per J. [John] Linforth

Beneath the letter Stocks wrote:

This makes me rejoice & be glad likewise my wife & dear children
& begins to prepare my boxes & other things as far as I can but is
desperate short of means.

On the 14th Feb I had another Notice to get ready Immediately &
be down in Liverpool on the 16th or 17th I had a hundred things to
think about & also to do. I along with my dear Wife & children went
to work unitedly with heart & hand. assisted by Brethren & Sisters in
the Church Brothers & Sisters in the flesh & Friends the Lord moves
upon the hearts of all & though things appears to be impossible to
accomplish the Lord is gracious & opens up the way before us as we
persevere.¹⁶

Stocks borrowed £2 from each of two brothers, received moral
and financial support from other family members, and on 27 March
boarded the *Siddons*, with his wife, Mary, and their four sons, ranging
from ten-year-old Angus, through Moroni and Simeon, to four-year-
old Henry. They joined 424 other Latter-day Saints for the voyage.
Among their shipmates were newlyweds William and Rachel Atkin.
Atkin put his conflicting emotions into verse which he read at the
branch's farewell party for them:

Oh England is my native land
Where I was bred and born,
And friends they now begin to weep
To think that we are going.

Here's a memory of all kind friends
Whom we shall leave behind,
And when far in the West
We'll bear them in our mind.

...

There is a place far in the west
Where we hope soon to be,

¹⁶Henry Stocks, Diary, 146-47.

And there's a people in the place
With whom we wish to be.

...

And now we are quite ready
To leave this land of woe,
For the vessel is preparing
In which we're bound to go.

Now to all that would be happy
We say true Mormons be,
And for yourselves you'll surely gain
A heavenly jubilee.

He also described the beginning of their journey:

We bid our fathers, mothers, relations and friends farewell and started out for Liverpool about the 15th February, 1855. Calling on, and spending one night each with my wife's sister and aunt, and arrived in Liverpool about the 20th and arriving there later in the evening, we went direct to the emigrant's home, where we found a large number of Saints who were to sail with us, had already arrived. The ship on which we were to sail was not yet loaded and those who had money stayed on land and those who had none had to go on the ship and live until it was loaded and ready to sail, and we were among the latter.¹⁷

Stanley Taylor, who sailed in 1860, wrote with obvious satisfaction of his provident preparations:

After leaving my father's house, my greatest ambition was to go to Zion, and a Brother by the name of Andrew Garner, who was an underlooker at Samuel Stocks Colliery gave me a situation which brought me in two shillings and sixpence a day . . . and with economy, in five years I was able to dress well, pay all my expenses and save money to emigrate myself independently all the way to Salt Lake City.¹⁸

The wait in Liverpool was commonly a fascinating and, for the

¹⁷William Atkin, *Autobiography*, 10-12.

¹⁸Stanley Taylor, *Autobiography*, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 17:181-82.

many rural people, a novel, urban experience. Sarah B. Layton wrote eloquently of her preparations to sail on the *James Pennell* in October of 1850: "As the train passed through the tunnel going into Liverpool, the sight that met my eyes was wonderful to me, as I had never seen a ship nor the sea; but there I saw the ships for miles along the harbor, and the broad ocean spreading out before me; what a wonder!"¹⁹

Andrew Gowan, filling in the time until his sailing date on the *Samuel Curling* in 1855, visited the Botanic Gardens. It was, he said,

a treat to behold to see everything . . . arranged in order. . . . 5 large houses full of all kind of plants and a fine library all free to the public every day for their pleasure with seats and to sit down in to rest yourself.

I have visited Birkenhead across the river and seen many strange things. Fine buildings and a splendid park . . . with everything nice and orderly and as for the shipping in Liverpool, it is like a dense forest for miles and the steamers running up and down the river and every moment which is pretty to behold.²⁰

On the evening of 18 April 1855, Matthew and Jane Rowan, also waiting to board the *Samuel Gowan*, "went to the Adelphis Theater and saw three good plays," surely enough, even of British theater, for one sitting.²¹

Clearly, the preparation for the journey could be trying, especially the farewells, raising the necessary funds, and traveling to Liverpool. Yet few expressed regrets, and most were giddy with anticipation. The impression created is of people converging excitedly on the port city from all directions, and once there, expressing one last time, individual preferences in pursuits and pleasures, whether in seeing family, visiting parks and public places, or attending the theater.

The departure abruptly ended such activities, constricting individual spheres, crowding hundreds into confined space. Yet in the accounts of most, the actual separation brought not only the sorrow of leaving friends, family, and the familiar but also an intensification

¹⁹"Autobiography of Sarah B. Layton," 87.

²⁰Andrew Gowan, Letter, 9 April 1855, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Collection, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City.

²¹Matthew Rowan, Journals, 18 April 1855.

of spiritual fervor, good cheer, and anticipation. Most, from scattered branches, had never before been in the company of so many Latter-day Saints. And it is during the departure that the ritual—the rites of passage—began clearly to manifest themselves. Andrew Gowan, who praised the orderliness of the botanical gardens and park, almost certainly approved the same quality aboard ship. Order became indeed the order of the day, as captains, crew, and Church leaders devised rules and procedures necessary to a safe, pleasant, and healthful voyage.

THE DEPARTURE

During the departure, there were perfunctory visits by health inspectors, the stowing of luggage, and the jockeying for berths. When George Whitaker boarded the *Palmyra* in 1845, he admitted, “I did not know anything about taking a berth. They seemed to be all taken up, so I sat upon a box all night. The next day things were regulated. I shared a berth with another young man. I got along very well for sleeping after that.”²²

Matthew Rowan, sailing ten years later, was pleased that “I got a berth about Midship, very good for air and light but much confused and thronged on account of the Staircase being so near it. Between Sister Smith and ourselves we had 9 Cwt, 11 pounds of luggage. I made her a present of the 6/4 [and] 1/2 I paid for her railway fare from Sheffield to L_pool.”²³

The whole departure process was characterized always and uniquely on the Mormon ships by two processes; one organizational and hierarchical; the other communal. Hugh Moon, a cooper from Lancashire, described preparations aboard the *Brittania*, the very first ship to bring converts across the Atlantic, sailing from Liverpool on 6 June 1840 with forty-one Saints. Returning to the ship after going out for supplies, his party “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. They showed us a way and gave us directions about the route we should take to Commerce [Nauvoo].”²⁴ The apostles were present

²²Whitaker, *Autobiography*, 6.

²³Rowan, *Journals*, 19 April 1855. The couple had a hefty 911 pounds of luggage costing six shillings and four and one-half pence.

²⁴Hugh Moon, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 2-3.

again on 8 September when 207 Saints sailed aboard the *North America*. The practice of apostolic blessings continued. Gibson Condie wrote of the departure of the *Zetland* in February 1849.

