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Through the Port of Liverpool, England

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THE TIDE OF MORMON MIGRATION FLOWING THROUGH THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND

Fred E. Woods

The year 2007 marked the 800th anniversary of the city of Liverpool.¹ Although the city's inhabitants were certainly aware of this monumental year of celebration, the vast majority were probably unaware that a chapter of Liverpool's history was created by nearly 90,000 Latter-day Saint (LDS) converts migrating through the city during the nineteenth century.² These European proselytes were heeding a call to

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¹ Peter Aughton, *Liverpool: A People's History* (Preston, UK: Carnegie Press, 1990), 22, explains, "Although there may have been a peasant's hut or two on the peninsula or high ground next to the Pool, there was no established settlement until King John decided in 1207 to found a new borough. This was a common enough occurrence in the Middle Ages, with English kings establishing 'planted' or 'planned' settlements wherever they wanted to set up trading stations, strategic towns or military strongholds."

² It is also quite probable that most Latter-day Saints living outside the United Kingdom were unaware of Liverpool's anniversary. In addition, although many Mormon descendants are quite cognizant of their European ancestors launching hundreds of voyages through Liverpool, most are not familiar with the details. Furthermore, only one published article has been devoted exclusively to this subject, W. H. G. Armytage, "Liverpool, Gateway to Zion," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol. 48, no.2 (April 1957), 39–44. However, this very short piece deals only with Mormon missionaries in Liverpool (1837–57) and treats the issue of emigration in a very general way. One article that does treat this topic in a bit more detail is Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," unpublished paper delivered July 10, 1987 at a Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool (in author's possession) and Philip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), wrote a chapter titled, "Liverpool," 160–175. Thus, this important topic begs for more discussion inasmuch as it has been largely ne-

gather to America, where they could embrace the full blessings of Mormonism. The port of Liverpool was their launching point for what the Mormons referred to as Zion (America), a promised land for a modern-day covenant people.

THE GATHERING OF MODERN-DAY ISRAEL

Shortly after the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the founding Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., received a revelation which focused on the doctrine of the gathering of Israel in modern times:

And ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect; for mine elect hear my voice and harden not their hearts. Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.³

Joseph Smith later explained the primary reason for the gathering. He asked an assembly of Latter-day Saints rhetorically, "What was the object of gathering the Jews, or the people of God in any age? . . . The main object was to build unto the Lord a house whereby He could reveal unto His people the ordinances of His house."⁴ This understanding propelled him to action, and throughout his life he emphasized the importance of gathering Israel, or in other words, teaching all people the message of what he saw as the restored gospel of Jesus Christ and gathering them to a location where they might receive eter-

glected. The author wishes to thank Dave Mead, who spent many hours gathering information for this paper.

³ The *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 29:7 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), hereafter cited as D&C.

⁴ *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding McConkie, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 307-8.

nal blessings. This Latter-day Saint prophet proclaimed, “Don’t let a single corner of the earth go without a mission.”⁵

Yet the gathering of foreign converts from abroad did not commence until the necessary priesthood keys were restored to the earth. The designated time and place for such a restoration occurred April 3, 1836, just one week after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. In this sacred edifice the ancient prophet Moses appeared and restored to Joseph Smith Jr. and Oliver Cowdery “the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth.”⁶

The following year, Joseph Smith charged his trusted associate Apostle Heber C. Kimball with the assignment to open missionary work in Great Britain. Elder Kimball was joined by fellow apostle Orson Hyde of the LDS Quorum of the Twelve, along with five other missionaries.⁷ These elders were instructed to teach the message of the restoration, and also warned by the Prophet Joseph Smith before their departure “to remain silent consider the gathering . . . until such time as the work is firmly established, and it should be clearly made manifest by the Spirit to do otherwise.”⁸

During the space of just nine months (July 1837 - April 1838) these missionaries obtained over fifteen hundred converts.⁹ Their success was augmented less than two years later when the bulk of the

⁵ Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. 2nd rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 5:368.

⁶ D&C 110:11. In D&C 20:2-3, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were designated by revelation as the first and second elders of the Restored Church.

⁷ James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed, rev. and enl., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 127, notes that the other missionaries were Willard Richards, a dear friend of Heber C. Kimball, as well as four Canadian missionaries: Elders Fielding, Goodson, Russell, and Snyder.

⁸ Joseph Smith Jr., *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 4th ed., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1965), 2:492. Hereafter cited as *CHC*.

⁹ James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission 1837-1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 53. Apostles Kimball and Hyde left England on 20 April 1838.

Quorum of the Twelve embarked on another mission to Great Britain (January 1840 - April 1841). These LDS apostles came not only to expand the work, but also to revive a lethargic spirit, which had crept in among some of the British converts.¹⁰ The Twelve reaped great success in the British Isles, and by the spring of 1840, the Church was firmly established in the land. It was in this season when they decided that it was time to commence sending the British converts to America.¹¹

RAILWAY TRAVEL FOR BRITISH SAINTS TO LIVERPOOL

However, before setting sail, most British converts made their way to the port of Liverpool by rail. For the duration of the Nauvoo, Illinois years (1840-46) and throughout the nineteenth century of Mormons gathering to Utah (1847-1900), Liverpool remained the main port of embarkation for the European Saints. Bound for Nauvoo in 1842, a silk manufacturer who converted to Mormonism wrote of his journey by rail from Staffordshire, England to Liverpool: "We were booked for railway for Liverpool which cost us 10/- each second class, they charged us 1/6 per cwt for luggage above a hundred weight for each passenger. . . . Were kindly treated by Mr. Woods at the station house at Liverpool."¹²

During the mid-nineteenth century several British emigrant accounts mention their rail travel to the Lime Street Station in Liverpool before they transported their belongings to the docks. For example, in 1856 Daniel Spencer wrote, "Started from Leeds for Liverpool, . . . went to Lime Street Station."¹³ About a decade later Richard

¹⁰ For more information on the mission of the Twelve to the British Isles see James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840 - 41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975):499-526; James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whitaker, *Men With a Mission*.

