



*New Orleans, where the Germanicus passengers debarked, was drawn by Frederick Piercy, who made the voyage a year earlier, for his book *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, Illustrated*. After 1855 Mormon immigrants were no longer routed through New Orleans.*

---

## ***Germanicus* Passengers: From England to Early Settlement in Utah and Idaho**

BY JANET E. WORRALL

---

**O**N APRIL 4, 1854, THE GERMANICUS left Liverpool for New Orleans with a company of 220 Mormons on board, their ultimate destination the Great Salt Lake Valley. These men, women, and children

Dr. Worrall is associate professor of history at the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley. She would like to thank the University of Northern Colorado Faculty Research and Publication Board for partially funding research for this project.

represented only a small part of the 85,000 Mormon converts who crossed the Atlantic on their way to America between 1840 and 1890. Although several general accounts of this migration have been written, there are few studies of single ships and the experiences of individual emigrants in America. What follows is a reconstruction of the voyage on the *Germanicus* and the experiences of its passengers after their debarkation in New Orleans through their settlement in Utah and Idaho.<sup>1</sup>

## I

A profile of the *Germanicus* passengers can be formed from the ship's list which gives age, family relationship, sex, occupation, and residence for the travelers. Among *Germanicus* Mormons there was a fairly even distribution of sexes with 112 males and 108 females. They were a youthful group — nearly half were between 15 and 40 years of age and less than one-fifth were over 40. The Mormon tendency to emigrate in families was evident among this group with 175 of the 220 coming as part of a family group. Of the 45 passengers traveling alone, several were going to join families already in Utah or were men going in advance of families that would come later.<sup>2</sup>

The passenger list gave occupations for 64 of the 72 adult males aboard the *Germanicus*, but with many job titles ambiguous only general occupational categories can be discerned from the available information. Thirty-four of the 64 occupations could be considered skilled or semi-skilled, including bricklayers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bakers, and textile workers. Agricultural workers accounted for 18 men, including laborers and gardeners. Men in commerce and business numbered 6, professionals 4, and miners 2. In many instances emigrants changed jobs quickly in Utah, suggesting either a minimal commitment or a lack of opportunity to follow their professed occupation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For general studies of Mormon emigration see P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). Useful works on non-Mormon migration are Caroline Golab, *Immigrant Destinations* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977); Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1919); Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

<sup>2</sup> British Mission Manuscript History (hereafter BMH), April 4, 1854, pp. 5-11, LDS Church Library-Archives, Salt Lake City.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Residences given by *Germanicus* passengers showed considerable geographical dispersion, with the exception of London which accounted for 84 of the 191 for whom information is available. This is consistent with other studies that show a preponderant number of emigrants in the period 1850-62 coming from London. Substantial numbers left the industrial northern areas of England with Nottinghamshire accounting for 31, Yorkshire 18, Lancashire 16, Bedfordshire 15, Kent 10, Worcester 4, Norfolk 3, and 1 each from Cheshire, Middlesex, Surrey, and Lincolnshire. Four came from Glasgow and 5 from Jersey. Correlation of occupational data and residence is not possible due to the diversity of occupations, but one can observe that the large number of *Germanicus* males in skilled and semi-skilled trades seem to have come from urban rather than rural areas, with London having a large number of tradesmen.<sup>4</sup>

Once organized in Liverpool, the emigrant company chose three men as their leaders. They gave advice and comfort to the passengers throughout the trip. Foremost was Richard Cook who had been in England as a missionary for two years and was returning home in 1854. James Works, a returning missionary from New York, and James H. Hart, former president of the Channel Islands conference, assisted Cook. Hart planned to stay in the United States and was accompanied by his wife, Emily, and her sister and two daughters. Due to Emily's poor health, the Harts were the only ones to travel cabin class rather than steerage.<sup>5</sup>

