

1-1-1982

Journal of Mormon History Vol. 9, 1982

Recommended Citation

(1982) "Journal of Mormon History Vol. 9, 1982," *Journal of Mormon History*: Vol. 9: Iss. 1, Article 1.
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory/vol9/iss1/1>

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Journal of Mormon History



Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887

By Richard L. Jensen

There was much worth remembering about the twin relics of early Mormon emigration — wind power across the Atlantic and ox power overland — and participants in the experience would be venerated as pioneers. However, there were few who mourned the passing of the pre-steam era. The change had been long enough in coming.¹

Europeans bound for the Great Basin Zion had taken advantage of the possibilities of rail travel since 1854, when northeastern ports of entry replaced New Orleans. In 1866, as the Union Pacific Railroad edged its way westward, Brigham Young advised all who wanted church help with emigration to remain in Europe during 1867 and await the 1868 season, when he reasoned that the railroad could cut immigrants' foot-travel in half. Meanwhile, those who came on their own in 1867 were sent as far as the railroad terminus before turning to oxen. Finally, in a massive 1868 mobilization of the church-teams system — in many ways the most effective aid to emigration the Mormons ever devised — immigrants were "brought home" to Zion for the last time, leaving some of their number in the canyons to help complete the preparation of the roadbed for the iron horse.

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¹Substantial contributions to the study of arrangements for Latter-day Saint emigration from Europe have been made by Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); by Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest; A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience* (Francetown, N.H.: Marshall Jones, 1947); by William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); and by P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965). The present paper seeks to further elucidate the topic for the early steam era in aspects for which additional information can be found in Latter-day Saint archival sources.

Meanwhile, Mormon emigration was slower to adopt the steamship. Although Mormon continental emigrants generally steamed to England before sailing from Liverpool, only Mormon dignitaries, a few well-to-do emigrants, and mail took steamships to America. British Mission president George Q. Cannon declined an offer for the steamer *Great Eastern* in 1861 on the grounds that it offered no real advantage over sailing ships and cost more.² There was an unsuccessful attempt to charter a large steamer for Scandinavians from Hamburg to the United States in 1862,³ and inquiries were made now and then into steam travel from England. By 1867 only 25 percent of all overseas immigrants to the United States were still arriving by sail.⁴ Aware of the fact that a few shillings' difference in fare would decide the emigration possibilities of many of their people, Mormon leaders watched carefully for the right conditions to make the change. Asking his father for direction, British Mission President Brigham Young, Jr., received a rather noncommittal answer in early 1866, followed in February 1867 by a recommendation that steamships be chartered if suitable terms could be arranged.⁵ In June Young's co-worker and successor at Liverpool, Franklin D. Richards, was able to exclaim:

A great point gained A company of Saints going by steam & booked for £4.15. . . . The saints throughout the mission are inspired anew with courage & zeal to press forward and secure their emigration.⁶

Richards followed this up by undertaking preliminary negotiations for 1868 with the owners of the *Manhattan*, the first steamer to carry a Mormon company over the Atlantic. Guion and Company, a firm still in the process of converting from packet ships to steam, were encouraging.⁷ However, the next emigration season brought heavy demand on ships and a cartel of transatlantic steamship companies, of which Guion was a member, agreed on a price hike to £6.6.0, which would have placed emigration beyond the reach of many Mormons planning to leave. Richards explored his limited alternatives, waited as long as he could for a drop in prices, then reverted to sailing vessels.⁸

In the meantime Brigham Young arranged with the Union Pacific for free railroad fare from Omaha to the terminus for all able-bodied males willing to help complete the roadbed. With construction time at a premium he instructed

²George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, March 1, 1861, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereinafter cited as Church Archives.

³Christian A. Madsen autobiographical sketch, *Morgenstjernen* 3 (1884):120–28.

⁴Report by Dr. John M. Woodworth, Supervising Surgeon, U.S. Marine Hospital Service, in Edith Abbott, ed., *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1969), p. 49.

⁵Brigham Young to Brigham Young Jr., February 22, 1866 and February 2, 1867, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

⁶Franklin D. Richards Diary, June 21, 1867, Church Archives. The fare was subsequently reduced to £4.12.6.

⁷Papers of the Guion Line, to which I have not yet had access, are located at the Liverpool Record Office. A brief history of the line is found in a British publication, *Sea Breezes* 19 (1955): 190–216.

⁸Franklin D. Richards Diary, January 22, and March 7, 1868, Church Archives. Franklin D. Richards to H. B. Clawson, May 16, 1868, in European Mission Letterpress Copybooks, hereinafter cited as EM Letterbooks, Church Archives.

Richards to contract for steamships.⁹ Having already shipped more than two thousand passengers by sail, Richards arranged for two Guion steamships to carry the balance of the year's Mormon emigrants, despite the persistence of high passenger rates. The advantages of steam travel were underscored by heavy mortality on board one of that season's sailing vessels, the *Emerald Isle*, and in August Young explicitly mandated a commitment to steam in his instructions to new European Mission President Albert Carrington:

To enable our immigration to avail themselves of the healthiest portion or portions of the year for better withstanding the changes of habits, diet and climate, and for other good and sufficient reasons, we wish you to employ none but steamships. . . .¹⁰

Without committing themselves to it, the Mormons developed a symbiotic relationship with Guion and Company which gave that firm a de facto monopoly on Mormon shipping for twenty-five years. Early, the firm granted the Mormon mission officials as passenger agents a 7½ percent commission on fares. Mormon leaders liked Guion's arrangements for steerage passengers, who comprised the bulk of Latter-day Saint emigrants. Although cartel prices of £6.6.0 per adult steerage passenger held firm for several years, Guion proved willing to meet or better any competition in accidental expenses like rail fare to Liverpool. Thus Mormon leaders often found it to their advantage to actively explore alternatives with other companies, but found themselves obtaining concessions from Guion rather than changing patronage. The favorable relationship worked to Guion's advantage as well since carrying steerage passengers yielded a relatively high profit margin.