¹¹ HC 4:119. By this time the total membership of the Church in the British Isles was reported as 1,631, including 132 priesthood leaders. See Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 278.

¹² Journal of Richard Rushton, January 30, 1842, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

¹³ Diary of Daniel Spencer, March 12, 1856, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

Egan recalled, “at noon I went down to Lime Street Station to meet the Birmingham Saints. Found they had arrived ok & were well. I hired [-] cabs to take their luggage down to the Princes landing stage for ten schillings.”¹⁴

LDS SCANDINAVIAN TRANSMIGRATION THROUGH HULL TO LIVERPOOL

Other European converts also used the port of Liverpool, but next to the British proselytes, it was the Scandinavians who responded best to heed the call to come to Zion which thus brought them through the Liverpool docks. These Scandinavians went through a series of journeys which generally began in Copenhagen before they transmigrated through the port of Hull, on the eastern coast of England and took the rail to Liverpool.¹⁵ Between 1852 and 1894, over 24,000 Scandinavian Mormons traveled to Utah through England. Nearly two hundred vessels carrying Latter-day Saints left Scandinavia bound for Hull. From Hull they traveled by rail to Liverpool.¹⁶

¹⁴ Journal of Richard E. Egan, July 27, 1869, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵ Andrew Jenson, “Church Emigration,” *The Contributor* XIII, no. 4 (February 1892):181. William Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration,” *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 237.

¹⁶ See Gordon Jackson, “The Ports,” in *Transport in Victorian Britain* (edited by Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 218-252. The city of Hull is officially styled *Kingston upon Hull*, derived from the fact that Hull was founded by King Edward I and was situated upon the River Hull. During this period, Copenhagen was the headquarters for the Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Mission. This information has been culled from the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000), compiled and edited by Fred E. Woods. British and Scandinavian Mission Records were also used, as well as Customs Bills of Entry in the City of Hull. For information concerning vessels carrying Mormon Scandinavian converts from Copenhagen, see Shauna C. Anderson, Ruth Ellen Maness and Susan Easton Black, *Passport to Paradise: The Copenhagen “Mormon” Lists* vols. 1-2, covering the years 1872-1894, (West Jordan, Utah: Genealogical Services, 2000).

A fifteen-year-old LDS youth who traveled in 1888 described how the train he rode was an improvement as compared with trains he had previously ridden:

The passenger trains were different than any I had seen before. The coaches were divided into compartments that would accommodate from 6 to eight passengers; they would be locked in. A running board on the outside of the train that the conductor used to go from compartment through the whole train. I thought it a practical way to check all passengers without disturbing those already checked.¹⁷

Rail services from Hull to Liverpool began in 1840 when the rail line between Liverpool and Selby was extended all the way to Hull.¹⁸ The North Eastern Railway (NER), which took control of this route in 1851, chartered emigrant trains from Hull to Liverpool when trade necessitated. The journey lasted up to seven hours. In 1854, one Scandinavian convert described his night time rail journey: "In Hull we were but three hours. We went the same evening by train to Liverpool. . . It was bad, we went through England in the night, as we passed many trains and cities and through tunnels and over rivers and lakes. We rode 44 miles in 7 hours and arrived in Liverpool 3 o'clock a.m."¹⁹ The rail route out of Hull varied according to arrangements made in advance between the railway and steamship companies and the agents for the Latter-day Saints; and as the scale of transmigration grew, so the local rail line facilities improved. The majority headed on the NER's

¹⁷ Autobiography of Frederick Zaugg, 25, original in private possession.

¹⁸ Edward Gillett and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1989), 303.

¹⁹ Journal of Rasmus Neilsen, January 7, 1854, typescript, translated from Danish by his son C. E. Neilsen, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Rasmus is about one hundred miles off his calculation of rail travel when it mentions it was 44 miles. It was actually about 140 miles by rail from Hull to Liverpool. Rasmus never made it to Salt Lake City. After burying his wife on January 26th along the Mississippi River, his last entry the following day was "Lord have mercy on me and my children." His son (who translated the account) then recorded this editorial note: "The next day on the 28th he died." Both appear to have died from cholera.

trains via Leeds, Manchester, and Bolton before arriving at Liverpool's Lime Street Station. Most transmigrating Saints saw little of the port of Hull. One passing Saint recorded:

I did not see anything of Hull beyond the streets through which we went to reach the railway station. The railway station itself was beautiful and imposing. We left for Liverpool on a special train at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and came through the towns of Howden, Selby, Normington [Normanton], Brandford [Bradford], Leeds Hudbersfild [Huddersfield], Manchester and Bolton to Liverpool. But as it became dark at an early hour, I saw little or nothing at all of the cities and the country we passed through. The country around Hull was pretty, flat and fertile. Farther away it was more mountainous. The railway was frequently on a higher level than the towns and villages, and sometimes it also went along below the surface at considerably long stretches.²⁰

Regardless of the route they took, all migrants traveled the 140-mile journey to Liverpool by steam train. The scenery they passed through varied as greatly as the diverse backgrounds of the passengers on board. From the flat hinterlands of the Humber to the rugged terrain of the Pennines, the journey was an experience they would never forget—especially to those like a father and his son Joseph Hansen, who wrote that “this was the first and only time that my father rode in a railway train.”²¹

DEPARTING FROM LIVERPOOL TO NAUVOO (1840-1846)

The British Saints launched their first maritime immigration to Nauvoo, Illinois (via New York) with the voyage of the *Britannia* on 6

²⁰ Diary of Hans Hoth, typescript, December 27, 1853, translated from German script by Peter Gulbrandsen, 3-4, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²¹ Joseph Hansen, Hansen Family History, December 1852, 7, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. For a complete overview of the story of Scandinavian Mormon transmigration through the British Isles, see Fred E. Woods and Nicholas Evans, “LDS Migration through Hull, England,” *BYU Studies* 41, no. 4 (2002): 75-102.