Bro. Orson Pratt and [a] few other Elders came on Board the vessel, and organized us and appointed, Bro Orson Spencer as our President with his two counsellors, Bro. James Ure and Bro. Mitchell. Bro. Pratt then stated to the saints, "if you would follow the direction and advice of those brethren we have appointed all will be well with you" he also Blessed the Saints and he gave them some good counsel and advice how to be clean and not forget their Prayers and live as Saints and respect the ship officers all would be well with them he promised them the ship would arrive in New Orleans with the saints all safe. it was a time of rejoicing to the saints to have an Apostle Bro Pratt giving us such good Counsel and advice filled with the Spirit of the Lord, Promising us in the name of the Lord that all would be well with us and arived in Safety.²⁵

Obviously the apostles did more than exhort and bless. They organized. Thomas Day was appointed president of the *Josiah Bradley* over 262 other Saints sailing in 1850. He chose a counselor to minister to the Welsh aboard the ship and another for the Scots. He then arranged that

a Church meeting be held every Sabath Day when circimstances would permit Also preaching on Wenesday Evening for the English & Scotch and Thursday Evenings for the Welsh & I then Proposed that the Company be devided into Seven Wards Placing A Pressedent over Each Ward to observe Cleanlyness and good order That Each ward unite in prayer at 8 O Clock in the morning & at 8 O. Clock In the Evening. . . . Also that the Commite of Six be appointed to serve out provisions once A week. Also notice given the Company to rise at Six In the morning.²⁶

In 1855 Osmyn Deuel had just boarded the *Siddons* when "Brother Franklin [D. Richards] came on Board and Called the Saints together and gave them some general instructions, and Dedicated them to the Lord and Blessed them, and Blessed and set apart Elder J. [John] S. Fulmer [Fullmer] to Preside over the Ship, and the Saints all rejoiced to see him, and he took me by the hand and

²⁵Gibson Condie, *Reminiscences and Diary*, 1849, 23.

²⁶Thomas Day, *Journal*, 62-63.

Blessed me and stepped off the ship which caused my heart to rejoice." (Presumably it was the blessing and not Richards's stepping off the ship that caused the rejoicing).²⁷

Richard Ballantyne was chosen to preside over the *Charles Buck*, which sailed in January 1855:

I afterwards blessed my Counsellors and set them apart to their office then called upon as many as are willing to serve the Lord and work righteousness on this voyage to raise their hands to heaven in token of it. They all with one accord raised their hands to heaven. I then gave such instruction as their circumstances and the preservation of their health required, and, as was necessary to the preservation of their virtue and chastity.

I also observed that if any one felt disposed to grumble while on this voyage we would like him to volunteer his services, and we would set him apart to that work. No one would volunteer, and my counsellor, Mark Fletcher, nominated me to that office. I said I would accept of it if they would with one heart sustain me, and I would endeavor to magnify my office and grumble only as a man of God should. They voted unanimously to sustain me in this.²⁸

Similar organization took place on every ship, establishing hierarchy and prescribing rules of behavior. And the brethren were careful to see that proper priesthood authority was understood and recognized. Edward Stevenson, president of the 432 Saints sailing on the *Chimborazo*, found that James Elliott and Richard E. Davies, who had been appointed to preside over two of the seven wards, were only priests. At a shipboard priesthood meeting, "it was Deemed wisdom by the Council to release them from the Presidency of Wards, as there were Elders there who should preside, and a vote of thanks was passed to these brethren for their punctuality in carrying out orders and doing their best."²⁹

A common communal act was the spontaneous singing of hymns. Harrison Burgess wrote as the *Argo* prepared to sail in 1850, "We lifted up our voices, in praises to God, and singing some of the most appropriate songs of Zion, and every heart rejoiced and every eye seemed glad, at the idea of leaving the Babylonish World, to

²⁷Osmyn Merrit Deuel, *Diary*, 26.

²⁸Richard Ballantyne, *Diaries and Reminiscences*, 17 January 1855.

²⁹*Chimborazo Conference History*, 6.

prepare for the land of the Lord in the West of America."³⁰ William Atkin wrote that:

As the steamer came in to tow us out to sea many of us went on deck and joined in singing the hymn on page 241 of the Latter-day Saints hymn book:

Yes my native land I love thee,
 All thy scenes I love them well,
 Friends, connections, Happy country,
 Can I bid you all farewell?
 Can I leave thee,
 Far in distant lands to dwell.³¹

The hymn expresses well the ambivalence emigrants understandably felt, with three verses lamenting the loss of the native land, followed by three that strongly affirm the decision to leave:

Yes! I hasten from you gladly,
 From the scenes I love so well!
 Far away, ye billows, bear Me:
 Lovely native land farewell!
 Pleas'd I leave thee—
 Far in distant lands to dwell.

In the deserts let me labor,
 On the Mountains let me tell,
 How he died—the blessed Savior—
 To redeem a world from hell!
 Let me haste—
 Far in distant lands to dwell.

Bear me on, thou restless ocean;
 Let the winds my canvass swell—
 Heaves my heart with warm emotion,
 While I go far hence to dwell,

Glad I bid thee,—Native, land,—
 Farewell—Farewell.

Atkin continued his narrative:

³⁰Harrison Burgess, *Autobiography*, 28.

³¹Atkin, *Autobiography*, 12.

Then as we were being towed along by the steamer, many of us looking back on the land of our birth for the last time, we sang the hymn on page 239 in the same book:

The gallant ship is underway
 To bear us off to sea,
 And yonder floats the steamer gay
 That says she waits for me &c.

The “&c.” verses of this hymn again strongly affirm the decision to emigrate, underscoring that the emigrant is leaving not for peace of mind, for glory, or for treasure, but rather:

I go devoted to his cause,
 And to his will resign'd;
 His presence will supply the loss
 Of all I leave behind.³²

Louis A. Bertrand described the organization of wards on the *Chimborazo* and then explained how

when thus divided and installed on a lower deck, our six hundred mormon emigrants sang together our beautiful songs of Zion in three different tongues: French, English and Welch. Each Sunday presented a different spectacle, no less curious, on the upper deck. The main capstan was transformed into a sacred pulpit from which our choicest orators preached under open skies to all passengers and crewmen.³³

As the ships pulled away from shore, regrets and daily cares were momentarily forgotten. It was a time of rejoicing and high excitement. “The company cheerful,” wrote William Clayton, as the *North America* was “tugged into the sea,” in 1840.³⁴ Thomas Atkin described the departure of the *Zetland*: “At 2:30 p.m. we left the shores of our native land, the large company of Saints on board,

³²A *Collection of Sacred Hymns*. . . (Manchester, Eng.: W. R. Thomas, 1840), hymn 239. This hymnal, assembled by Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor went, with revisions and enlargements, into twenty-five editions through 1912.

³³Louis A. Bertrand, *Memoires d'un Mormon* (Paris: n.pub., n.d.), 13-17.

³⁴William Clayton, Diaries, typescript prepared by Clayton Family Association, n.d., 73.

presided over by Brother Orson Spencer, were joyfully singing the songs of Zion.”³⁵ Matthew Rowan wrote of the sailing of the *Samuel Curling*, “Friday 20th of April 1855. We left the dock about 12 noon and went up the river Mersey. . . . I did not see a tear shed by any one on board, all seemed very cheerful.”³⁶ The clerk of the *Chimborazo* company left a detailed account of their departure:

At 5 minutes to 12 o'clock the Steam Tug took us into tow and we pass gallantly through the gates into the river, amidst the shouts and hearty hurrahs and cheers of the Saints on board and the friends on shore. . . . The Saints felt to enjoy themselves much, and sang many hymns suitable to the occasion. The wind was light but favourable . . . and the sea was tranquil and the Welsh mountains in the distance gave a feeling of rapture never before felt and enjoyed by many of the Saints.³⁷

“Great was the joy of the Saints on leaving moorings,” wrote Edward Stevenson, also on the same ship, “in the midst of the shouts of hundreds, not unnoticed by angels, and those Prophets who predicted and foresaw the sons of Jacob gathering home from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, to the inheritance promised him and his seed after him.”³⁸

SHIPBOARD LIFE

The mood changed abruptly when the ship hit the open water. The apostles, who had themselves crossed the Atlantic, were under no illusion about the trials that lay ahead. They knew that an ocean crossing, unprecedented in the lives of most of the gathered, would require levels of organization, cooperation, and endurance beyond any the company had known. The waving and cheering Saints were about to undergo a crash course in what John Fullmer liked to call “practical Mormonism.”