In 1874 Joseph F. Smith, intent on obtaining a better bargain than his predecessors in the European Mission presidency, found a small American line outside the cartel which offered him slightly lower fares to Philadelphia than the cartel was charging to New York. George Ramsden, Guion's agent for passenger affairs, made a counter offer in order to retain the Mormons' business. Suddenly the transatlantic steamship conference came apart at the seams, and Smith concluded that Guion's abandonment of cartel prices in behalf of the Mormons had precipitated the breakup. Whether or not that was true, fares dropped by more than half to £3.0.0, and Smith figured his bargaining had resulted in a saving of more than fifteen thousand dollars to Mormon emigrants that year. Conference controls were reinstituted in late 1875, with the Latter-day Saints paying a fare of £5.0.0, but by 1879 a new pattern had emerged. Conference lines agreed to allow Guion to grant the Mormons fares below the agreed-upon minimum, on the condition that only Mormons would receive the low rates. Periodically Guion negotiated with the Mormons a low maximum rate, with the agreement that if cartel prices dropped below that the Mormons would be charged the lowest fare being quoted at the time of sailing.¹¹

⁹Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, May 23, 1868, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Church Archives.

¹⁰Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, August 14, 1868, Young Letterbooks.

¹¹Joseph F. Smith Diary, April–May 1874, Joseph F. Smith Papers, Church Archives. Joseph F. Smith to William W. Burton, August 13, 1874, and to Julina Smith, September 8, 1874, Joseph F. Smith Letterbook, microfilm, Church Archives. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 36 (June 16,

Thus the Mormons' organized approach to emigration gave them substantial advantages. Their agreement held their fares as much as one-third lower than regular passengers when rates were relatively high. When fares were rock bottom they had little advantage. Less vulnerable to the effects of rate increases by the cartel, the Mormons were able to plan in an orderly way for the emigration of many families whose possibilities were marginal, even with financial help. In order to prevent Guion from undercutting them in the non-Mormon market, other firms insisted that the Mormons not obtain special rates for outsiders — a rule adhered to with varying strictness, especially when Mormons in Utah sent money for the emigration of non-Mormon friends to the West. Guion and Mormon mission president William Budge were embarrassed in 1879 when officials from the National Steamship Company came aboard a Guion ship and found an emphatically non-Mormon family who were being shipped as Mormons. This was a relatively rare exception, although persons sympathetic to the church, with relatives or friends in Utah, were rather frequently booked as Mormons.¹² While mission leaders sought to emigrate to Utah only persons who were favorable to the church, preferably faithful church members, it would be impossible to estimate the extent to which advantageous emigration fares influenced Europeans' inclinations to join or remain with the church.

Aside from lower fares, Mormons had other beneficial arrangements with Guion which varied from time to time. There was usually a passage broker's commission which could be applied to the reduction of fares or used to aid needy emigrants or pay mission expenses. Guion helped arrange group discounts for Mormon emigrants on railroads to Liverpool and superintended arrangements of shipping from the Continent to England, whether by their own line or by others. After 1878, when church president John Taylor directed that the fares of returning missionaries should be paid by the church, Guion usually allowed twelve missionaries free cabin passage for every 300 Mormon emigrants in a company. Additional returning missionaries received cabin passage for which a rate about equivalent to normal steerage fares was charged, to be taken from the church's profits on emigration transactions. The Mormons were also allowed to provide a number of stewards who, as part of the ship's crew, had free passage across the Atlantic.¹³

An added advantage was in the person of George Ramsden, Guion's passenger agent. "Brusque and gruff in his manners generally," wrote Anthon Lund, "he was always as gentle as a lamb to those who hailed from 42" (42 Islington, British Mission headquarters).¹⁴ Although the Mormon business was a relatively minor part of his clientele, Ramsden seemed anxious to do his best by them. He never tired of telling how British Mission President Franklin

1874):376. European Mission Passenger Lists, 1875, Church Archives. William Budge to Samuel Goddard, July 15, 1879, EM Letterbooks. Daniel H. Wells to Anthon H. Lund, March 3, 1885, and to James Jack, March 7, 1885, EM Letterbooks.

¹²William Budge to John Taylor, June 10, 1880, John Taylor Papers, Church Archives.

¹³William Budge to W. C. Staines, April 10, 1879; John Henry Smith to C. D. Fjeldsted, March 21, 1884; John Henry Smith to James Jack, May 8, 1884, all in EM Letterbooks.

¹⁴Anthon H. Lund to Franklin D. Richards, June 3, 1896, Anthon H. Lund Letterbooks, Church Archives.

Richards insisted in 1868 that Ramsden's word was good enough for him, and that no written agreement would be necessary as a basis for their relationship. While Ramsden avoided discussion of Mormonism's religious tenets, he respected the Mormons as a people, enjoyed doing business with them, and developed a warm personal relationship with several of them.¹⁵

Ramsden was aggressive in defense of the Mormons' travel arrangements. When a British railroad failed to give Mormons discount passes as Ramsden had requested, he promptly threatened to withdraw all Guion patronage of that railroad, and won compliance. He took occasion to speak favorably of the Mormons before meetings of shipowners and in contact with consular officials, representing them as honest, clean, orderly, intelligent, and certain not to become charges of the state once they reached America.¹⁶

American Secretary of State William Evarts sent a circular to his consuls in Europe in 1879 which gave rise to confusion about the American government's position with regard to Mormon immigration. Speculation had it that Evarts's intention was not only to discourage the departure of Mormons from European shores, but also to prohibit their landing in the United States. Ramsden and Guion continued to ship Latter-day Saints, despite a warning to Ramsden by Liverpool's chief of police that this might bring him into difficulty with the American government.¹⁷ The Mormons' gratitude for Ramsden's determined support was re-emphasized years later, at the time of his death, in the telling of an incident which supposedly took place during the tensions of 1879. According to Anthon H. Lund, Ramsden came aboard a Guion steamship just as a consul was tacking up notices that Mormons might not be admitted in American ports.

In a towering rage [Ramsden] commanded the Consul to pull down the notice. The latter said he was acting [on] order from the government. Ramsden replied that the government had nothing to do with his ships, and that he did not ask a passenger what his religion was. His strong stand saved our emigration from being stopped.¹⁸

The story may have been apocryphal, but it illustrated the kind of support the Mormons felt they had in Ramsden.