June 1840, with English convert John Moon leading a group of forty Saints from the port of Liverpool.²² This maiden voyage would be followed by over four hundred additional voyages carrying Latter-day Saint passengers which continued to embark from Liverpool from 1840-1890.²³ Yet these voyages (especially in the early years of sail) did not come without an emotional price. Reflecting on her journey, which commenced at the docks of Liverpool in 1841, British convert Priscilla Staines wrote:

I left the home of my birth to gather to Nauvoo. I was alone. It was a dreary winter day on which I went to Liverpool. The company with which I was to sail was all strangers to me. When I arrived in Liverpool and saw the ocean that would soon roll between me and all I loved, my heart almost failed me. But I had laid my idols all upon the altar. There was no turning back.²⁴

²² *CHC* 4:134. This maiden voyage ended in New York. The migrants then traveled by rail and steamboat to Nauvoo. This was the first of thirty-four chartered voyages to Nauvoo. In addition, at least thirteen nonchartered LDS voyages consisted of small groups of families or individuals. For a list of each voyage and the story of their maritime journey, see Fred E. Woods, *Gathering to Nauvoo* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, Inc., 2002).

²³ *Mormon Immigration Index* CD. With the exception of a few LDS voyages out of Southampton in 1894, the Mormons continued to use Liverpool as their main port of embarkation throughout the nineteenth century. Additional research reveals that the LDS Church also continued to keep a record of voyages from Liverpool to America until 1925. During this first quarter of the 20th century, Liverpool continued to be the main point of embarkation for European converts voyaging to America. These voyage and passenger records are contained in the British Mission Register (Church Archives, Salt Lake City) which the author has been compiling and analyzing since 2000.

²⁴ Priscilla Staines, in Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (1877; reprint, Salt Lake City: n.p., 1975), 288. Jane C. Robinson Hindley, "Journals 1855-1905," vol. 1, 11-14, (Church Archives, Salt Lake City), who experienced the challenge of leaving her home and gathering a decade later than Staines (1855), also seems to have experienced the magnetic pull of the gathering and therefore left England with, as she noted, "the fire of Israel's God burning in my bosom."

Although voluntary, the anguish of embarkation wrenched many heartstrings. Seventeen-year-old Mary Haskin Parker Richards remembered with pain the trial of leaving her family and friends before climbing aboard the *Alliance* in December of 1840: "Never shall I forget the feeling that shrilled through my bosom this day, while parting with all my dear Brothers & Sisters. and all my kindred who were near & dear to me by the ties of nature."²⁵

Such farewells often created heightened emotions. Twenty-one-year-old convert Thomas Callister left his homeland, the Isle of Man, 9 January 1842, to embark for Nauvoo. He wrote, "I left all my relatives and friends for the gospel sake."²⁶ Although his parents were not alive to bid him farewell, one sibling decided he would see him off. "His brother John went with him to the ship and there offered him half of all he owned if he would only give up going to America. When he refused, his brother said he would be happier if he could lay him away on the hill with his parents."²⁷ For most, economics determined if and when one was able to gather to Zion. Sometimes families were temporarily divided. In the fall of 1841, Robert Pixton determined that notwithstanding being separated from his wife, he would lead the way to Zion. He wrote, "I spoke to my wife about it and she was willing that I should go and leave her behind until I could send for her as we had not sufficient means for both to go. . . . This was a sad parting but I was reconciled to go."²⁸

Many sincere Saints longed to set sail for America, where they could consecrate their talents and labor towards the building of a Mormon temple, but the cold reality of procuring sufficient funds for the journey froze them to their present circumstances. George Cannon,

²⁵ Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters: The 1846-1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 60.

²⁶ Collection of Reminiscences and Autobiographical Notes of Thomas Callister, Reminiscences, fd. 1, 1; Autobiographical Notes, fd. 2, 8-9, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

²⁷ *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughter of the Utah Pioneers, 1952-57): 16:505.

²⁸ Autobiography of Robert Pixton, 19, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

voyaging on the Sidney in 1842, wrote, "Nothing caused me so much regret as leaving so many of the Saints behind, anxious to go but without the means to do so."²⁹ Some, such as Robert Crookston, a fellow passenger with Cannon, exercised considerable faith and sacrificed greatly. He recalled, "We had to sell everything at a great sacrifice. But we wanted to come to Zion and be taught by the Prophet of God. We had the spirit of gathering so strongly that Babylon had no claim on us."³⁰

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS' MILLENNIAL STAR

One important component which helped the British Mormon converts through this transitory stage of their travels was the LDS periodical *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. This Mormon publication was established in Manchester (April 1840) just two months before LDS emigration was first launched from Liverpool. However, just two years later (April 1842) it began to be published from Liverpool which then became Church headquarters.³¹ The first editor of the *Millennial Star* was Elder Parley P. Pratt. Among other things, Pratt indicated in his prospectus issued May 27, 1840 that the purpose of the periodical was to spread the truth, gather Israel, and be as a star of light for the faithful to prepare for the second coming of Jesus Christ.

Within its pages, the *Star* created the feeling that the second coming [of Christ] was nigh at hand. The first article of the opening issue dealt with the doctrinal topic of the Millennium and reviewed the teachings of ancient prophets regarding the restoration and gathering of

²⁹ George Cannon, *George Cannon, The Immigrant* comp. John Q. Cannon (privately printed, 1927), 110.

³⁰ Robert Crookston, *Autobiography of Robert Crookston*, 5, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Note that Babylon, once a cosmopolitan city in the ancient world, became a symbol to Latter-day Saints for the world and worldly influence. See for example D&C 1:16.