When the *Germanicus* left Liverpool for New Orleans, 394 passengers filled the ship's two decks. In addition to the 220 English Saints, there were 153 Irish, 19 Germans, and 2 Scots. One passenger described the *Germanicus* as "a most splendid vessel," and indeed it was, measuring 184' 2" × 37' × 18' 6" with a registered tonnage of 1,167. As the captain and principal owner of the ship, Arthur M. Fales, ordered the anchor lifted, the Saints burst into songs of Zion, thereby beginning one of over three hundred voyages of Mormon immigrant companies across the Atlantic in the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The journey lasted 69 days — April 4 to June 12 — considerably longer than the average of 54 days. At first rough seas caused

<sup>4</sup>Church Shipping Lists, LDS Church Library-Archives; Philip A. M. Taylor, "Why Did British Mormons Emigrate," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 260.

<sup>5</sup>*Millennial Star* 16 (April 15, 1854): 240.

<sup>6</sup>Passenger Lists, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; C. Sonne to J. Worrall, August 18, 1853; Thomas Featherstone Diary, LDS Church Library-Archives.

discomfort and cursing from the crew as pets and passengers flew about. One Saint recorded, "I thought it was the biggest hell that ever I was in or ever wished to be in."<sup>7</sup> The opposite extreme followed in and near the Caribbean as the ship was becalmed for twenty days with the temperature 120 degrees on deck in the shade and 110 between decks. According to the Mormons, the dirty habits of the other passengers exacerbated the already intolerable situation. Eventually favorable winds arose, but the delay caused a water shortage, necessitating stops at Grenada and the Tortugas (near Key West). Another delay came when the ship briefly ran aground at Key West.<sup>8</sup>



*James H. Hart, one of the leaders of the Germanicus Mormons. USHS collections.*

Despite the length of the journey the passengers remained remarkably healthy. Only four deaths occurred during the 69-day voyage: an elderly German who boarded in ill health, a German child, the infant daughter of Richard Major, and Mary Warren, who died after delivering an eleven and a half pound son named Germanicus. The latter two deaths were Mormons.<sup>9</sup>

On Sunday, June 12, the Saints met on deck to make final preparations for debarking. James Hart read his journal to the group, and Richard Cook gave final instructions warning the passengers to watch their luggage in New Orleans "and not to get Drunk But to take care of there [sic] Money and not to eat any Beef or Fruit."<sup>10</sup> All were in good spirits and eager to complete the trip to Salt Lake City, despite warnings that it was too late to start and that they would be frozen in the mountains. Captain Fales complimented the immigrants on their upright behavior, the only exceptions being two sisters who became friendly with ship's officers. Even though Hart

<sup>7</sup> Featherstone Diary.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Jenson, ed., *Church Emigration*, 2, 3 vols., 1831-1881, looseleaf binders, MS d 4088, LDS Church Library - Archives; *Millennial Star*, 16: (July 22, 1854): 463; BMH, April 4, 1854, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Featherstone Diary; *Millennial Star*, 16: 462-63.

<sup>10</sup> Featherstone Diary.

and counselor Thomas Armstrong tried to dissuade them, the young women chose to stay in New Orleans. One other passenger, Alfred Lardent, decided to stay with a relative in port and ignored the advice of his fellow passengers that he would never get to the Salt Lake Valley.<sup>11</sup>

After landing in New Orleans the immigrants faced several days on one of the hazardous steamers plying the Mississippi River. Within two hours after arriving in the port, Richard Cook made arrangements with Captain Levensworth of the sidewheeler *Uncle Sam* for the trip to St. Louis (adults paid \$3.50 each; children under fourteen went for half fare; luggage was free). The passengers transferred their luggage to the steamboat on a hot and humid Monday and Tuesday. Then the *Uncle Sam*, one of the largest boats on the Mississippi, departed at 3:00 P.M. Tuesday, June 14.<sup>12</sup>