During the crisis over the Evarts circular, William H. Guion, a partner in the shipping line, interviewed Evarts and determined that Mormon emigration was not to be halted, but that the circular was intended to warn potential Mormon converts and emigrants that plural marriage was illegal in America and would be vigorously prosecuted.¹⁹

Guion and the Mormons fared less well in 1886 when Edmund Stephenson, a member of New York State's Board of Commissioners of Emigration, took up a personal crusade to prevent the landing of Mormon immigrants.

¹⁵Ibid. Anthon H. Lund to Heber J. Grant, March 22, 1905, Lund Letterbooks.

¹⁶William Budge to George H. Taylor, September 7, 1879; Daniel H. Wells to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, September 1, 1886, EM Letterbooks. William Budge to John Taylor, October 16, 1880, Taylor Papers.

¹⁷William Budge to John Taylor, August 14, and October 18, 1879, Taylor Papers.

¹⁸Lund to Grant, March 22, 1905. See also Lund's obituary for George Ramsden, "A Good Friend Gone," *Millennial Star* 58 (June 14, 1896):360.

¹⁹William Budge to John Taylor, October 20, 1879, Taylor Papers.

While his opposition to Mormon immigration went beyond strictly legal considerations, Stephenson subjected all Mormons aboard three ships to intensive questioning, contending they were likely to become dependent upon the state for support. That year the board of commissioners detained more than sixty Latter-day Saints for various lengths of time, and deported one woman and three children. These four, however, were reshipped immediately by another steamship line from Liverpool to Baltimore. Apprehensive about further difficulties at New York, the Mormons sent their last company of the season to Philadelphia on the American Line's *British King*.²⁰ A directive from the acting secretary of the treasury ruled out discriminating against Mormon immigrants because of their religion, and, although the atmosphere continued tense, the Mormons resumed their business with Guion in 1887. Only one incident ensued that season. When a lame Icelandic Mormon woman was about to be detained, Guion's New York agent promptly offered the required \$500 bond to guarantee she would be cared for and taken to Utah.²¹

While steamship arrangements with Guion gave stability to Mormon emigration efforts, bargain hunting for railroad fares involved exploratory contacts with a dizzying variety of companies and frequent changes in routes. William C. Staines, the Mormon agent at New York, 1869–1881, was faced at times with two price-settling combinations. Rail agents at Castle Garden, the immigrant processing facility for New York, frequently agreed to enforce uniform prices for the route west, and the three major lines between Chicago and Omaha sometimes combined to eliminate competitive pricing. Adroitly and patiently maneuvering, Staines generally held adult fares to about fifty dollars New York to Ogden. While some church leaders preferred to rely on particular railroads like the Chicago and Northwestern, Staines felt no prior commitment to any, and sometimes avoided Chicago price-fixing by circumventing that hub, using such lines as the Toledo, Peoria and Warsaw Railroad and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. Staines traveled to Liverpool in 1869 to discuss with mission president Albert Carrington the possibility of shipping to Montreal via the Allen Line, and from there to Chicago by way of the Grand Trunk Railroad. His negotiations with Penn Central in 1873 paved the way for Joseph F. Smith's 1874 investigation of shipping to Philadelphia. Though neither of these major changes was carried out, vigilance proved useful in challenging Guion and the railroads to meet or outdo the competition, especially when special rates and not just low regular fares were the focus.²²

Overall, eastern railroads, with more competition and less insistence on quickly recouping initial investment, offered relatively attractive rates. On the western stretch it irked Brigham Young and the Mormons that the Union Pacific, which they had helped to build, seemed to give them cavalier treatment. In 1876, piqued by apparent UP pettiness and by the fact that it cost more to

²⁰*Millennial Star* 48(1886):475–76, 507, 568–70, 601–603, 619. James H. Hart to John Taylor, July 9, September 1 and 14, 1886, Taylor Papers. James E. Hart to John Taylor, July 24, 1886, Taylor Papers. Daniel H. Wells to James H. Hart, September 28, 1886, EM Letterbooks.

²¹*Millennial Star* 48(1886):734–36. George Teasdale to N. C. Flygare, August 5, 1887, EM Letterbooks. Teasdale to Wilford Woodruff, February 25, 1888, EM Letterbooks.

²²William C. Staines to Brigham Young, June 17, and August 1, 1869, June 6, 1872, June 21, 1873, March 8, and June 7, 1876, Young Papers.

take passengers and freight from Omaha to Salt Lake City than to the Pacific Coast, Young publicly explored other alternatives. He calculated that other railroads between New York and Omaha charged the Latter-day Saints \$.90 to \$1.00 per hundred passenger miles, while the Union Pacific charged them \$3.50. The fact that missionaries paid half fare was hardly a comfort. Young let it be known that he was investigating at least two proposals: (1) That the practice of sending wagons from Utah to Omaha to meet incoming immigrants be resumed, and, more seriously, (2) that immigrants be routed through other railroads into Colorado and be encouraged to settle in new Mormon colonies in Arizona or between there and the railroad terminus in Colorado.²³ He also hoped the Texas and Pacific Railroad, rival of Southern Pacific in the race to provide a southern transcontinental route, would consider the Mormons as potential customers.²⁴

Young was slightly ahead of his time. Unable to get better rates than those offered by Union Pacific, he backed off within two months.²⁵ By the mid-1880s Southern Pacific and, more significantly, the Denver and Rio Grande, would offer alternatives to Union Pacific, and would carry a share of Mormon immigrant traffic. And briefly, in the mid-1880s, the Mormons would see immigration fares plummet to unprecedented lows.