President F. D. Richards in an impressive and affectionate manner instructed the Elders on the duties of all emigrating; especially of the ex-Presidents about to embark. He said “I hold you brethren respon-

³⁵Atkin, *Autobiography*, 5.

³⁶Rowan, *Journals*, 20 April 1855.

³⁷*Chimborazo Conference History*, 5-6.

³⁸Edward Stevenson, Letter, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 25 (23 June 1855):

sible for the state, condition and feelings of all the Saints, temporally and spiritually, under your watch care. You have more responsibility than you ever had before from the fact of the Saints being gathered from the various parts and coming from the privileges of a land home, and being associated so closely within the confines of a ship.³⁹

Seasickness, the bane of ocean travelers, brought immediate abject misery. No one could prepare them for this. Hugh Moon, on the initial 1840 *Brittania* sailing kept a diary that was terse and to the point:

June 6th - About 4 o'clock we were let loose in the river and set sail.

June 7th - Sunday - Most of us were sick.

June 8th - We had a strong and boisterous wind.

June 9th - Some of us began to get a little better.⁴⁰

G. H. Knowlden was on the steamer *Manhattan*, sailing out of Liverpool with 269 Saints in July 1870, including several returning missionaries:

Scarcely had we left Queenstown before the wind arose, the sea rolled, and everybody got the whirligigs, and over the side of the ship went breakfast, dinner and pretty nearly themselves, for they felt, after they had got through, that there was very little left except the hide. The brethren in the cabin were no better, for they could not contain the many good things they had taken in, and they had to share with the fishes; only three out of the seventeen returning missionaries could face the music at the table at dinner that day, namely, brother Thomas Rodgers, father Tuddenham and myself—all the others were in their berths. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was very weak.⁴¹

Gibson Condie reported the same, with less humor, of the 358 *Zelland* passengers. Their tug pulled them out into the channel:

Our ship was than [sic] left to herself. Than the Ship began to toss to and fro the buckets or cans would tip over. . . . The people than began to be sick, dissanes [dizziness], began to vomit. They could not sit up nor eat anything, they call it seasickness. Every one [who] goes to sea

³⁹*Chimborazo Conference History*, 2.

⁴⁰Moon, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 2-3.

⁴¹G. H. Knowlden, Letter, *Millennial Star* 32, no. 33 (16 August 1870): 524-25.

they generally have that attack, lasts three days and sometimes longer. A person do not fell like eating. they feel as though they could not live, I was about a week myself before I was able to be round again.⁴²

Heinrich Reiser was among the Swiss on the *William Tapscott*, gathering in the fateful year of 1860 in which Abraham Lincoln was elected. He explained what a burden seasickness was for the lucky few, in an age when passengers did their own cooking and managed their own affairs:

Before long the sick passengers, including my own folks, began to recover. This made me glad because during their illness I had to be everything: housemaid, servant, cook etc., I being the only one of my family who was able to walk around. Father [John] Keller and myself, Brother Alder and his family, Father Staufer [Stauffer] and Brother [Johan] Buehler [Buhler] were abt. the only ones of the whole swiss colony who were more or less spared from seasickness.⁴³

Even without seasickness there was plenty of opportunity for friction and bickering. Several hundred people were crowded into one large space under the decks, over a shifting floor, with stifling air, elbow-to-elbow neighbors, limited space for cooking and sanitation, and vermin of many types in bed and board. There was no privacy. Nerves were on edge, and feelings easily aroused. William Clayton, on the 1840 sailing of the *North America* confided to his diary: "Sister Naylor and I have had a few words concerning our boxes. They have trespassed on our privileges a little. They are but one family and have two boxes out. We are two families and have but one. I desired them to move one box out of our way but they would not. She railed a little at me and used some hard words."⁴⁴

Shipboard gossip could also cause hard feelings. Somehow those on the *North America* got the idea their ship president was profiting from the passage they had paid: "At night Elder [Theodore] Turley spoke concerning some of the company having said he had a shilling a head for all the saints and other such things. He showed his bills and accounts to satisfy them and rebuked them for their hardness of heart and unbelief."⁴⁵

⁴²Condie, *Reminiscences and Diary*, 23-24.

⁴³Heinrich Reiser, *Autobiography*, 5.

⁴⁴Clayton, *Diaries*, 77.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 78.

In bad weather captains confined the passengers below decks and doused the lamps. Buffeted by what the panicky landspeople called “mountain waves,” they endured agonizing hours when every moment was sheer, white-knuckled terror. Perhaps Ann Pitchforth, on the *Palmyra* in 1845, said it best:

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, every 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 of tea and a little gruel.⁴⁶

On 18 May 1865, Per Olaf Holmgren was mesmerized by the gigantic storm that tossed their ship, the *B. S. Kimball*, sailing out of Hamburg.

It was remarkable to see how the great ship was thrown about by the waves, sometimes high in the air and then diving to all appearances down in the depths. The waves were large as mountains and it was a solemn sight to see how the ocean was disturbed. There was literally music in the masts and rigging as a result of the strong wind. They cracked and screamed the whole time, a steady roar and creaking all over. I had wished many times to see this sight, now I was permitted to see it. I thought the vessel would capsize; while it lay nearly on its side the water came up on the deck and at times no one could stand on the deck without holding to the hand holds at the rails, and no one could sleep. Below in the ship the bottles and pots and pans fell over each other, the beds broke to pieces so the people could not lie

⁴⁶Ann Pitchforth, “To the Saints in the Isle of Man,” *Millennial Star* 8, no. 1 (15 July 1846): 12-13.

in them. Johanna was anxious; I would not lie down, but wished to see this and the other world's—namely the sea's—performance. I finally went at her wish and lay down, but could not sleep.⁴⁷

Sanitation was always a problem, with so many confined in so small a space. After a routine cleaning in 1840 on the *North America*, William Clayton reported, “Gas was burned to sweeten the ship air and prevent disease. . . . At night Elder [Theodore] Turley spoke considerable on cleanliness and afterwards went around the berths to see if all the company undressed. Some was found with their clothes on and some had never pulled their clothes off since they came on deck. . . . Elder Turley undressed and washed them and ordered the place cleaned out.”⁴⁸

Though leaders on the *Charles Buck* had assigned one of the two water closets for the 403 passengers to sisters only, problems remained. On 27 January 1855, Richard Ballantyne complained: “Some of the sisters have such filthy habits that they all get up on the seat with their feet, instead of sitting on it, and so besmears it that the next sister who comes finds it so filthy that she cannot use it. . . . We have been obliged to appoint a guard to watch over their water closet, and see that they are kept clean.”⁴⁹

Of course, in such circumstances vermin were abundant and vexing. Minor Atwood found on the *Mexicana*: “Bugs are still very bad so that the brethren can't sleep in their berths.”⁵⁰ John McNeil of Scotland, sailing on the *Manhattan* in 1870, observed petulantly that “the Swis are very dirty & lousy,”⁵¹ which if true, was certainly a marked departure from the usual reputation of the Swiss. Richard Margetts on the *Argo* in 1850 recorded: “This night caught a rat up a Sis's Petticoats,” no doubt a trauma for the rat, as well as the sister.⁵²

⁴⁷Per Olaf Holmgren, *Diary*, 4.