³¹ *Millennial Star* volume two, issue number twelve (April 1842) indicates the change in publication from Manchester to Liverpool. This move certainly made it much easier for Church leaders and LDS agents to supervise emigration affairs which were often tied in with news from the *Star*.

Israel in the last days.³² This LDS periodical was an essential instrument for Church leaders and LDS agents in providing continual information and direction to the passing migrants. These emigration agents chartered vessels each year, and departure times were published regularly in various editions of the *Star*.

Continual guidance was given in minute detail for each and every aspect the emigrants faced on their journey to Zion. For example, in August 1841, the *Star* published an article entitled “Information to Emigrants.” After furnishing several pages of general information regarding immigration to North America, the following practical counsel guided the Latter-day Saint emigrants on what they should take on their voyage:

We shall now proceed to give such particulars in regard to the journey as may be needful. Those intending to emigrate will do well to take no furniture with them except the necessary articles of beds, bedding, wearing apparel, pots, cooking utensils, &c., which will come in useful both on the ship and on the steam-boat, and after they arrive. Do not be encumbered with old bedsteads, chairs, tables, stands, drawers, broken boxes, worn out bedding, soiled clothings, rusty tools, &c., but provide a great plenty of good and substantial wearing apparel, bedding, &c., consisting of every necessary article of manufactured goods both for men and women, because these things are much dearer in Western America than

³² Alan K. Parrish, “Beginnings of the *Millennial Star*: Journal of the Mission to Great Britain,” in *Regional Studies in LDS Church History: British Isles*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon, (Provo Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990), 135-39. Parrish, (133) also notes that the *Millennial Star* was “published as a monthly, biweekly, or weekly publication for 130 years, . . . the longest continuous publication in the history of the Church, terminating in 1970, along with *The Improvement Era*, *The Instructor*, and *The Relief Society Magazine*. It is also of interest to note that the name of the periodical certainly fits the scriptural theme contained in D&C 29:8, wherein it is stated that one purpose of gathering the faithful to one place is “to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.”

in England, and no duties will be charged by the American government of wearing apparel already made up, even if each passenger has several suits of clothes. Every thing which is not designed for use on the passage should be carefully packed in strong boxes or trunks. Emigrants will not have to pay anything for freight of their usual household goods and furniture on the ocean; but it will cost something for freight up the Mississippi River for every article except a certain quantity which is allowed each passenger free as travelling luggage.

Advice was also given on the best route to take, including specific guidelines for purchasing tickets, travel costs, and how to avoid extra lodging costs:

New Orleans is by far the cheapest route for emigrants to Illinois; and emigrating in large companies may save much more money. Those who wish to avail themselves of these advantages, and who are intending to emigrate this autumn, are informed that the name and age of each passenger, together with money to pay their passage to New Orleans and to purchase provisions, must be forwarded . . . at least 10 days previous to the time of sailing, so that a ship may be chartered and provisions purchased according to the number of passengers, and thus avoid all hurry and confusion. The money and names being forwarded ten days previous to the time of sailing, the passengers and goods need not arrive till two or three days before the time of sailing. Thus when all things are prepared, they can go immediately on board, and begin to arrange the berths, beds, provisions, &c., and avoid the expense of living a while in the town of Liverpool. Perhaps the passage money and provisions for each passenger from Liverpool to New Orleans will be not far from four pounds. Children under fourteen years of age, half-price; under one year nothing . . .

When the ship arrives in New Orleans the company will need to send their foreman, or leader, or committee, to charter a steam boat for Nauvoo or St. Louis, which will probably

be from 15 s. [shillings] to 25 s. per head, and provisions to be purchased for about two weeks; so the whole passage money from Liverpool to Nauvoo will probably be from £ 5 to £ 7.³³

The *Millennial Star* also encouraged immigration with reports by those who had reached America. For example, an article titled “Emigration” commented, “The news from the emigrants who sailed from this country last season is so very encouraging that it will give a new impulse to the spirit of the gathering.”³⁴ In addition, Church leaders also provided written instructions that encouraged immigration to Nauvoo in order for the Saints to build the Mormon temple and partake of its blessings.³⁵ British converts were also influenced by the excellent organization and dependability of their Church leaders, both at Liverpool, Nauvoo, and later from Salt Lake City.

Not only did the *Millennial Star* provide useful instructions to departing LDS emigrants, it also published the dates when various trans-Atlantic voyages would depart. In addition, an emigration agent was selected by Church leaders to carry out arrangements at Liverpool. As early as April 1841, the *Millennial Star* published an “Epistle of the Twelve” regarding the appointment and advantages of having an LDS agent:

We have found that there are so many “pick pockets,” and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as agent of the Church to superintend the fitting out of Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations of the voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding at Liverpool, as their first

³³ Parley P. Pratt, ed., “Information to Emigrants,” *Millennial Star* 2 (August 1841): 55-61. On instructions to emigrants for the years 1840-1854, see Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. by James Linforth (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards; London L D S’ Book Depot, 1855), 19-22.

³⁴ “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 1 no. 10 (February 1841): 263.