In the wildly competitive days before the Interstate Railway Act of 1887, rate wars made bargain hunting particularly attractive. Mormon emigration agents were caught napping in 1884 by an obscure independent travel agent, a Mr. J. A. Petersen of Salt Lake City, who advertised a fare of \$63.00 from Liverpool to Salt Lake City, while the Mormons charged about \$72.50. In consternation they sought the secret of his advantage. In the meantime they complained that his emigrants were sponging off the Mormon system. They generally traveled on the same ships and had the benefit of the Mormons' organization on board, including the leadership and guidance of returning missionaries, for whose fare the official Mormon emigrants were actually paying. On the other hand, in the United States they traveled by different railroads, thus lacking the aid of missionaries as interpreters and guides, and Mormon officials concluded that Petersen's predominantly Scandinavian clientele would therefore be subject to numerous inconveniences, pawns for the unscrupulous who preyed on immigrants.²⁶

Investigating their own possibilities, the Mormons found themselves in the middle of rate reductions on both sea and land. Concessions were made when they pressed for them. As a result, the last two companies of 1884 had the advantage of an unprecedented low rate of \$48 from Liverpool to Salt Lake City. The competition took an almost ridiculous turn in June 1885. By then Petersen was advertising fares from Copenhagen to Salt Lake City for \$52.50.

²³George Reynolds to W. C. Staines, January 21, 1876; Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, January 24, 1876; Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, February 5, and February 24, 1876, Young Letterbooks.

²⁴Young to Cannon, January 24, 1876, Young Letterbooks.

²⁵Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, March 27, 1876, Young Letterbooks.

²⁶John Henry Smith to Anthon H. Lund, July 25, 1884; to James H. Hart, August 7, 1884; to Anthon H. Lund, September 23, 1884; Daniel H. Wells to Anthon H. Lund, March 3, 1885, all in EM Letterbooks.

Mormons arranged the same trip — via Liverpool — for only \$52. Britishers, without the travel from Copenhagen to Liverpool, had to pay eighty cents more under the official Mormon system than their Scandinavian counterparts.²⁷ However, these rates were dependent upon such bargains as a fare of \$1 from New York to Chicago — standard fare was about \$13 — and a total railroad fare of only \$32. The railroad rate increased within the week, but shipowners agreed on a rock bottom fare of £3 — less than \$15 — Liverpool to New York.²⁸

Still in pursuit of low rates, Mormon agent James H. Hart in New York found himself the next year, 1886, trying to elude the price rises being promoted by a voluntary Railway Commission Pool. At the same time he was concerned about the crackdown on Mormon immigrants at New York. He pressed for adopting Baltimore as the port of entry, citing advantageous rail rates from that port. British Mission President Daniel Wells and his successor George Teasdale warned against the capriciousness of sweeping rearrangements undertaken to obtain lowest prices. They also argued that officials were just as likely to deal harshly with Mormon immigrants at other ports as at New York, and that in view of the highly favorable orientation of Guion and Ramsden it was to the Mormons' advantage to maintain ties to the steamship company.²⁹

With the passage of the Interstate Railway Act in 1887, extraordinary bargains became more difficult to obtain and rates saw a general increase. The British Mission resumed arrangements with Guion, and Hart managed to shave \$7 from the new regular rates from New York to Salt Lake City by shipping immigrants from New York to Norfolk, Virginia, on Old Dominion Line steamships, then taking the Norfolk and Western Railway to Bristol, Tennessee, and proceeding by way of Chattanooga, Memphis, and Kansas City. Although fares from New York were still \$5 higher than the previous year, things might have been worse.³⁰

Fluctuation in emigration fares during the early steam era largely reflected four major changes in prices. First, in 1870 the dollar rose about 20 percent against the pound, so rail fare in pounds increased. Second, the transatlantic shipping conference held fares high until 1874, when the combination broke up. The conference established more moderate controls in late 1875–77. Third, the Mormons benefited from special reduced rate arrangements with Guion, 1878–87, and from low competitive sea fares in late 1884 and 1885. Finally, rate wars in 1885–86 preceded the Interstate Railway Act, which then tended to increase prices. (See Graph 1)

In the beginning, Mormon agents had viewed Mr. Petersen's travel agency

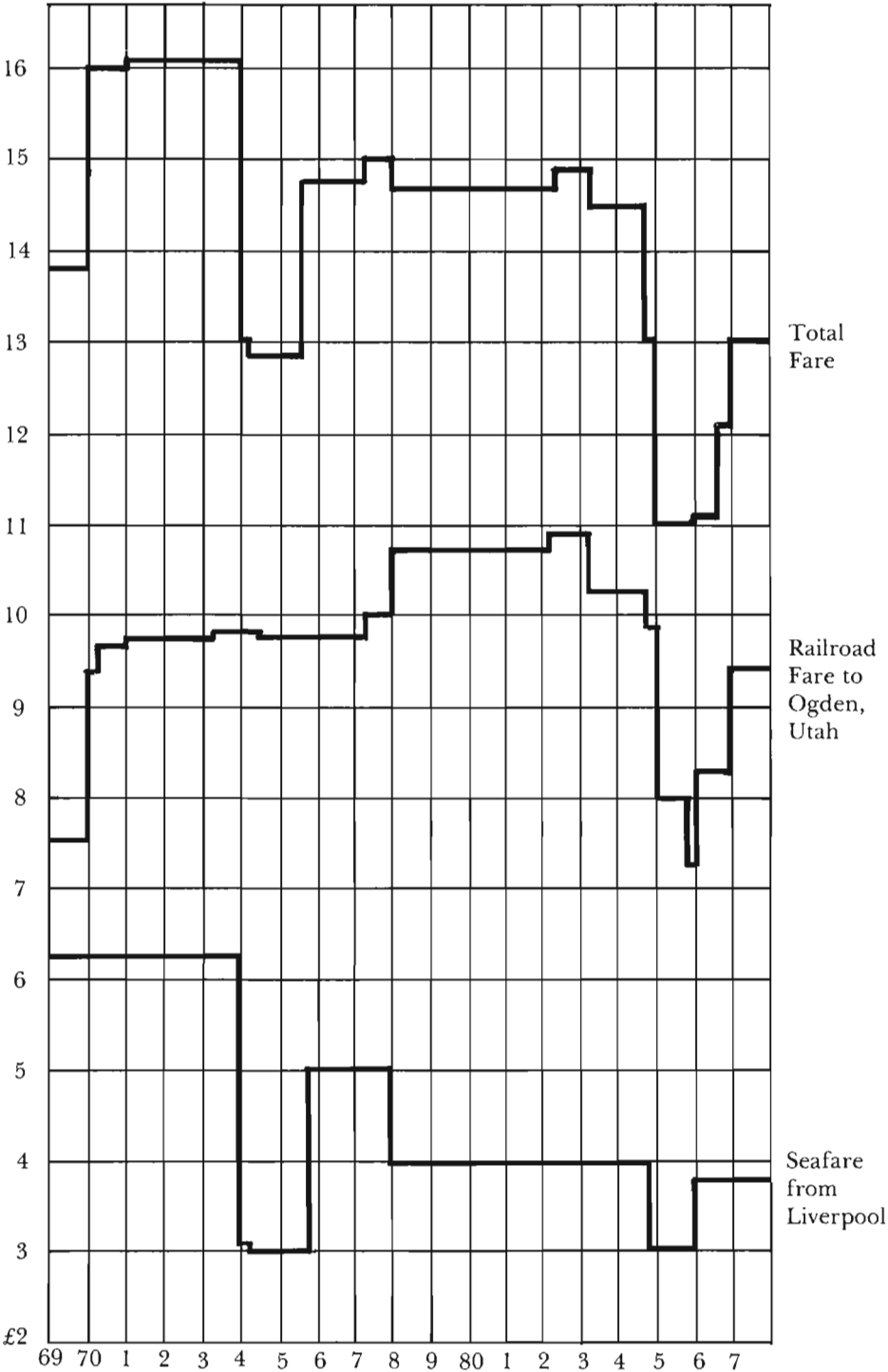
²⁷Daniel H. Wells to James H. Hart, February 24, 1885; Daniel H. Wells to James H. Hart, June 6, 1885, EM Letterbooks.