⁴⁸Clayton, *Diaries*, 76.

⁴⁹Ballantyne, *Diaries and Reminiscences*, 228.

⁵⁰Minor Grant Atwood, *South African Mission, Manuscript History*, 22 May 1865.

⁵¹John McNeil, Letter to David and Ann MacNeil, 26 July 1870, in *A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland*, edited by Frederick S. Buchanan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 99.

⁵²Richard B. Margetts, *Diary*, 25 February 1850.

Diets were spare and basic. Richard Margetts recorded with some surprise:

All my time took up in cooking, Waiting on the sick & taking an account of the provisions given out something being given out every day which causes great confusion while it lasts & requires much patience on part of the Saints so many being together in such close quarters. The provisions have been given out about as follows "viz" one day biscuits, the next day Meal Sugar & Tea, the next day Pork & so on but the Water is given out every day should be 3 quarts for each adult. . . . Thick porrage is a very favorite dish at present—Roast & boild Potatoes very Palatable. Water closets repaired—plenty of room about them, not for individuals but for improvement.⁵³

The 403 emigrants on the *Charles Buck* experienced short rations when a storm temporarily drove them back to port. When they finally sailed:

some raw oatmeal, coarse biscuit, and a little rice and flour furnished, and even of these articles a sufficient quantity was not shipped; so that the passengers were placed on short allowance of provisions two weeks before our arrival in New Orleans. . . . Notwithstanding these unpleasant circumstances the company manifested an unusual measure of cheerfulness and patience.⁵⁴

Cooking was often a problem, as ships usually had only one or two stoves and the passengers had to queue up to boil their daily rations. Mary Lois Walker, on the *Josiah Bradley* in 1850 explained:

Sometimes we had trouble cooking such things as rice and beans, which absorb so much water that we would not have sufficient to finish cooking them properly. This cooking was done on a sheet-iron stove about the size of an ordinary kitchen table, in a small room not much larger than a pantry. Many would be cooking at the same time, and would have to stand and watch their own things lest someone should come and push them back to give their own a better place.⁵⁵

Taking seriously their responsibility for the moral as well as

⁵³Margetts, Diary, 17 January 1850.

⁵⁴*Deseret News*, 13 July 1855.

⁵⁵Mary Lois Walker Morris, "Reminiscences," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, compiled by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 12:450.

physical welfare of the gathering Saints, Church leaders were alert for possible misconduct between young men and women. To keep down temptation, marriages were common at the beginning of a voyage. The day the *Chimborazo* set sail in 1855, marriages were performed for “John Pickett and Rosetta Stringer, David Rees and Martha Eynon . . . and David Williams and Ann Walters. . . . After the ceremony was terminated the happy couples retired to do what seemed them best! Guards appointed by Bro. Slack and Mills.”⁵⁶ Guards watched over single men and women as well, though not to protect their privacy. William Cutler on the *James Pennell* in October 1850, found it necessary to call

30 Men of our company together, whom We had selected to act as watchmen for the remainder of the Voyage. . . . The men whom we selected concented to act as watchmen, & do what they ware, or should be instructed to do. One of our principal objects was to keep a few females in their proper place, after bed time & to prevent any person from gowing above or below Deck unless they had special business.

Four days later he wrote, “Those persons who have been so rebellious & caused us so much trouble, this day made a confession of their faults & promised to observe the regulations of the company & to obey our counsel for the future. This gave great satisfaction to all our company.”⁵⁷

John Fullmer, on the *Siddons* in 1855, laid out the rules for single youth:

We let the partition between the young men and families remain, and counselled the young sisters not to intrude upon the young men’s sanctum; the young men were not forbidden to visit their friends in a prudent and timely way, nor to eat with them; but excess of attention or gallantry was what we discountenanced. . . . The opinion of many is, that Saints do not need such stringent discipline; I will say that there are some persons in every four hundred that need all the checks that any have received, and much more would not come amiss.⁵⁸

Richard Ballantyne reported that three were excommunicated dur-

⁵⁶*Chimborazo* Conference History, 7.

⁵⁷William L. Cutler, Diary, 23 and 27 October 1850.

⁵⁸John S[olomon] Fullmer, Letter, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 21 (26 May 1855): 328.

ing the voyage of the *Charles Buck* in 1855. "One of the sisters desired to be cut off that she might have full liberty to keep company with the first mate." He included her letter to him in the official journal of the voyage:

Dear Brother,

I am very sorry to have put you to so much trouble. I did not know that I was not able to take care of myself. I cannot go to the stairs head but there are men sent after me. That, I will not stand so you may cut me off as I do not want to put these men to any more trouble as I am capable of taking care of myself. That has been my wish for some time.

Yours Truly,
Elizabeth Kirkpatrick⁵⁹

She and the first mate left the company as soon as the ship docked in New Orleans, and the company did not hear of her again.

Nutritional problems, exposure, and infectious disease took a heavy toll, especially of children. Though no Mormon ship was ever lost in open seas, most experienced deaths and sea burials. Twenty-five children and three adults died on during the thirty-eight-day passage of the *B. S. Kimball* in 1865. William Clayton also described the illness and death of children aboard the *North America* in September 1840:

Friday 18th. Some of the company continue very sick, especially three of the children. . . . Elder Turley's mind is much grieved in consequence of these things. At night he called the saints together in order to ascertain their feelings concerning the recovery of those sick. . . . I said I did not believe it was the will of God we should lose one soul. Elder Turley said to the same effect. The saints then began to be more cheerful and the journey of darkness was in some degree banished. We prayed with the children and desired all to hold them by faith. But after all our exertion the Holmes child died [that] same night. This was a grief to our minds but it was so.⁶⁰

Measles broke out on the *Clara Wheeler* in 1854, claiming little Mary Brighton and Elizabeth Gibson only two days apart. Mary's father, William Brighton, confided his grief to his diary:

⁵⁹Richard Ballantyne, *Emigrating Company Journal*, 17 February 1855.

⁶⁰Clayton, *Diaries*, 74-75.