The journey to St. Louis brought some discomfort and varied activities to the passengers. The weather remained hot and humid, with frequent thunder and lightning storms. Many passengers slept on the deck and cabin floors where it was cooler than in the berths. The water was unsafe to drink. A few men snatched the available jobs on the steamer at \$1.30 a day. When the boat stopped to take on wood or deliver salt and molasses, passengers scrambled ashore and ran along the river bank for exercise. Women hastily washed clothes while others purchased supplies. On June 20 the ship reached Memphis where the youngest passenger, five-week-old Germanicus Warren, died. Thomas Armstrong conducted the burial service. As the steamer approached the quarantine island below St. Louis on June 23, the Saints rejoiced that the trip to Zion was nearly over, but they faced yet another peril.<sup>13</sup>

Disease was an ever-present danger on the Mississippi in the summer months, especially where immigrants gathered near cities. Cholera had taken a devastating toll on several groups of Danish immigrants in the spring of 1854. Cholera would also claim twenty-four (11 percent) of the *Germanicus* passengers, striking husbands, wives, and children indiscriminately. Of these twenty-four victims, twenty died in June and July. Only three were adult males, the rest were women and children. In three cases a mother and two of her children died; in one instance a mother died, leaving her four chil-

<sup>11</sup> *Millennial Star*, 16: 462-63.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Featherstone Diary.



*St. Louis from Frederick Piercy's Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley. Cholera took the lives of many immigrants during the summer months on the Mississippi.*

dren, ages eleven to three, orphaned. Her husband had died in England the previous November. Fortunately, someone adopted the children and took them to Utah. The eldest subsequently married one of the passengers from the *Germanicus*.<sup>14</sup>

Details are not clear, but the disease apparently took hold when the passengers were detained on the quarantine island. One passenger reported, "Our detention at quarantine was not necessary as we had obtained a clean bill of health from the doctor."<sup>15</sup> James Hart made the same point although exaggerated,

We . . . arrived at New Orleans June 12th. Ten days later we debarked, by special request of our own people, on an old hulk called the *Hannibal*, attached to the Quarantine Island, about 5 miles from St. Louis. . . . and about one third of the Company died of Asiatic Cholera on said Island, or, in St. Louis. . . .<sup>16</sup>

It is impossible to determine how many *Germanicus* Mormons went directly to the Salt Lake Valley. Lists for companies crossing the

<sup>14</sup>William A. Empey Diary, typescript, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City; list compiled by Linda Haslam, LDS Church Library - Archives, from St. Louis, Missouri, branch record of membership, 1849-62; Family Group Sheet (hereafter FGS), James Roe, Genealogical Department, Salt Lake City.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Sleight to Andrew Jensen, Paris, Idaho, January 8, 1917, in BMH, April 4, 1854, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>Edward L. Hart, *Mormon in Motion: The Life and Journals of James H. Hart, 1825-1906*, in *England, France, and America* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1978), p. 123. As a result of the high death rate on the Mississippi, Brigham Young urged Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission, to send future companies to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. If ships went to New Orleans they were to leave England no later than December 1 to insure passing up the Mississippi before the warm weather began. The last ship destined for New Orleans sailed in January 1855. Thereafter, all went to eastern ports and exclusively to New York beginning in 1858.

plains in 1854 are fragmentary at best. Many immigrants delayed the plains trip for lack of money, illness, pregnancy, or for extended visits with friends in one of the several midwestern Mormon communities.

Representative of this group was Thomas Featherstone and his wife Emma. They escaped the dangers of the quarantine island by obtaining a permit from the inspecting doctor to take the ferry to St. Louis. There, by chance, they met a fellow Mormon who housed them for three weeks until they found their own quarters. Featherstone found a job paying \$2.50 for a ten-hour day. While better off than many of their immigrant friends, they found conditions left much to be desired: they disliked the American food in St. Louis, preferring English food; the weather was hot, sleep was difficult, and hundreds were dying from cholera that summer. In the fall Featherstone contracted typhoid fever and was ill all winter, not regaining his health until the spring of 1855. However, the Featherstones eventually grew to like St. Louis. But Utah beckoned, and in 1857 they departed from the outfitting post of Florence, Nebraska, for Salt Lake City.<sup>17</sup>