²⁸Daniel H. Wells to Anthon H. Lund, May 30, 1885; Daniel H. Wells to George Ramsden, June 11, 1885; Daniel H. Wells to James Jack, August 13, 1885, EM Letterbooks.

²⁹James H. Hart to John Taylor, May 27, June 4 and 17, July 3, 15, and 27, 1886, Taylor Papers. Daniel H. Wells to James H. Hart, July 20, 1886; Daniel H. Wells to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, January 27, 1887; George Teasdale to John Taylor, February 17, 1887 and to James H. Hart, February 24, 1887, EM Letterbooks.

³⁰George Teasdale to N. C. Flygare, April 5, 1887, EM Letterbooks.

³¹John Henry Smith to Anthon H. Lund, September 23, 1884, EM Letterbooks.



Graph 1: Adult Latter-day Saint Fares, Liverpool to Ogden, 1869–1887. Steerage class on steamships, emigrant class on railroads. In pounds.

as a troublesome but transitory annoyance, one that might “bust up” at any time.³¹ However, Petersen persisted into the 1890s, despite repeated admonitions to Scandinavian Latter-day Saints in Utah that his prepaid tickets would only prove to be a handicap to friends and relatives for whom they were purchased. Petersen demonstrated that American travel agents received special incentives for European travel. And, with improved telecommunications, travel could be effectively arranged in Salt Lake City — a point not lost on the church. Its New York travel agency, maintained for decades in a hostile environment, was closed after the 1887 immigration season in favor of the office of Church Transportation Agent in Salt Lake City. James H. Hart’s careful management had netted the church average profits of over ten thousand dollars per year for six years — after free fares were provided for returning missionaries. These profits were then available to cover the cost of immigrant rail fares Utah people had paid for at Salt Lake City. This freed up an equivalent amount for church aid to immigrants or other use. Hart was now relieved of his yearly commuting from Bloomington, Idaho, to New York each immigration season.³² Now only returning missionaries could help smooth the way for immigrants at the port of entry; but with a dwindling number of immigrants, that had to suffice.

The New York agency had been responsible for crucial railroad negotiations, and for major shipping arrangements beginning in 1877. However, most arrangements for the emigrants themselves were made in Europe. The focal point of the operation was Liverpool, where hundreds of little dramas unfolded as attempts were made to fulfill the hope of “escaping” to Zion.

First were individuals’ efforts to pay part or all of their way to Zion. Personal savings, in the form of the Individual Emigrating Account, were maintained throughout this period. All prospective emigrants were encouraged to save what they could toward their deliverance by depositing with branch treasurers, who forwarded the funds through the conference to the mission office. There it was available for the individuals’ emigration expenses, and in the meantime could be drawn upon for other needs. At the end of 1868, with the dawning of the all-steam era, such individual savings at Liverpool stood at about twenty-seven thousand dollars, and by 1879 that had dwindled to about twelve thousand dollars.³³ Indications are that as those who were able to accumulate sufficient savings emigrated, there remained fewer candidates for emigration and they had fewer resources. Presumably, an increasing proportion of the emigrants had to rely upon outside help.³⁴

In earlier years, prospective emigrants were frequently encouraged to pay their fare to the American port of entry — perhaps \$20 or \$25 — and then earn enough in America to take them the rest of the way to Salt Lake City. Or, for perhaps \$40 per adult, they could make their way from Liverpool to the frontier outfitting point for the church teams, where they could arrange the remainder of their transportation by agreeing to reimburse the Perpetual

³²Edward L. Hart, *Mormon in Motion: The Life and Journals of James H. Hart, 1825–1906* . . . (Salt Lake City: Windsor Books, 1978), pp. 260–61.

³³Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, January 16, 1869, EM Letterbooks.

³⁴Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 151.