A very little after they Died I may say that no one could no my fellience [feelings] upon that occasion except a Father when i looked on the little ones laid sid by sid and then soed up in a bag to be put in the sea. . . . my heart was pained. . . though i looked forward to a day when the sea will give up its dead. My Wife was very bad at the time and contuned very bad and weak for the want of food . . . but she has got over it and is now getting strong again and my Daughter Jennet is now very well and i rejoyes in the goodness of the Lord to me and family.⁶¹

Richard Margetts's entry of 27 January 1850, aboard the *Argo* is not uncommon in recounting affliction, but he, typically, found blessings amidst the sorrows:

Early this morning a child died that was born about a week before we started. About 8 a.m. a brother coming down the ladder with a kettle & frying pan in his hands fell & put his shoulder out and scalded himself. We have a Brother a Doctor on board and we soon got shoulder put to right & dressed the scald. The Saints in general very well today had a meeting and the sacrament administered in the afternoon, a most lovely evening.⁶²

The passengers were dependent upon captain and crew for their comfort and very survival. Generally, relations were good, though there were a few striking exceptions. The 109 Saints on the ship *Hartley*, sailing in 1850, were fortunate to have little illness and no deaths; but according to the *Millennial Star*,

the conduct of Captain Morril was shameful: he did all in his power to make their situation as miserable as possible; and when they were holding their meetings he took particular pains to annoy them. . . . The captain was very kind to some two or three of the females, inviting them into his cabin, and at the same time acting as a demon towards the rest of the company. This is one great evil the elders have to contend against, namely, the imprudence of some who called themselves sisters.⁶³

Matthew Rowan reported disapprovingly in 1855 aboard the *Samuel Curling*, that "All is well, only a few of our young Sisters who

⁶¹William Stuart Brighton, *Diaries*, 1:11-12.

⁶²Margetts, *Diary*, 27 January 1850.

⁶³Thomas M'Kenzie, Letter, St. Louise, May 1850, in *Millennial Star* 12 (15 July 1850): 217.

will be friends with our gallant Captain, and some of our brethren say he, (the Captain) is not so bad a fellow after all, i.e. when he has just given them . . . a glass of brandy. Some would, I believe, call the Devil a complete gentleman for so small a compliment!"⁶⁴ Shortly after his daughter Mary died, William Brighton approached the captain of the *Clara Wheeler* "and asked if he would sell a little food for a sick percen and he sade why the Divel, sir i have no food for any one."⁶⁵

Perhaps more common, however, was the experience of Thomas Day, who reported the compassionate concern of Captain Mansfield, of the *Josiah Bradley*, after several children died on his ship. "The Captain sent for me to Converse with him upon the Death of the Children & Expressed his sorrow at the same & his ancious [anxiety] for the health of the Company & will do all that lies in his power for their health and comfort. . . . At leveing him he requested that I would come & sit with him at any time I felt disposed."⁶⁶ Those on the *Mexicana* from South Africa seemed to enjoy their captain's humor. Elizabeth Sims remembered, "En route to the promised land we only met one vessel in hailing distance. The usual question was asked our captain, 'What are you loaded with?' The reply was, 'Sheep Skins and Mormons.' All the people on that ship cheered and laughed."⁶⁷ It was not uncommon for parents to name children born on the ship after the captain or the ship, an indication of their affection and respect for their ship's chief officer, who determined allocation of food and water, access to the ship's amenities, and upon whose skills their very lives at times depended.

COPING

The gathering Saints thus were thrust abruptly from the lush green of English fields, from factories, and from country homes, into crowded, uncomfortable, and often traumatic circumstances from which there was no escape until the journey ended. Extraordinary conditions required extraordinary coping mechanisms. In this the Mormon companies had enormous advantages over others. The hierarchical structure, with appointed officers, provided an organi-

⁶⁴Rowan, Journals, 10 May 1855.

⁶⁵Brighton, Diaries, 1:11-12.

⁶⁶Day, Journal, 27-28.

⁶⁷Sims, Autobiography, 9.

zation that could chafe at times, but nonetheless served them well, mediating between the passengers and the captain and crew and organizing shipboard life. On every voyage from 1840 through 1870, the first essential task was organization of the ship's company. A good ship was clearly, in the eyes of Church leaders and ship captains alike, an orderly ship. The exigencies of sea travel were compatible with and reinforced the Latter-day Saint passion for orderliness.

The organization began with the designation, usually by British mission leaders, of a ship president. He and the leaders he called then counseled the company through sermons. Church leaders invariably enjoined the Mormons to cooperation, order, harmony, and unity. Daniel Spencer's advice to the *Chimborazo* passengers was to "avoid all murmuring and do not complain; . . . have not hardness one with another, but let union prevail and confide in God, and then you shall cross the sea without one death." Elder G. Grant followed with the terse advice that "this is a kingdom of order therefore commence right here."⁶⁸

But the leaders did much more than preach. When the voyage of the *Charles Buck* began in January 1855, Richard Ballantyne systematically "visited through the ship and administered comfort and blessings to the sick." He then organized four wards, including a Danish Ward, with a president and two counselors over each. This he followed with

instructions concerning the cleanliness of the ship, and appointed the male members of each ward to take their turn in cleaning out all the filth in the morning, at 6 O'clock, before any of the families are up. The First Ward to do the work of cleaning and sweeping out the ship the first morning, and so on to the second and last, so that each able bodied man may do an equal share in this work. Then as soon as the ship is cleaned the people shall be called upon to arise and dress themselves and immediately thereafter unite, under the direction of the President of each Ward, in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving to the Lord. Then after morning devotions prepare breakfast and enter with cheerful hearts upon the duties of the day.⁶⁹

William Glover on the *Juventia*, also in 1855, wrote:

We found it was essential to the safety of the passengers that the

⁶⁸Minute Book of the *Chimborazo* Emigrating Conference, 2-3.

⁶⁹Ballantyne, Diaries, 18 January 1855.

utmost strictness with regard to cleanliness and order should be observed, and to that end it was resolved that each ward should furnish every morning a sufficient number of men, whose duty was to clean the ward thoroughly, washing and scraping out the same; these cleaners to commence at 4 o'clock each morning, so as to allow the females to get up at 6. The cooking operations were attended to in wards, each President seeing that none (except for the sick) came into the galley during the time his people were cooking, but the members of his ward. The same order was attended to in serving out the water and provisions. Thus, under the influence of the Spirit of God, all things passed off well with us. Meetings were held regularly in each ward morning and evening, and on Sundays we always observed a fast, and held meetings on deck, where discourses were delivered by the various Elders, which were always listened to by the officers of the ship with all due attention and respect.⁷⁰

A late example was the *Belle Wood*, which sailed 29 April 1865. William Shearman reported that the brethren who had blessed the ship were barely out of sight when "we turned our attention to the practical duties before us," organizing the 636 Saints aboard into nine wards, with presidents over each. There was enough sickness the next day to require further organization:

Elder William Willes and a Female Sanitary Committee, . . . were appointed to that important labor of love. This office they cheerfully accepted, and faithfully performed the onerous duties devolving upon them, dispensing sago, tapioca, arrowroot, hot tea, coffee, soup, boiled rice, and dried apple sauce, with other little luxuries, which were carefully prepared, and proved very grateful and nourishing to the invalids.

To supply the Saints with regular meals, an organization of brethren for cooking was formed. . . . The wards cooked in rotation, commencing with the 1st Ward one morning, and the 9th Ward the next. Water and provisions were served in the same order. This arrangement gave the middle wards about the same hour for cooking every day, and gave general satisfaction.

Brothers Fowler, Palmer and Stonehouse, were appointed a committee to make arrangements for social parties for the recreation of the Saints, at which well-selected pieces were recited, and anthems

⁷⁰William Glover, Letter, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 24 (16 June 1855): 373-74.

and songs, both spiritual and secular, were executed in a very creditable manner. . . .