³⁵ HC 4:186; HC 5:296; D&C 124:25-7.

movement, when they arrive there as emigrants. There are some brethren who have felt themselves competent to do their own business in these matters, and rather despising the counsel of their friends, have been robbed and cheated out of nearly all they had. A word of caution to the wise is sufficient. It is also a great saving to go in companies, instead of going individually. First, a company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise. Secondly, provisions can be purchased at wholesale for a company much cheaper than otherwise. Thirdly, this will avoid bad company on the passage. Fourthly, when a company arrives in New Orleans they can charter a steam-boat so as to reduce the passage near one-half. The measure will save some hundreds of pounds on each ship load. Fifthly, a man of experience can go as leader of each company, who will know how to avoid rogues and knaves.³⁶

However, such an assignment certainly had its challenges for the Mormon agents who were selected. For example, one agent had this to say concerning this opportunity for growth:

There is much to do when a vessel is preparing to sail for some days; from ten to twenty emigrants coming to the office; one wants this and one wants that, and the third wants to know where he shall sleep all night, with a dozen or more women and children in the office to run over; one wants tin ware, another is short of cash and their children are hungry.³⁷

Following the Nauvoo exodus, which occurred a few years later (1846), the Saints began to stream into the Salt Lake Valley (1847) instead of Nauvoo. During this emigration period the agents continued to provide valiant service, and the *Millennial Star* continued to offer instruction to emigrants:

³⁶ "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* 1 no. 12 (April 1841): 311.

³⁷ Cited from the *British Mission History*, January 16, 1844, in P.A.M. Taylor, "Mormons and Gentiles on the Atlantic," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24:3 (July 1956):204).

We beg to inform the Saints intending to emigrate that we are now prepared to receive their applications for berths. Every application should be accompanied by the names, age, occupation, country where born, and £ 1 deposit for each one named, except for children under one year old. . . . Passengers must furnish their own beds and bedding, their cooking utensils, provision boxes, &c. Every person applying for a berth or berths should be careful to give their address very distinct, in order to insure the delivery of our answer to them by letter carriers.

The article also noted,

By reference to STAR no. 32, it will be seen that £10 each was named as the lowest sum upon which single persons or families could be encouraged by us to emigrate from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake City. . . .

Our first vessel will sail in the fore part of January 1853; and as soon as our arrangements are complete, the passengers for that ship will be notified when to be in Liverpool, and receive all further necessary information; the same routine will be observed in reference to the succeeding ship. Deposits may be forwarded until the close of the year, or later, as may hereafter be noticed.³⁸

DESCRIPTIONS OF LIVERPOOL

Mormon maritime historian Conway Sonne observed that not only was Liverpool located between the British Isles and Ireland, it was also augmented with rail connections to the eastern ports of Hull and Grimsby. In addition, the Mersey River was easier to navigate than the Thames, and it was a day closer than London. Sonne further notes, “Most important in Liverpool’s growth was a 200-acre dock system,

³⁸ “Notice to Intending Emigrants, *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 14, no.39 (November 20, 1852): 618.

forming a belt along the waterfront that extended three and eventually seven miles.”³⁹

Latter-day Saints enjoyed an extra blessing in that during the latter half of the nineteenth century Liverpool served as headquarters for both their European and British Missions and therefore created an additional reason to focus migration efforts from this important communication center. By 1851, the British census noted that Liverpool had a population of 367,000, the second largest city in all of England.⁴⁰

Upon arriving at Liverpool, Mormon converts were greeted by the agents of the shipping company with which they had booked to cross the Atlantic, as well as LDS appointed emigration agents and Church leaders. As the primary port of Mormon embarkation, Liverpool provided a view of a variety of scenes to many who had never been to a metropolis. By mid-nineteenth century, it was considered the most active international port of emigration in the world. With more than two thousand pubs, it was considered a sailors’ paradise.⁴¹ “Liverpool was a sailors’ town. Dockside pubs were everywhere . . . The sound of . . . sea shanties was heard from the tavern doorways as the sailors spent their few days’ leave and their hard-earned money on beer, women and song. Prostitutes roamed the streets and solicited the mariners.”⁴² Yet to the Mormons and other reputable emigrants, such scenes were repugnant. Historian Terry Coleman explains, “Away from the handsome classical buildings and houses of the merchants, the rich city

³⁹ Conway B. Sonne, “Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration,” unpublished paper delivered July 10, 1987 at a Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, 4-5.

⁴⁰ Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 63, 258.

⁴¹ Sonne, “Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration,” 4. Sonne, appears to be drawing on Coleman, *Going to America*, 66, in which Coleman states “Sailors loved Liverpool, and on long voyages constantly talked about its charms and attractions. It was a sailors’ paradise.”

⁴² Aughton, *Liverpool: A People’s History*, 142-43.

of Liverpool was narrow, dirty, and infested, and itself a great inducement to emigration.”⁴³

Nathaniel Hawthorne, Liverpool’s American consul in the mid-nineteenth century (1853-1857), knew something of Liverpool’s filthy environment. Coleman succinctly described Hawthorne’s dismal view of the socioeconomic condition of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century:

Almost every day Hawthorne walked about the city, preferring the darker and dingier streets inhabited by the poorer classes. Women nursed their babies at dirty breasts. The men were haggard, drunken, care-worn, and hopeless, but patient as if that were the rule of their lives. He never walked through these streets without feeling he might catch some disease, but he took the walks all the same because there was a sense of bustle, and of being in the midst of life and of having got hold of something real, which he did not find in the better streets of Liverpool. Tithebarn Street was thronged with dreadful faces - women with young figures but with old and wrinkled countenances, young girls without any maiden neatness, barefooted, with dirty legs. Dirty, dirty children, and the grown people were the flower of these buds, physically and morally. At every ten steps there were spirit vaults. Placards advertised beds for the night. Often he saw little children taking care of little children. . . . At the provision shops, little bits of meat were ready for poor customers, little heaps and selvages and corners stripped off from joints and steaks.⁴⁴

Hawthorne vividly described in a single sentence the deplorable conditions that existed during his stay: “The people are as maggots in cheese; you behold them, disgusting, and all moving about,

⁴³ Coleman, *Going to America*, 66.