Other immigrants of this group also postponed the trip west. Thomas Barratt's wife, Mary, had died in St. Louis on January 5, 1855, and he waited there with his stepson, Thomas, for his new bride, Ellen Julian, to come from England. Mary had requested that should she die, her husband should marry one of the Julian sisters, her friends in England. Similarly, William Brown remained in St. Louis with his three surviving children after losing his wife and two children in the summer of 1854. He married an Englishwoman on December 24, 1854, in St. Louis, and she bore their first four children there before the family headed west. Finally, lack of money kept Joseph and Margaret Dunkley in New Orleans until the winter of 1854-55 when they went to St. Louis. There Joseph worked as a blacksmith until leaving for Utah the summer of 1855 with one of the Mormon companies.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly some passengers on the *Germanicus* crossed the plains in 1854, but the only ones who can be documented are the returning missionaries Richard Cook and James Works. From St. Louis they

<sup>17</sup> Featherstone Diary.

<sup>18</sup> FGS, Thomas Barratt; FGS, William Parker Brown; K. Wright Dunkley, *Joseph Dunkley Ancestors and Descendants*, 1963, p. 6, a family history available as a bound volume and on microfilm in the LDS Church Genealogical Department.

went to the Mormon outfitting post in Westport, Missouri (near Kansas City). There both Cook and Works joined the Sixth Company led by Capt. Robert L. Campbell. Cook served as the captain's first counselor and Works took charge of the loose herd. After arriving in Salt Lake — a trip of nearly 1,200 miles — the company rewarded Works with a buffalo robe and \$600 for his careful tending of the company's animals.<sup>19</sup>

## II

It is difficult to trace the *Germanicus* passengers from St. Louis to Utah, but of the 220, 87 reached Utah, according to documentation from family group sheets, the Crossing the Plains Index, local histories, gazetteers, and census reports. Unfortunately, information from these sources is spotty and often does not indicate where the individuals settled upon arrival, only that they reached Utah or were in Utah sometime after 1854. Complete information on initial and subsequent settlements exists for only 24 (9 children and 15 adults) of the 87. This is not surprising, for unless people emigrated as a unit and settled in one place, as was the custom of groups like the Hutterites and Mennonites, they cannot be traced. However, one can make several useful observations on the nature of settlement for those on whom data can be found. Although this information is not statistically significant, it is historically significant in that it sharpens the picture of frontier life for Mormons in particular and immigrants in general.<sup>20</sup>

The *Germanicus* passengers who can be traced dispersed throughout Utah and Idaho. Some chose recently formed communities like American Fork, which had attracted a large number of British and Scandinavian immigrants since its foundation in 1853. Thomas Barratt, who married one of the Julian sisters, apparently went directly to American Fork from St. Louis, for the couple's first child was born there in October 1856. Relatives of Ellen Julian had settled in American Fork prior to her emigration, which no doubt made the town attractive to the couple. Barratt had been a lacemaker in England; in Utah he quickly turned to farming. The family prospered and by 1870 had \$1,000 in real estate wealth and \$300 in

<sup>19</sup> Journal History of the Church, October 28, 1854, pp. 2-34, LDS Church Library - Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Crossing the Plains Index, LDS Church Library - Archives. The author has checked census rolls, but information was often illegible or incomplete; positive identifications, with a few exceptions, could not be made.





*Many Germanicus passengers chose to make their home in American Fork and most remained to build up the town. Originally called Lake City, the town changed its name in 1860 to avoid confusion with Salt Lake City. USHS collections.*

personal wealth. They raised twelve children, several of whom remained in American Fork where Thomas and Ellen died in 1906 and 1930 respectively.<sup>21</sup>

The Barratt presence in American Fork probably encouraged Thomas and Emma Featherstone to move there in 1858. The Featherstones lived briefly in Salt Lake City where Thomas worked on public works and served in the militia. When they moved to American Fork in 1858 they lived with the Barratts temporarily until they found housing. Thomas continued his trade as a brickmason and prospered. In 1860 his real estate was valued at \$250, increasing to \$1,000 by 1870. His personal wealth climbed from \$300 in 1860 to \$600 in 1870.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> American Fork was first named Lake City, but confusion with Salt Lake City led to the name change American Fork in 1860. J. Paul Broadhead, "A History of the American Fork Citizen, 1903-1973" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 10, 13; FGS, Thomas Barratt; J. R. Kears and Clayne L. Pope, *Index to the 1850, 1860, and 1870 Censuses of Utah Heads of Households* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981).