The group had, in addition, a brass band and even published a newspaper. Small wonder that "union in good feeling, characterized the conduct of the Saints during the entire trip, and our hearts are thankful to him who rules on high, for the operations of his Holy Spirit, which produced these most desirable results."⁷¹

During the 1840s and 1850s, men and women occupied a good deal of their shipboard time in sewing tents and wagon covers for the overland part of their journey. The president of the *Samuel Curling* emigrants improvised an elaborate ritual to celebrate the completion of their first tent, which he had erected on the quarterdeck and obviously saw metaphorically as the tent of Zion:

President [Israel] Barlow, desired that the . . . tentmakers, should pass through the erected tent in sacred procession in order to hallow the present tent and commemorate the ancient and modern wandering of the people of God. Thus all things being prepared, the procession was formed in the following order. President Israel Barlow to walk in front with his counselors, then the Seven Presidents, each with their respective counselors, and in rear of them, Secretary Wm Willis was to form in line, bearing on each arm a Lady tentmaker, and then all the other lady and gentlemen tentmakers to follow in order. The procession formed, and the spectators arranged The Marshal Eld D. [David] Moffat was instructed to proclaim to the procession—when ordred, to March . . . singing the hymn of "Praise to the man who communed with Jehovah." The command being given "March!" the procession moved off in grand and sublime order, each president linked in by his associates, and the song acting simultaneous with the movement thereof. The Marshal led the way, proceeded through the tent, followed by the honourable train, which marched through three successive times.

The sailors aboard proceeded to lampoon the ceremony, by marching through the tent themselves.

One fellow with a red shirt, Mounted, and seated himself steadily on the shoulders of two of his commarades, in conexion with his red shirt, he had on a hat that would puzzle a philosopher to describ its

⁷¹William H. Shearman, Letter, *Millennial Star* 27, no. 25 (24 June 1865): 397-99.

shape, in his hand he carried a pole, and an old bass-rug on it for a flag. The others who followed bore in their hands poles, oars, &c—so they all appeared like the old English balifs in their Halbarts of office.

David Moffat, who reported the event felt that the parody was “done through no evil intention”; but when the Saints laughed at the proceedings, Barlow “reproved them with a degree of Sharpness, which restored order and solemnity to the waiting Audience. Order being restored the Marshal was commanded to call upon the procession with all the saints, to repeat the song “Praise to the Man” &c.”⁷²

There were other shipboard activities, some practical, some less so. On the *William Tapscott*, English classes were organized for Scandinavian emigrants. On the *Mexicana*, sixty-seven days at sea, leaders arranged schooling for the children. Dancing and singing were most often spontaneous, sometimes organized, and nearly universal. A straitlaced Swiss convert, Johann Baer was shocked at the revelry of the English Saints, including, no doubt, the rowdy Jessops, aboard the *Underwriter* in 1860:

After all was settled the ship did plow its way over the briny deep and what did we the Swiss hear and see. Hand organ, violin music and then dancing. We did not like that and asked one another what kind of people is this? One of our Elders, . . . [who] could . . . speak English fluently, told us they were all Mormons. We were horror stricken in hearing this. We never expected that Latter-Day Saints would indulge in such worldly pleasures. We were disgusted.⁷³

In good weather when the Saints were allowed on deck, they were drawn irresistibly to the rails where they marveled at the vast expanse of sea and sky, the passage of occasional ships, and the sight of porpoises, sharks, whales, and other fish that at times came within view. Matthew Rowan wrote, close to the end of their voyage in May 1855, “The Sun in Setting this evening was beautiful. It looked like a great body of fire resting on the Sea. I met with my ward in the evening.”⁷⁴

The voyage was ordered and made harmonious through the sermons, careful organization, and dispute resolution provided by

⁷²Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 71-72.

⁷³Johann Lebrecht Baer, Autobiography, 15-18.

⁷⁴Rowan, Journals, 17 May 1855, 180.

the leaders. But the coping resource the Saints drew upon most often was their own spiritual sensitivity—their faith. Over and over and in the face of unimaginable hardship and tragedy, they saw providential care, the hand of God, saving them from disaster, consoling them in grief, and assuring the ultimate triumph of their enterprise.

The very first crossing of the *Brittania* was a miserable one, according to John Moon, whose brother Hugh was also aboard. He confessed:

I feel somewhat sorry for all those who have to come after us but keep up your hearts and as your day is so shall your strength be. You must expect great tribulation in the way to Zion for those who John saw had come through much tribulation and I do not know anyway but one that leads to the kingdom of God. . . I can say with truth that if things had been 10 times worse than they was I would just have gone right ahead through all. We had 3 storms but the prophecy of Er [sic] Kimball was fulfilled. The winds and water was calmed by prayer and the power of God.⁷⁵

While the *North America* was becalmed in 1840, a fire broke out in the galley. William Clayton observed: “Some of us had wished in the morning that the wind would blow but it was well we had a calm or the consequences might have been awful. As soon as the battle subsided the wind began to blow and we were again on our way home. The Lord has been kind to us for which we feel thankful.”⁷⁶ Significantly, Clayton, a convert on his way to the United States for the first time, speaks of the gathering place he had never seen as “home.”

David Moffat was reassured as he set sail on the *Samuel Curling* by a letter from Franklin Richards:

It gave assurance to the Saints, that if they observed to obey the counsel of their presidents and him who was appointed head of all, even Elder Israel Barlow that not one soul would perish by the way but all would arrive in life and come up on the land of Joseph, even

⁷⁵“We Had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season’: John Moon’s Account of the First Emigrant Company of British Saints,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 340-41. This account is included in William Clayton, Letter to Brigham Young, 19 August 1840, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁶Clayton, *Diaries*, 77.

the land of America and realize their long hopes and ardent expectations.

Several miserable days later he took comfort in a vision the ship leader vouchsafed to him.

President Israel Barlow have at this moment dropped to me a knowledge of God's dealings with the Saints on Bourd the Samuel Curling,—He says, he saw in the night season; the vessel going forward, and something going before it paveing the way: and by puting his hands together shewed me the figure of the apparatus that went before us— This thing which he saw Branched out in spires and fork, and those horns shielded, and broke off from us every contrary wind, and opposing influence, and led the way of the Samuel Curling with its precious cargo to the wished-for haven.⁷⁷

Nearly all, like those sailing on the *Argo* in 1850, wrote of miraculous interventions. Harrison Burgess reported that, on 26 January,

a terrible storm arose. About two o'clock in the afternoon the sea began to swell and show its power, and the vessel lay first on one side and then on the other. Water came in upon us on both sides of our ship. We lost our sails and yard-arms, and the chains in the rigging of the ship broke. In the evening, when everything looked most dismal, our president called together his counselors and all joined in prayer to the Lord to cause the winds to cease. Scarcely had the brethren ceased their supplications when there was a calm, so sudden in fact that the captain and the officers of the ship were greatly surprised, and they came and inquired of us how it was that we felt so happy and gay amid the great danger through which we had just passed. They could not realize that the Lord removed all fear from the hearts of his faithful Saints when they were endeavoring to do their duty.