⁴⁴ Coleman, *Going to America*, 65-66.

as when you raise a plank or log that has long lain on the ground, and find many vivacious bugs and insects beneath it.”⁴⁵

Hawthorne’s descriptions of Liverpool are remarkably similar to those of Mormon converts who likewise passed through Liverpool during the mid nineteenth century. For example, Latter-day Saint German migrant Hans Hoth wrote in December 1854, “Saw adults and children go around barefoot, and frequently almost quite naked.”⁴⁶ Two years later, an LDS British couple noted, “Liverpool is the dirtiest place we ever saw.”⁴⁷ Hans Peter Lund later wrote, “We saw . . . poverty.”⁴⁸ One female convert remembered, “Liverpool was a smoky, dirty looking place.”⁴⁹ In 1876, Thomas Griggs wrote, “Liverpool is dirty and disorderly, large numbers of barefooted women & girls, many bruised faces.”⁵⁰

Others described the port of Liverpool as a “noisy, smoky, city of ships.”⁵¹ Robert Schmid remembered its “cobble rock streets.”⁵² Some, finding occasion to do a bit of sightseeing, found pockets of Liverpool a step above Hawthorne’s description. For example, Thomas Atkin wrote, “We got our luggage on board [but were delayed,] which afforded us a splendid opportunity to visit some of the many places of interest in the town of Liverpool.”⁵³ Andrew Gowan added, “Went to the Botanical Gardens which was a treat to behold to see everything is

⁴⁵ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941), 18.

⁴⁶ Diary of Hans Hoth, December 27, 1853, typescript, translated from German script by Peter Gulbrandsen, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁴⁷ Letter from James and Elizabeth Bleak dated July 24, 1856, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁸ Journal of Hans Peter Lund, March 15, 1858, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁹ History of Barbara Sophia Haberli Staheli, 1861, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁰ Journal of Thomas Griggs, June 28, 1876, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵¹ Autobiography of Alma Ash, July 31, 1885, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵² Journal of Robert Schmid, May 17, 1886, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵³ Autobiography of Thomas Atkin, January 18, 1849, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

so fine, arranged in order.”⁵⁴ Amos Milton Musser said he took advantage of a chance to visit “the circus with several of the brethren.”⁵⁵ Others found time to buy books and to take “a good look at the city.”⁵⁶ David H. Morris noted, “Went to the Alexandria theater where the ‘Harbor lights’ was presented in fine style.”⁵⁷ As far as the harbor itself was concerned, William Davidson remembered, “Its harbor is six miles long, constantly filled with ships from every country of the world.”⁵⁸ Andrew Gowan explained by letter, “As for the shipping of 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. Some very splendid vessels here.”⁵⁹

LODGING AND PROVISIONS IN LIVERPOOL

Evidence reveals that Gowan had plenty of time to see this maritime metropolis as this letter notes he “stayed in Liverpool seven days then stayed in the ship two days.” During this time of transition before embarkation, Mormon emigration agents tried to ease the transition process as much as possible. For example, they directed converts to appropriate temporary lodgings to await the departure of vessels that would transport them across the Atlantic. When possible, the agents made arrangements for the emigrants to sleep on the vessel on which they would soon depart in order to minimize the time spent in this unsanitary, crime-ridden city.

⁵⁴ Letter of Andrew Gowan, April 9, 1855 (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, SLC).

⁵⁵ Diary of Amos Milton Musser, March 20, 1857, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁶ Diary of Andrew Amundsen, April 8, 1884, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁷ Journal of David H. Morris, October 19, 1888, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁸ Reminiscences of William Davidson, February 1848, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁹ Letter of Andrew Gowan, April 9, 1855 (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, SLC).

For example, Frederic Gardiner remembered, "We arrived in Liverpool the same night it being Aug. 30th [1849], and stopped at the Music Hall, which had been rented for the reception of the ship's passengers, until it would be ready to receive us on board. . . . Sept. 1st we all shipped on board the ship James Pennell."⁶⁰ Thomas Evans Jeremy, the appointed the LDS agent over emigration for the Welsh Saints, further noted, "I settled my accounts with President Cameron with regard to emigration from Wales. I am his agent in emigration, matters in Wales. . . . The Saints came to Liverpool and I took them all to comfortable lodgings in Hunter Street." The following day the Welsh Saints went on board the ship General McClellan, "as also did the English, Danish and Scots."⁶¹

Church leaders and LDS emigration agents were keenly aware of the groups of Saints who would be passing through Liverpool and therefore were in position to assist them with lodging as well as food. For example, the first large group of Scandinavians to transmigrate through Hull to Liverpool arrived December 29, 1853, "where lodging and meals, previously ordered, were prepared for them." Three days later, they went on board the packet ship *Forest Monarch*.⁶²

In 1868, another convert explained that although there was assistance for another group of transmigrant Saints, some had better luck than others: Hans Jensen Hals wrote, "We passed safely at Hull and went by train to Liverpool, where we arrived about midnight and were taken to several hotels by the brethren from the mission office in Liverpool." Two days later he added, "Visited the emigrating Saints who were stopping at seven different hotels. Some were comfortably

⁶⁰ *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner* edited and introduction by Hugh Garner (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Library, 1993), 10.

⁶¹ Journal of Thomas Evans Jeremy, May 18-20, 1864, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶² Andrew Jenson, "Sixtieth Company," *The Contributor* XIII, no. 10 (August 1892), 458. Jenson further notes that they were delayed fifteen days due to storms and contrary winds.

located, while others were dissatisfied because they had next to nothing to eat.”⁶³

Depending on the circumstances, some emigrants even stayed temporarily at mission headquarters. For example, George Dunford recalled, “I took leave of our good brothers and sisters of the Birmingham Conference and we stayed the latter part of the above day in the Church office in Liverpool and on the following morning . . . we went on board the steamship.”⁶⁴ Some slept on beds, while others slumbered on stone near the docks. One Danish LDS emigrant lamented, “We arrived in Liverpool before night and here we were to lay upon the stone pavement but as far as I remember it was under a sort of a shed by the dock where cargoes from the vessels were unloaded.”⁶⁵

Many Saints simply found lodgings for themselves. For example, James Farmer wrote in 1853, “Procured good lodgings at Robinson’s Temperance Hotel. . . . They treated us kindly and we were well situated.”⁶⁶ Such kind treatment would have certainly found its way to the ears of the LDS agents and thus other Mormon converts who needed lodging. Some were fortunate to receive such kindness with a fellow Church member who owned a hotel or lodging facility. For example, Ann Prior Jarvis noted, “We arrived at Liverpool and Brother Budge had a nice lodging house.”⁶⁷

GUION SHIPPING LINE

The Mormon emigrants’ stay in Liverpool was often shorter than that of their non-Mormon counterparts. When Morris & Co.