Emigrating Fund. Now, however, with non-Mormon commercial transportation covering the entire route, cash was required in advance for the entire fare. Many were successful in acquiring the needed cash; for some it was a difficult undertaking. "I have both rejoiced and wept," wrote mission president Albert Carrington, "when I have seen the little children of the very poor depositing their pennies toward their escape to the land of Zion..."³⁵

Families in financial distress occasionally withdrew funds from their emigration savings in order to make ends meet. Typical of the response was the reaction of mission president William Budge, sending a postal order for £1.0.9 to a brother in Bradford in 1879: "I am very sorry that circumstances should compel you to withdraw your emigration funds and trust that with the blessings of the Lord, you will soon be able to replace them."³⁶

Occasionally families unable to save as effectively as they might have liked were encouraged to send a family member — perhaps a father who could hopefully earn money in Zion, or perhaps a child, as an added incentive to work toward emigration for the rest of the family. Henry Naisbitt wrote the words for a song, "The Mormon Lad," published in the *Juvenile Instructor* in 1877, that celebrated this phenomenon. The young boy hears "the priesthood calling," knows that his time has come to emigrate to Zion, and promises his parents, "Soon I hope by industry / To aid you both from Bab'lon's shore." Although the boy is sadly missed, with his help, within a year, "The 'old folks' dare the ocean's roar, / To meet their faithful lad, and proudly stand / In Zion soon — hurrah 'tis o'er."³⁷

In another study, Gordon Irving and I found little or no correlation for a group of 1863 British emigrants between socioeconomic status and the length of time one was a church member before emigrating. The suggestion seemed to be that consumption and expenses tended to keep pace with available resources as much for those with better-paying employment as for those who were not well paid.³⁸ At any rate, the savings accounts administered by the missions continued to play a significant role in promoting emigration.

Regardless of the size of one's savings account, there could be hope if help from Zion was available. Some drives for donations to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company were more successful than others. The campaign which began in autumn 1867 and continued into 1869 was one of the most encouraging. Reluctantly, with the encouragement of Bishop Edward Hunter, Brigham Young agreed to accept cattle and grain, as well as cash, for PEF donations. Because of the difficulty of converting cattle to cash, the general rule had been that stock and grain would be accepted as repayment of individual indebtedness to the PEF but not as donations. Repayment was usually problematic and needed to be rendered as feasible as possible; donations, on the other hand, must be usable for the purpose for which they were given. This campaign

³⁵Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, November 6, 1868, EM Letterbooks.

³⁶William Budge to David Green, August 19, 1879, EM Letterbooks.

³⁷"The 'Mormon' Lad," *Juvenile Instructor* 12 (1877):96.

³⁸Richard L. Jensen and Gordon Irving, "British Mormon Emigrants on the Ship *Amazon*, 1863: A Computer-Assisted Study," paper presented at annual meeting of Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association, San Francisco, August 19, 1978, pp. 32–33.

netted about one hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars in contributions, mostly in kind. Because the Union Pacific Railroad had paid Brigham Young only a fraction of what it owed for Mormon work on its roadbed in 1868–69, cash contributions lagged far behind expectations, although undoubtedly much of the cash donated at this time stemmed from railroad income.³⁹ Brigham Young hinted that if Great Basin Mormons applied themselves they could bring all those from the British Mission who wished to emigrate, and the rumor spread that he actually wished to see that accomplished and the mission closed.⁴⁰ Although that was not a realistic possibility, the idea itself served to motivate prospective emigrants.

The emigration of 1869 owed some of its magnitude to a misunderstanding about the use of PEF funds. That year Albert Carrington, a new mission president in England, received \$25,000 from Brigham Young, which would have paid emigration expenses for a long list of PEF emigrants whose names Young intended to send afterwards. Elder Carrington interpreted some of the President's remarks at April conference to mean that funds would be made available that year for at-large PEF emigrants, selected in the missions rather than nominated by friends or relatives in Utah and sent for by President Young. On the other hand, Carrington must have been aware that he could probably expect Young to order at least a few emigrants of his own choosing sent. But as Carrington studied his emigration preparations for the season he entirely failed to consider the possibility that further directions for the use of the money would be forthcoming. Thus he had conference presidents select enough of the worthy poor church members of long standing to use all but about one thousand dollars of these funds, and sent the emigrants steaming off for America before he received the long list from Salt Lake City. In retrospect he suggested that perhaps the Lord had made him do it because certainly he would not otherwise have expected such behavior of himself.⁴¹

President Young, who by now was hard pressed by the failure of the Union Pacific Railroad to pay him for his construction of their roadbed, and by the need of his workers for hundreds of thousand of dollars in pay, pointedly let Carrington know how far he had exceeded his instructions. He authorized Carrington to borrow if necessary to cover the expenses of the emigrants Young had ordered out — and they must be sent out. Then, recognizing that the mistake was irretrievable, he wrote: "I will do all that I can to help you out, and I do not wish you to worry your mind about it, as all will be right."⁴² As a result of these excesses of the heart there were virtually no PEF funds for the following year.

³⁹Brigham Young Address, April 8, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–1886; reprinted, 1967), 13:30. Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, September 14, 1869, Young Letterbooks. Minutes of Meeting of Bishops with Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter, November 21, 1867, Church Archives. Brigham Young to F. D. Richards, January 7, 1868. Young Letterbooks.

⁴⁰Taylor, *Expectations Westward*. p. 29.

⁴¹Albert Carrington to Brigham Young, August 26, 1869, Young Papers. Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, September 14, and October 16, 1869, Young Letterbooks.

⁴²Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, August 24, and September 14, 1869, Young Letterbooks.

Although in 1868, 1869, 1872 and 1880 local mission leaders had the opportunity to select a proportion of those who received PEF assistance to emigrate from Europe, these were exceptions. The general rule for most of the early steam era was that the president of the PEF, in Salt Lake City, was responsible for deciding who should receive the benefit of company funds. Thus there was a strong tendency for the fund to benefit those who had friends or relatives in Utah, who then could plead their case with the president of the company. Generally, donors of substantial sums were allowed to designate recipients. In later years one's chances for PEF aid were considerably improved if one had a friend or relative who could give the company security for repayment, thus theoretically insuring prompt replacement of the funds so they might be used for the next season's emigration.