He and several other passengers wrote in detail of an incident that occurred during a dark, tropical night, as they sailed briskly through the Caribbean, approaching the Gulf of Mexico:

The heavens seemed to open, and a chain of Fire descended on to the Earth, as some sort of a token. it took the attention of the saints and as they stood gazing on the heavens Lo! another star shot forth

⁷⁷Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 70.

and to the surprise of all, we found ourselves runing aground against the Rocks of the Pine Isles. All hands were called on Deck and soon the saints like brave sailors, hauled at the ropes &c to get ourselves clear from this awful Situation, soon was the Yard-Arms squared and on we rode, but through the 2nd mate and his Mrs. Bennet, we found ourselves running into the Cape St Antonio, on the Isle of Cuba, and the danger was so great that we were obliged to Haul out our Cable, ready for the last extremity but through the prayers of the saints, mixed with their works, we once more rode through the waters of the Lord.⁷⁸

The words of Osmond Deuel on the *Siddons* sound as if they could have come from 1 Nephi: "We . . . come together at knight and . . . agreed to unite our voices and hearts together and call on the Lord for His merce in Turning away sickness and causing the winds to change and blow towards the promised land. And the Lord heard our prayers and the wind changed in our favor and the sickness abated."⁷⁹ Even when dozens were suffering from illness, and death was rampant, they felt the hand of God. George Thomas wrote of tragedy on the *Clara Wheeler*: "Throw [through] the fidge [voyage] we had 21 childeren dide in the melas [measles] and 2 wiman." But, astonishingly, he proceeded to conclude that "the lord was very good to his people and Blest us with A good pasage."⁸⁰ Clearly, their confidence that God was with them helped them endure the most calamitous of trials. William Clayton summarized his 1840 voyage with these words:

I once could not have believed that it was possible for me to endure the toils I have endured; but to the praise of God be it spoken, all I have endured has never hurt or discouraged me, but done me good. We have sometimes had to change our food entirely & live on food we had not been used to. We have sometimes been almost suffocated with heat in the old ship, sometimes almost froze with cold. We have had to sleep on boards, instead of feathers, and on boxes which was worse. We have been crammed together, so that we had scarce room to move about, & 14 of us had to live night and day for several days, in a small cabin (composed of boxes) about 2 yards long, and 4 feet wide. We have had our clothes wet through with no

⁷⁸Burgess, *Autobiography*, 32.

⁷⁹Deuel, *Diary*, 27-28.

⁸⁰George Thomas, *Daybook, Reminiscence and Diary*, 49.

privilege of drying them or changing them. . . . Yet after all this we have been far more healthy & cheerful than when at home; and we have enjoyed ourselves right well. . . . I can assure you brethren and sisters, that if you will be faithful you have nothing to fear from the journey the Lord will take care of his saints.⁸¹

The Mormon ships were a tiny fraction of the massive movement of peoples emigrating from Europe to the New World between 1840 and 1890—fewer than a hundred thousand of the fifteen million who came.⁸² Yet, as we have seen, their shipboard experience, trying as it was, must have been far more tolerable than for other emigrants. The consequences of the sermons, organization, and spiritual grounding seemed evident to all. John Fullmer described the state of affairs during rough seas on the *Siddons*:

We toss about like a log upon the water, sometimes one side up and sometimes another, in a kind of alternate sotary [rotary?] motion, reminding me of the cradle upon the tree top, when the wind blows the cradle will rock. This keeps up a kind of *friction* among the passengers and boxes from one side of the ship to the other, which is rather new to land lubbers, and somewhat endangers heads, legs and arms, as the case may be; but all is born in within a very praiseworthy and commendable spirit, as a *striking* illustration of *practical* Mormonism.⁸³

Richard Ballantyne was pleased with the demeanor of Saints on the *Charles Buck*, recording that, on the morning of 6 February 1855, “the upper deck is crowded with a busy crowd of cheerful Saints all intent on sewing the tents according as they have been taught. It is truly pleasing to see so much happiness and contentment, combined with our active desire to do all that is required.”⁸⁴ Mormons sometimes drew pointed contrasts with other passengers. On the *B. S. Kimball* in 1865, Christoffer J. Kempe showed his sectarian bias in reporting that “while peace and good will reigned among the Saints the others . . . lived more like cats and dogs to-

⁸¹James B. Allen, ed., “To the Saints in England: Impressions of a Mormon Immigrant (The 10 December 1840 William Clayton Letter from Nauvoo to Manchester),” *BYU Studies* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1978): 477-78.

⁸²Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 43.

⁸³Fullmer, *Diary*, 46.

⁸⁴Ballantyne, *Diaries and Reminiscences*, 6 February 1855.

gether; some had disputes and engaged in fights, others played cards and swore, while some preached, and altogether there was a real pandemonium."⁸⁵ Orson Spencer was convinced that "none but Saints can cross the Atlantic in large companies without serious difficulties and probable loss of life, without a much better organization than I have yet seen or heard of. In some instances, one-half of the Irish emigrants die going only to New York. And much greater mortality would doubtless attend them on a voyage through the West Indies to New Orleans."⁸⁶

Upon docking in New York in 1855, John Goulstone, surgeon on the *Cynosure*, wrote to George Seager, president of the ship's LDS company: "I cannot but express my thanks for the very able co-operation you have afforded me on the late passage from Liverpool, in maintaining order, and cleanliness among the passengers, under your presidency and only regret that some few others did not follow the example set by the Mormons."⁸⁷ And as a minor, but perhaps significant, echo, upon docking in New York harbor on 4 October 2001, after a thirty-eight-day crossing aboard the full-rigged wind ship *Christian Radich*, Captain Gunnar Utgaard made a point of taking me aside and complimenting the Mormons on the remarkable unity and order that had prevailed during the journey. As ship president trying to deal with issues that arose, it had seemed to me we had had problem upon problem the whole way.

THE LAND OF JOSEPH

Landfall, after a long ocean voyage, was for all immigrants a joyous event. It was no less so for the Mormons. As they approached the coast, they eagerly looked for land birds, small craft, or other evidence that they were nearing the shores of America. John Moon, on the very first Mormon immigrant ship, recorded on 17 July 1840: "At 5 saw Long Island all covered with green trees and white houses such a beautiful sight I never saw. I did rejoice to behold the Land of Joseph: yea, I thought it did pay for all the hardships which I had

⁸⁵Quoted in an unsigned report of the passage, *Millennial Star* 27 (20 May 1865): 315-16.

⁸⁶Orson Spencer, Letter, *Millennial Star* 11, no. 12 (15 June 1849): 183.

⁸⁷"Arrival of the *Cynosure*," Letter, *Millennial Star* 17, no. 41 (13 October 1855): 650.

gone through.”⁸⁸ On Tuesday, 17 April 1855, Osmyn Deuel, on the *Siddons*, excitedly recorded, “The anchor chain is up, the flag for a pilot is up and the saints rejoice.”⁸⁹ John Fullmer, president of Deuel’s company, recorded gratefully on the same day:

This morning the day was clear and beautiful and so calm that a ripple hardly stirred the vast expanse; towards noon, however we began to do a fair business, and in the afternoon a wind sprang up which brought with it rain. We now had just feasted our longing eyes with the welcome sight of *land*. This was the S.E. Coast of New Jersey, near the Delaware Bay.⁹⁰

The next month on the *Chimborazo*, William Mills rejoiced: “We pass beautifully up the river Delaware—land on both sides, which cheers the hearts of the Saints.”⁹¹ Matthew Rowan on the *Samuel Curling* exulted that, on 22 May at 6:00 a.m.,

the land was sighted by a naked eye, and oh! how beautiful it did appear to the emigrant’s eye. All were electrified by the cry of land. *Lame*, old, young, *Sick*, and all ran up on deck to see it. It seemed like a fairyland. We first gazed upon what is called “Never Sink,” then “Sandy Hook,” then “Stratton Island,” to the left, then we feasted our eyes upon the beauty of “Long Island.”