<sup>22</sup> Featherstone Diary; Kears and Pope, *Index*.

The Featherstones remained in American Fork, raising four children. Thomas Featherstone, Jr., followed his father's trade as a brickmason, married another resident of American Fork, and remained there to raise a family of six. In 1866 Thomas Featherstone, Sr., married a second time, choosing another English immigrant, Martha Richards, who bore four children. Thomas died in nearby Lehi in 1918; his wife Emma preceded him in 1913.<sup>23</sup>

James Hoggard, a *Germanicus* passenger, had also settled in American Fork with his family by 1858. Hoggard had waited in the Midwest for his wife Emily and five children who left England in 1855. They had their sixth child, Hyrum, in Iowa in 1856 and then headed west. James farmed, and by 1860 his combined real and personal wealth was \$550. James and Emily spent the rest of their lives in American Fork where they died in 1883 and 1896 respectively. Their son Hyrum, a blacksmith, married Mary Anne Featherstone in 1878. They showed the same geographical stability as their parents. Mary Anne and Hyrum spent their lives in American Fork where they raised seven children.<sup>24</sup>

The experiences of the Barratts, Featherstones, and Hoggards indicate that American Fork was attractive to both the first and second generations. Once settled there, both generations chose to stay. Close ties between passengers from the *Germanicus* continued and in the case of Mary Anne Featherstone and Hyrum Hoggard resulted in marriage.

While many immigrants settled south of Salt Lake City, Brigham Young also encouraged Mormons to move into the north end of the Cache Valley. In 1860 residents of Provo, Slaterville, Kays Creek (Kaysville), Payson, and Bountiful responded. They drove their wagons north in mid-April and began the settlement of Green Meadows, later called Franklin after Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission. Wagons, with the running gear removed, served as the first houses. During the spring and summer of 1860 sixty families moved to Franklin, Idaho, establishing the first colony in northern Cache Valley. They built homes, an irrigation canal for crops, roads into the canyon to gather wood, and a schoolhouse. Among the first settlers from Provo were Joseph and Margaret Dunkley who had sailed on the *Germanicus*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>FGS, Thomas Featherstone.

<sup>24</sup>FGS, James Hoggard.

<sup>25</sup>James Ira Young, "The History and Development of Franklin, Idaho, during the Period 1860-1900" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949), pp. 55-60.

The Dunkley experiences are well documented and provide details of the hardships endured by ordinary people. Joseph converted to Mormonism in England, much to his parents' dismay. When he and Margaret, his wife, decided to leave for Utah, his parents again objected strenuously. As noted earlier, the Dunkleys stopped in New Orleans and continued the trip to Utah in 1855. Joseph was a talented calico printer, but in Utah he became a farmer for want of a job in his trade. The Dunkleys bought a farm in Franklin that was their home until 1888 when financial problems forced Joseph to sell and move to a farm in nearby Whitney.<sup>26</sup>

Both Joseph and Margaret desired a large family, but Margaret was unable to bear children. When Joseph took a second wife, Mary Ann Hobbs, he had to promise Margaret that she could raise the first-born child. Only then would Margaret agree to Joseph's second marriage. Mary Ann had left England in the spring of 1864 with her mother, twin sister, and two brothers. Her father had died in her infancy, and her two older brothers had left for America prior to her departure. Mary Ann apparently came directly to the Salt Lake Valley and then Franklin, for on April 17, 1866, she delivered Joseph's first child. Unfortunately, an inexperienced midwife believed that the afterbirth followed immediately. She pulled on the umbilical cord, causing internal bleeding and Mary Ann's death at nineteen. Margaret raised the child until her death in 1873.<sup>27</sup>