⁶³ Journal of Hans Jensen Hals, June 15,17, 1868, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁴ Reminiscences and journal of George Dunford, October 12, 1886, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁵ [Reminiscences of H. N. Hansen, Spring of 1864] in “An Account of a Mormon Family’s Conversion to the Religion of the Latter-day Saints and their Trip from Denmark to Utah, *Annals of Iowa* 41, no. 1 (Summer 1971), 715.

⁶⁶ Journal of James Farmer, January 7, 1853, typescript, 77, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁷ Autobiography of Ann Prior Jarvis, March 1857, 10-11.

(based in Hamburg) had the Mormon contract, the emigrants usually spent anywhere from a few days to a few weeks there. Once the Guion Line (based in Liverpool) had taken over the business of shipping LDS emigrants, this period was reduced to a day or two, and the service was most exemplary.

The Guion Line became the most important shipping company to the Saints. It shipped over forty thousand Mormon immigrants from Liverpool to New York (1867-1890), the vast majority of LDS steamship passengers in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

The successful partnership between the Latter-day Saints and the Guion Line lasted for a quarter of a century. The relationship of Guion agent George Ramsden with the Mormons was extraordinary. In praise of the trust he enjoyed with the Saints, British Mission President Anthon H. Lund pointed out that Ramsden worked for decades with the Church without a written contract.⁶⁹

The Guion Line treated the Saints a cut above other emigrants. One Mormon convert named Alma Ash explained:

At the Guion Office we were told that it was too late to go aboard and they would find us lodgings for the night for a reasonable sum. It was evident to us that the agents were looking more after the money they could get out of the emigrant than his comfort and well being. We informed them that we wanted to find the docks and go aboard that night if possible and asked them to direct us to 42 Islington, the office of the Church in Liverpool, and which the Guion company were very familiar with. Just as soon as we men-

⁶⁸ Conway B. Sonne, *Saints of the High Seas* (SLC: University of Utah Press), 117.

⁶⁹ Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone," *Millennial Star*, 58 (4 June 1896): 360-62. For an excellent discussion of the Guion Line see Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869-1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982), 4-8. Herein, Jensen also refers to an article on the Guion Line in a British journal titled, *Sea Breezes* 19 (1955):190-216.

tioned 42 Islington they changed their tune and treated us very politely and directed us where to go.⁷⁰

Having gathered their luggage from a railway station or a lodging house, Mormon migrants like Ash soon found their way to the mission headquarters on Islington Street, where they joined other European Latter-day Saint converts, who soon boarded vessels that would transport them across the Atlantic. It was also here at mission headquarters that Mormon elders were often assigned to oversee LDS converts throughout the duration of each voyage. For example, one returning Mormon missionary wrote:

Made my way to 42 Islington where I was made welcome by President Carrington and others. . . . Then returned to 42 where I had the privilege of a very agreeable interview with President Carrington in which he spoke very commendably of my labors and he here appointed me to take charge of the Saints while journeying to Zion.⁷¹

Before disembarking, the Mormon passengers also received counsel to obey all rules and follow their designated Church leaders. For example, John Williams wrote:

⁷⁰ Autobiography of Alma Ash [August 1885], 27, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁷¹ Journal of George Lake, June 19, 1871, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Note that upon completing the voyage across the Atlantic, LDS voyage leaders often wrote back to Liverpool, describing their passage to Zion. Such letters were usually published in the *Millennial Star*. Dozens of accounts contain such statements as “with kindest regards to all at ‘42’” in reference to those who oversaw the Church and emigration matters in Liverpool at mission headquarters located at 42 Islington. See letter of George Stringfellow, president and Charles B. Felt, clerk, “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 44:47 (November 20, 1882), 749. See also a letter dated November 20, 1884 from George Goddard: “Kind remembrance to the elders at ‘42’ “Incidents of Travel,” *Millennial Star* 46:50 (December 15, 1884), 798, or the October 30, 1887 letter from John V. Long, “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 49:45 (November 7, 1887), 716, “with kind regards to all at ‘42.’” N.C. Flygare and leadership staff additionally wrote June 29, 1876, “All join in love to you and all at ‘42,’” “At Sea,” *Millennial Star* 38:38 (July 10, 1876), 445.

Before leaving Liverpool, Elders Calkin and Williams, from the *Millennial Star* office, came on board, and exhorted the Saints to observe cleanliness and order during the voyage, promising that, if they would obey the counsel and carry out the instructions given them by those who presided, they should have a prosperous voyage, and not one soul should be lost.⁷²

It is most interesting to note that during the entire nineteenth century, no vessel carrying LDS emigrants was ever was lost crossing the Atlantic.⁷³

LDS PASSENGERS AND AGENTS SET A HIGH STANDARD

Those who worked in the maritime emigration business observed the fruits of the Mormon mode of operation throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Mormon passengers and their LDS agents received high marks in ports on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, two Liverpool shipping agents interviewed in 1852 had this to say about the passing Saints: "With regard to 'Mormon' Emigration, and the class of persons of which it is composed, they are principally farmers and

⁷² Letter by John Williams to the Latter-day Saints' *Millennial Star* 19:7 (February 14, 1857) 106.