The captain is eloquent in extolling our Conduct and propriety on board to the pilot, Doctor, excise officers, and reporters. He boasts that for *goodness* and *healthiness*, there never was a better shipload of people brought into port. He and the Crew wish we had further to go with them, our company has been so engaging, they express their regret to part from us. The Captain gets us to sing to Strange officials when they Come aboard. Oh! he is big about his passengers. He was told at L.pool what a life he would be led by our Misconduct on board, during the voyage. This, he states, he is prepared to speak against. Our landing was reported in the New York papers today and our voyage and general conduct and appearance were commented upon. We were called cleanly and orderly and our order was recommended to other emigrants &c.⁹²

⁸⁸John Moon, “We Had a Very Hard Voyage,” 340.

⁸⁹Deuel, Diary, 41.

⁹⁰Fullmer, Diary, 72.

⁹¹Minute book of the *Chimborazo* Emigrating Conference, 21.

⁹²Rowan, Journals, 22 May 1855.

David Moffat wrote a heartfelt benediction to his voyage on the same vessel:

The high lands of America in sight. I see a lighthouse by its lights. It has two lights, one is standing, and the other is revolving. 9 a.m. nearing New York. The scene at this moment is grand and imposing. The houses is clean, light, and cheerful, indeed it is beautiful beyond anything I have yet seen. 10 a.m. Here we are drawing near to anchor, the spacious River . . . filled with steam Boats of every discription, plying in haste. Here lieth Ships of all dimensions all is bustle and activity. The anchor of the Samuel Curling is let go!!! We are all safely landed in New York, America This 22nd day of May 1855. Glory and blessing be unto the Lord for evermore, Amen.⁹¹

And so, their voyage over, the Saints set foot once more upon land—but not just any land. Though they had thousands of miles yet ahead, for some upon the river waters where they understood Satan's power held sway, they had a sense as they stepped off their ships that they were home. All of America was their promised land, their Zion, what the early travelers among them called the Land of Joseph, in reference both to the prophet of the Restoration and the Book of Mormon peoples.

Church agents were commonly on hand to greet them and speed them on their way to the gathering places. In New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis were branches, where immigrants found fellowship and assistance. Some remained in the East or Midwest to work for years before gaining the means to move on. But all, upon leaving their ships looked west, and seldom looked back. The waters had not parted for them. The oceans had been a trial, an obstacle, an impediment. But now they were past that. They were home.

It is perhaps not surprising that in Mormon folk memory, the ocean voyage has been all but forgotten, or at least had been until Bill and DeAnne Sadleir and others with *Seatrek2001* brought it so vividly back into Latter-day consciousness. Though animate life is thought to have had its origins in the seas, perhaps there is something innate in us as human beings that fears oceans and loves land. Perhaps the gathered suffered from some kind of post-traumatic stress syndrome that made it painful to think or talk about the voyage ever again. Perhaps identification with ancient Israel projected

⁹¹Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 76-77.

plains, deserts, wagons, and carts onto their consciousness as the proper habitat and instruments of travel for God's people.

Certainly Brigham Young thought of the Great Basin as a "good place to make Saints" and devised a whole set of institutions specifically for the purpose of accomplishing that. I, among others, have written on the Mormon village as a primary agent of the cultural changes that created a distinctive culture in the Far West.⁹² But my reading of all these vivid and powerful folk narratives has caused me to reconsider. For as I looked at the experience of these people—their longing and anticipation, their preparations for the journey to Zion, their departure, their life on board and their arrival—it seemed that the gathering Saints entered Zion much earlier than they or their descendants imagined.

Anthropologists Arnold van Gennep and Victor Wright have paid particular attention to the meaning for human societies of "rites of passage," experiences that mark the transition from one lifestage to another.⁹³ My argument here is that, while not prescribed, formulaic, and repeated, as rituals commonly are, the ocean voyage that all of the gathered Saints endured, was in itself a powerful agent of cultural change, unquestionably marking for most such a transition. Moreover, the experience was profoundly different from that experienced by the many millions coming to America from Britain and Europe at the same time. Nearly all of those millions progressed through the classic stages of a rite of passage as described by Victor Turner—separation (as they departed from their homeland), liminality (the neither/nor character of the voyage itself), and finally, reentry (as they landed in America and began their lives anew). For them, the crucial life-changing events were attached to reentry. Where and how they reentered was commonly much less predictable and more variable than among the Mormon immigrants. That fact changed the entire character of their experience, as they struggled to find a place in liberal, democratic, individualistic America. They often learned through bitter experience the lesson of the Norwegian immigrant who complained, "In Norway no one who begs a lodging

⁹²May, *Three Frontiers*.

⁹³Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffé (London: Routledge and Paul, 1960; Victor Witter Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

for the night is turned away, but a self-made Yankee is less generous: it is every one for himself over there."⁹⁴ And through that buffeting they gradually learned to fend for themselves in such a world. Their cultural transformation took place only after their escape from the liminality of their ocean voyage.

The Mormon immigrants had a very different experience. For most the separation and liminal aspects of their rite of passage were compressed into their journey from their home to Liverpool. But boarding the ship was their reentry. Once on board they were not just in transit—on their way “homeward to Zion,” as William Mulder so eloquently put it—but in important ways already *were* “home,” living with more fellow Saints than they had ever seen and under the careful, attentive tutelage of Church leaders. It would be easy for the immigrants to interpret in such circumstances the exigencies of ship-board life as the cultural credo of Mormonism itself. The two were, in fact, mutually reinforcing and have come together to form the defining values of the Latter-day Saint world.

I am tempted, in fact, to think of the ocean voyage as a crash course in what the Saints at the time called “practical Mormonism,” by which they meant learning communal skills. Suddenly, on the ships they were thrust into an emotionally intense environment where their very survival depended on learning to recognize authority and obey counsel, to organize for the collective good, to deny self, to be patient in adversity, and to exercise faith in providential care. The ocean voyage was the boot camp, or maybe even the Parris Island, of modern Mormonism. As we’ve noted, in 1880, 97 percent of all Utahns over sixty-four had gathered to Zion from outside the United States. When a powerful cultural experience is so widely shared among a people, it must surely have profound and lasting consequences.

Perhaps this helps us to understand better some of the administrative, cultural, and even doctrinal differences that have long separated the Prairie Saints, the Community of Christ, from the Mountain Saints, for a smaller proportion of the RLDS flock was gathered from Europe and thus was subjected to this intense cultural trans-

⁹⁴Nikolai Ramm Ostgaard, “The Narrative of a Disillusioned Emigrant,” in *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen and Martin B. Ruud (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936), 221-22.

formation. In fact, no other immigrant group of such numbers crossed to America under such a finely tuned regimen. And few, once they landed, had the reinforcing instruments of Church agents, overland travel, and village life, to implant and perpetuate the ship-board survival skills as part of their ongoing cultural credo. Stepping gratefully off their ships and moving over land to the gathering places, they did not know how much their voyage had taught and changed them. They and their descendants have forgotten that the Mormon village had its beginnings on the banks of the Mersey, at the port of Liverpool.



Dean L. May on the main upper topsail, Christian Radich, Las Palmas, Canary Islands, September 2001