In November 1868, still desirous of a family, Joseph took a third wife, another immigrant, Margaret Wright. She had migrated twice: from her native Scotland to Liverpool and then to Utah. She crossed the Atlantic with her mother, siblings, and 457 other Saints on the *Constitution*, docking in New York August 5, 1868. After reaching Salt Lake City the Wright family was attracted to Franklin where a stepson and brother lived. After a very short courtship Joseph and Margaret were married.<sup>28</sup>

Margaret fulfilled her husband's desire for a family by bearing twelve children — the first eleven in Franklin, the last in nearby Whitney. All but two reached adulthood; the ninth, a girl born in 1883, lived only eight months, the eleventh was stillborn. Unlike their father, the Dunkley children did not marry immigrants, rather other American Mormons. They lived out their lives in the

<sup>26</sup>Dunkley, *Joseph Dunkley*, pp. 5, 6, 8, 74; FGS, Joseph Dunkley.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 10, 30.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 38.



Urban areas like Salt Lake City attracted some immigrants. This shot of Main Street in 1869 shows Ransohoff's where one Germanicus passenger worked for a time. USHS collections.

Franklin-Whitney, Idaho, and northern Utah areas, showing little geographical mobility. The sons worked as farmers or in related work as cattlemen, milk inspectors, and dairymen. One became an independent grocer. The children remained faithful to the church and served on missions as far away as Turkey but always returned to their home in Cache Valley.<sup>29</sup>

While these four families — Barratts, Featherstones, Hoggards, and Dunkleys — preferred rural areas, other passengers on the *Germanicus* sought the towns of Ogden and Salt Lake City. Representative of these was the Tribe family. The father, Joseph Tribe, died in St. Louis on August 4, 1854, probably of cholera, although his death was attributed to “brain fever” caused by the summer’s heat. He left his wife Sarah and five children, ranging from age five to fifteen years. The support of the family fell to the eldest, Henry, who held jobs as waiter, woodcutter, and hauler while the family wintered in St. Louis. In 1855 they headed for Utah, settling in Ogden.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-143; FGS, Joseph Dunkley.

<sup>30</sup> *Deseret Evening News*, February 16, 1914; August 28, 1909.

Eventually all three Tribe sons contributed to the business and commercial life of Ogden and Salt Lake City. Henry traded his wood-hauling job for work with the Ransohoff Company in Salt Lake City, followed by a position with Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) in Ogden from 1869 to 1877. By 1870 his real and personal property had a combined value of \$3,500, a substantial sum. In 1884 the *Ogden Directory* listed him as a commercial traveler/merchant, a position he held until his death in 1909. He left two families: one in the Salt Lake City area with a wife, son, and daughter, and one in Ogden with a wife, son, and two daughters.<sup>31</sup>

George H. Tribe was eleven when he came to Utah. Four years later he recrossed the plains with his brother-in-law, Emerson Shurtliff, husband of Mary Ann Tribe, to meet a party of immigrants and serve as their guide to Utah. Showing the same propensity for business as his brother, George also worked for the Ransohoff Company, eventually managing one of its branch stores in Moroni. After five years with the company and time out for militia service against Indians, he helped establish telegraph offices south to St. George. At Toquerville he was the telegraph operator and manager for four months. By the 1870s George was an established storekeeper in Ogden with personal wealth of \$1,000. Subsequently he became a banker. He was on the executive board of the First National Bank for fifteen years and then its vice-president for the last ten years of his life. Death came in 1914 after a four-year struggle with cancer.<sup>32</sup>

George married an immigrant from Ham, Sussex, Anna Maria Foulger, in 1870. She died eight years later, leaving four children. In 1879 George married Elizabeth Harriet Foulger, probably Anna Maria's sister. Elizabeth bore eight children before her death in 1899. Five years later George married Emma Quinney, a thirty-year-old divorcee from Logan. This union produced no children.<sup>33</sup>

David, the youngest of the Tribe sons, also followed a business career and for a time was associated with his brother George. David and his wife, Sarah Ann Peterson, from Peterson, Utah, settled in Ogden. Of their nine children, seven reached maturity and two died when infants. David survived all his brothers and sisters, dying in

<sup>31</sup>*Deseret Evening News*, August 28, 1909; Kearn and Pope, *Index*; Robert W. Sloan, ed., *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake Cities for 1884* (Salt Lake City, 1884).