⁷³ In stark contrast, Terry Coleman, drawing on the "Fourteenth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, H. C., 1854, Vol. 28, notes in *Going to America*, 120, "Fifty-nine emigrant ships to America were lost in the years 1847-53."

⁷⁴ For a succinct LDS account of the mode for conducting Mormon emigration, see Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *The Contributor* XIII, no. 4 (February 1892): 181-85. In this narrative Jensen relied heavily on Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. by James Linforth (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards; London L D S' Book Depot, 1855), chapter Eight, "Mode of Conducting the Emigrating, 17-19. For a general account of Mormon emigration throughout the nineteenth century, see British historian Philip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburg: Oliver & Boyd, 1965; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966) and Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

mechanics, with some few clerks, surgeons, &c. They are generally intelligent and well-behaved, and many of them are highly respectable.”⁷⁵

Two years later (1854) a London newspaper correspondent reported how a Mormon emigration agent (Samuel W. Richards) had been interviewed by the House of Commons concerning the agents’ success in bring Mormon converts across the Atlantic:

I heard a rather remarkable examination before a committee of the House of Commons. The witness was no [none] other than the supreme authority in England of the Mormonites, and the subject upon which he was giving information was the mode in which the emigration to Utah, Great Salt Lake, is conductedAt the close of the examination, he received the thanks of the committee in rather a marked manner. According to his statements, about twenty-six hundred Mormonite emigrants leave Liverpool during the first three months of every year, and are under the care of a president. On arriving at New Orleans they are received by another president, who returns to Mr. Richards an account of the state in which he found the ship, etc. . . . At any rate there is one thing which, in the emigration committee of the House of Commons, they can do - viz., teach Christian ship owners how to send poor people decently, cheaply, and healthfully across the Atlantic.⁷⁶

75 Charles Mackay, *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints*, (London, 1852), 244-245. In addition, although the *Liverpool Mercury* published several negative reports about the Mormons during the early 1840s (October 12, November 4, 1842 and February 23, March 22, 1844), one article appearing in the *Liverpool Albion* in September 1842 stated, “The emigration of the Mormons . . . is daily increasing. . . . The class of persons thus emigrating are in appearance and worldly circumstances above the ordinary men of steerage passengers.” This article is cited in W. H. G. Armytage, “Liverpool, Gateway to Zion,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol. 48, no.2 (April 1957), 39.

⁷⁶ London correspondent of *Cambridge Independent Press* (May 24, 1854) concerning Mormon emigration agent Samuel W. Richards, See “Missionary Experience,” *The Contributor*, XI, no. 4 (February 1890): 158-159). Pages 155-9 of this article also contains a firsthand account of this unusual evidence by Richards himself.

The following year (1855) a writer for the *New York Tribune* wrote about the excellent condition of the ship *S. Curling* when its cargo of Latter-day Saints disembarked at New York:

The vessel was the cleanest emigrant ship we have ever seen; notwithstanding the large number of passengers, order, cleanliness and comfort prevailed on all hands, the between decks were as sweet and well-ventilated as the cabin. . . . It would be well if the packet ships that ply between this port and Liverpool were to imitate the system of management that prevailed on this ship.⁷⁷

Upon disembarking at New York, the Saints were then met by an LDS emigration agent who assisted them with temporary employment or lodging. Each voyage that left Liverpool was carefully provided for.⁷⁸ This meticulous organization was often crafted by LDS Church president Brigham Young, who carefully selected the right men to assist with this important mission of gathering the Saints to America.

For example, in the mid-nineteenth century President Young appointed Elder John Taylor to serve from New York and oversee the LDS Eastern Mission; and Elder Franklin D. Richards to be stationed in Liverpool to oversee the European Mission. Each was heavily involved with migration matters and was in contact with each other as well as President Young. In a letter from John Taylor to Franklin D. Richards, Taylor explained that he was aware of the emigration instructions which President Young and his counselors had sent to Elder Richards, which were then published in two LDS periodicals: *The Mor-*

⁷⁷ P.A.M. Taylor, "Mormons and Gentiles on the Atlantic," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24:3 (July 1956): 204.

⁷⁸ For more information on the role of LDS emigration agents at New York, see Fred E. Woods, "The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents at New York," *Regional Studies in Church History: New York*, vol. 3, Alexander L. Baugh and Andrew H. Hedges, eds., (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2002), 103-24.

mon, published in New York (edited by Taylor); and the *St. Louis Luminary*, published in St. Louis:

I find also in your instructions from the Presidency as published in the *Luminary*& The Mormon the following expressions: Whenever you ship a company, whether it be small or large, be careful to forward to Elder John Taylor, at New York City, a correct list of the names of the persons in each company with their occupation and approximate amount of property or means, & forward it in season for Elder John Taylor to receive it before the company arrive in port, that he may be so advised as to be able to meet them, or appoint some proper person to do so & counsel them immediately on landing as to the best course for each and all in every company to pursue; viz, whether to tarry for a season, to work in the place, or immediate neighbourhood of their landing or to proceed.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

Liverpool was the primary port of embarkation for the European Saints throughout the nineteenth century. During this period, nearly 90,000 Mormon converts on over four hundred voyages made their way (often by rail) to this important port, which during this century was the most important point of embarkation from Europe.

In addition, this maritime city served as the headquarters for both the British and European LDS Missions. Here carefully selected Church leaders and emigration agents paid careful attention to each passing emigrant and every other detail. With such dedicated service it is no wonder that the tide of Mormon migration flowing through the port of Liverpool and across the Atlantic arrived safely in Mormon havens throughout the nineteenth century.

⁷⁹ Letter of John Taylor to Franklin D. Richards, March 4, 1856 (Brigham Young Correspondence, Church Archives, Salt Lake City).