Additional drives for PEF donations took place in 1873–74 and 1876, and of course further contributions were welcomed whenever they were made. Organizations frequently pooled their members' small gifts to make more substantial group donations. Ward or stake Primaries or Relief Societies sent money from year to year for the emigration of orphans or of poor children; some organizations paid for the emigration of a number of brothers and sisters. Benefiting from trade with nearby mining communities, Mormons in Panaca and Eagleville, Nevada, contributed conspicuous sums of gold dust and coin in the 1870s. In all, a total of about sixty thousand dollars in cash was donated to the fund in the period 1869–1886.⁴³

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund helped bring from Europe families totaling more than one hundred persons in each of the years 1869, 1871–75, and 1878–81.⁴⁴ That so many could be helped with relatively little cash was due to several techniques for maximizing the effect of the PEF funds expended. A typical notification that PEF aid would be available to an emigrant family in 1879 indicated, "You are expected to do what you can towards paying your passage and the P.E.F. will do the rest."⁴⁵ Occasionally the PEF authorized the use of specific amounts of money for a portion of the fares of particular individuals or families. Many PEF emigrants were able to pay a significant part of the total fare, thus making PEF funds go further. PEF emigrants were asked to respond promptly, telling whether they could leave with the next company or would require more time, and reports were submitted to Salt Lake City detailing the conditions of those who did not avail themselves of the aid they had been offered in a given year. Thus, while cash contributions in the period 1869–1886 might theoretically have paid less than a thousand adult fares, they benefited family groups totaling about three thousand individuals.⁴⁶

⁴³Cash Donation Book, 1869–1886, Perpetual Emigrating Fund Papers, Church Archives. Several large individual contributions which were not listed with these donations may also have been in cash. These included donations by Brigham Young.

⁴⁴Based on an analysis of European Mission Passenger Lists, Church Archives and PEF Ledgers, PEF Papers.

⁴⁵William Budge to Frederick Bentley, July 18, 1879, in EM Letterbooks.

⁴⁶Based on an analysis of European Mission Passenger Lists, 1869–1886, Church Archives. When records indicate that all or part of the emigration expenses for a particular traveling group came from a particular source, I have counted all members of the group as beneficiaries of that aid. Most traveling groups consisted of members of an immediate family. Extended families with separate arrangements for payment are classified here as separate traveling groups.

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund's dual nature as a charitable enterprise and a business seeking repayment of loans is illustrated in the emigration of Henry Webb, an orphan boy. In 1884 the British Mission received orders to emigrate Henry and his sister, who were to live with their step-grandmother in Manti, Utah. Missionaries paid a woman who had been caring for Henry, and were instructed to keep track of his transportation expenses to Liverpool, so those could be added to the regular emigration expenses on the note he was to sign. When he reached Liverpool it became apparent that he was too young to sign the note. Nevertheless, the PEF was to keep track of the expenses, and hopefully the company would be repaid sometime. Incidentally, his sister Emily lived at an orphanage, and authorities there declined to allow her to emigrate because there existed no direct relationship between the girl and her step-grandmother.⁴⁷

While the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company deserves attention as a manifestation of organized effort to help emigrants, aid given through that source was eclipsed for the period we are considering by individual assistance, which assumed a variety of other forms. Most typical was the payment of cash at church offices in Salt Lake City for a church draft to be used by parties in Europe for emigration. A typical notification sent by the Liverpool office in 1884 reads:

Phebe Clark

Stonewick, Near Highams Fences

Northamptonshire

Dear Miss. George Clark of Utah has sent Church Draft No. 12 of September 17, 1884 for £4.8.0 to be used only for your emigration. Are you a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints? Can you [go] with the Company Oct. 25 inst.? What is your age? Please reply and find circular [giving details of procedures for emigrants] enclosed.

Yours Faithfully,

John Henry Smith.⁴⁸

George Clark had emigrated only that June, and was able to send a draft for £4.8.0 — about \$21.00 — this soon afterwards. Months later he sent an additional draft for £24.9.9 — about \$119.00, enabling his wife, Phoebe, to leave Liverpool with three small children and a relative in the first Latter-day Saint emigrant company of 1885.⁴⁹

During most of this early steam era between 20 and 50 percent of Mormon emigrants benefited from some kind of aid to cover emigration expenses. A higher proportion of British emigrants generally received help than did the other large category of emigrants, Scandinavians. Since British Mormon emigration had begun twelve years earlier than Scandinavian, British immigrants in the Mountain West had a more substantial base from which to assist friends and relatives. Moreover, church members of long standing in Great Britain were generally deemed more appropriate recipients of church aid than more recent Scandinavian converts. During the years 1869–1885, 29.8 percent

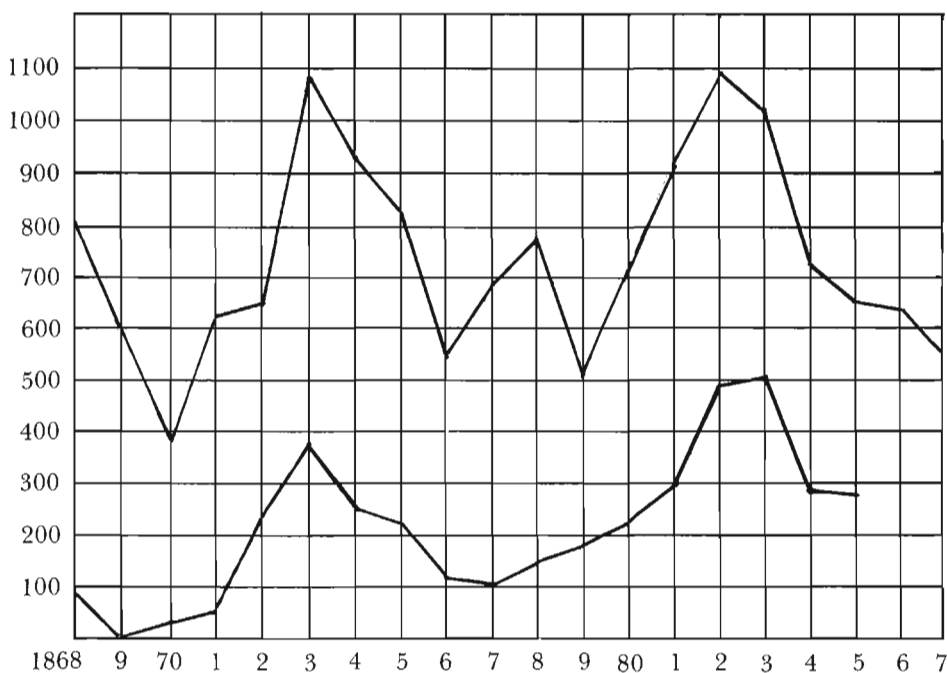
⁴⁷EM Letterbooks, 1884–1885.