<sup>32</sup>*Deseret Evening News*, February 16, 1914; Kearn and Pope, *Index*.

<sup>33</sup>FGS, George Harrison Tribe.

1925 at the age of seventy-six. The Tribe brothers contributed substantially to the development of economic life in Ogden. All three provided an element of stability for Ogden as well as for the church in which they actively participated.<sup>34</sup>

Another *Germanicus* passenger, Thomas Armstrong, also preferred urban life and sought a livelihood in Salt Lake City. Armstrong left England with his wife Elizabeth, son Thomas, and sixty-year-old Eliza, perhaps his mother. On board the *Germanicus* Armstrong served as counselor and on at least one occasion buried a child who succumbed on the *Uncle Sam*. His wife may have died shortly after arriving in Salt Lake City, for Thomas married Mary Ann Miles of Essex, England, in 1855. Mary Ann was the mother of another *Germanicus* passenger, Francis Hawkes, a twenty-four-year-old baker. When Mary Ann came to Utah is uncertain, but it was probably after her husband, Francis's father, died in England in 1838. In 1860 Thomas Armstrong, Jr., was seventeen and boarded with his stepbrother, Francis Hawkes, in Salt Lake City. Both Armstrongs engaged in business; the father as a bookkeeper for the firm Kimball and Lawrence and the son as a grain dealer. Both died in Salt Lake City, the father in 1900 and the son in 1893. They apparently left the faith once in Utah, for the obituary notices make no mention of church affiliation, a usual practice then and now.<sup>35</sup>

### III

What does this miscellany of lives reveal about immigrant life in general and the lives of these English Mormons in particular? Many raised large families but faced the deaths of two or three of their children before they reached their teenage years. The rigors of life were particularly hard on women, as seen in the cholera epidemic in St. Louis that took eighteen female as opposed to six male lives. Childbearing and poor medical practices contributed to other deaths of young women. Yet the risks of travel and frontier life did not dampen the enthusiasm of women to emigrate, and frequently sisters or widows with children went to join relatives already in Utah.

Settlement and marriage practices were contingent on many factors, including occupations, family ties, and opportunity. Mormon emigrants settled in both urban and rural locations. Those with

<sup>34</sup>*Salt Lake Telegram*, October 14, 1925; FGS, David William Tribe.

<sup>35</sup>BMH, April 4, 1854, p. 7; Featherstone Diary; FGS, William Hawkes; Edward L. Sloan, ed., *Utah and Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City, 1874); *Utah Gazetteer, 1884*; *Deseret Weekly*, April 27, 1893; *Deseret Evening News*, November 30, 1900.

occupational backgrounds in business chose the growing commercial life of Salt Lake City and Ogden, while skilled and semiskilled workers settled in either urban or rural areas. Many men left their trades for agricultural work, given the availability of land. Extended families tended to settle in the same towns and served as a magnet for relatives who came later. Towns soon became identified as the home of the Julian, Tribe, or Dunkley families. There was also a tendency for first-generation emigrants to choose English-born mates rather than American-born mates, while the second generation commonly chose native-born Americans. Personal preference as well as availability probably explain this tendency.

The *Germanicus* passengers scattered throughout Utah and southern Idaho. They had shared and survived a critical time together between Liverpool and the Salt Lake Valley, bound by a common faith. Once settled, they showed remarkable geographical stability. Large families were born and raised in one town and the second generation was inclined to remain in the same town or close by. A reconstruction of the lives of these pioneers demonstrates how vital they were to the frontier's development. Transplanted to a new country, they adjusted to the climate, land, and new occupations with perseverance and determination, inspired by the church that had motivated them to move in the first place.