⁴⁸John Henry Smith to Phebe Clark, October 3, 1884, EM Letterbooks.

⁴⁹European Mission Passenger Lists, 1885. Family Group Sheets for George Clark, Library, Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

of Scandinavian Mormon emigrants benefited from some sort of identifiable aid. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was only a significant factor in the years 1872–1876, when it helped 318, or 7.9 percent of the emigrants departing from Scandinavia. During those same years private funds in the form of church drafts helped 21.8 percent. The highest proportion of Scandinavian emigrants to receive help was in 1883, when 507 — 49.9 percent of them — benefited from documented aid. This aid was almost entirely in the form of church drafts; three persons received postal orders. (See Graph 2) That same year 659, or 56.9 percent of British emigrants received aid, with 49.2 percent helped by drafts and other private arrangements and 8.9 percent by PEF or other church help. Some had both private and Church help. Of the British, 19.5 percent drew from savings accounts.⁵⁰

Relatives and friends frequently sent payment for emigrants' railroad fares to the Mormon agent at New York, rather than to Europe. Thus an even higher proportion of emigrants received private aid than indicated above. In addition, the New York agent was sometimes called upon to provide financial help to emigrants who otherwise would have been stranded in New York. In 1869 William Staines learned that about two hundred Scandinavian Mormons had supposedly expected money for their rail fares to be sent to New York by



Graph 2: Latter-day Saint Emigrants from Scandinavia, 1868–1887;
those for whom aid for travel expenses was recorded, 1868–1885.

⁵⁰Based on analysis of Scandinavian Mission Passenger Lists, 1869–1885, and European Mission Passenger Lists, 1869–1886, Church Archives. Church drafts, which were officially recommended as the best method for sending private aid, are here presumed to have far outweighed undocumented forms of aid sent directly to prospective emigrants.

friends and relatives. The money did not arrive, and Staines sent them to Utah on the railroad. They signed agreements to repay their borrowed fares after arrival in Utah. In all, Staines expended more than six thousand dollars to assist about three hundred persons with railroad fares that year.⁵¹

When individuals or organizations sent funds outside the PEF for the emigration of specific European Latter-day Saints they were at liberty to arrange for repayment if they wished, or to give the funds as a gift. While it is impossible to know exactly what arrangements were made privately, some clearly attempted to establish miniature Perpetual Emigrating Funds of their own, in that they asked the European Mission to make it clear that they wished for repayment as soon as possible so that they might repeat the use of the same money to emigrate additional people in the future. Among such donors was Sarah M. Kimball of Salt Lake City, presumably in her capacity as a ward Relief Society president.⁵²

While instructions for emigration with the use of PEF funds and church drafts were usually quite precise and had to be followed exactly, they often failed to provide for exigencies. Had Salt Lake City not known that a particular family now had an additional child whose fare must also be paid? Was the prospective emigrant unable to come up with cash for the train fare to Liverpool? Did he lack the necessary \$4 to pay the cost of eating utensils and of provisions for the railroad trip from New York to Salt Lake City? During most of the steam era modest profits earned by the Mormon passage brokerage were available for the use of the mission president, at his discretion, to cover such emergencies. As with PEF funds, these monies were accounted for precisely, and individuals signed notes agreeing to repay the amount loaned to the Trustee-in-Trust rather than the PEF Company. This added a touch of humanity and flexibility to the emigration efforts which by and large had to be operated like a business, not a giveaway.

Official records show a few instances of contract labor agreements which provided emigration expenses for the workers. Occasionally farm owners made arrangements through the mission president for farm laborers who would agree to work for a specific length of time, usually one year, in return for their emigration, and would receive modest wages at a rate agreed upon prior to emigrating. Undoubtedly many more such arrangements were made privately, often for relatives or friends of American missionaries who were willing to help someone emigrate in return for inexpensive labor.⁵³

Simon Bamberger, a non-Mormon and later governor of Utah, helped arrange contract labor emigration in 1880 for the production of coke, an enterprise in which he was involved in south-central Utah. With the permission of British Mission President William Budge, Bamberger had a mission clerk make inquiries through conference presidents for coalwashers, cokeburners, and coke oven masons. Five men were promptly located and sent to Sanpete County, where they agreed to work for a year, to receive wages of \$2.50 per

⁵¹W. C. Staines to Brigham Young, August 1, and October 3, 1869, Young Papers.

⁵²John Henry Smith to Sarah M. Kimball, June 17, 1884, in EM Letterbooks.

⁵³John Henry Smith to Ezra T. Clark, April 4, 1883; John Henry Smith to John Cartwright, July 11, 1884; William Budge to Lorenzo Pettit, May 22, 1879, EM Letterbooks.

day, and to have the expenses of their emigration deducted from their earnings. The workers had the mission clerk to thank for the fact that they were offered \$2.50 per day, rather than \$1.50, which Bamberger had initially suggested.⁵⁴

The prospect of marriage provided another basis for funding of individual emigration. In 1884 a gentleman in Parowan, Utah, requested British Mission President John Henry Smith to help him find a wife, offering to pay for her emigration. Smith took pleasure in facilitating the arrangement. The man was to send his photograph and a recommend signed by his bishop. Smith made inquiries and located an eighteen-year-old prospect in Nottingham, "a very nice young Lady so her friends and acquaintances say." After seeing the gentleman's photograph she consented to go to Utah, and her photograph was sent to him. He was to repay the Trustee-in-Trust for her emigration, but the matter of marriage was to be settled between them. If they did not marry, the young woman was to repay the man as soon as she could earn the money. Smith reassured him, however, that after seeing the girl

I feel almost certain that you will both be pleased and that all will be for the best. I make no charge for my services in this matter and will be amply paid if you prove to this young woman a good kind and considerate husband and she to you a faithful and loving wife.⁵⁵

Smith promised to keep confidential the fact that he had helped arrange this, and nothing is known about the outcome after the young woman stepped off the train at Milford, Utah.

British Mission records show other instances of offers to pay for the emigration of prospective wives, but these were generally persons who had known the donors previously and whose decision to accept the help offered would have been tantamount to agreeing to marry. That the question of sending for prospective spouses should arise in a fairly extensive emigration system seems natural. Perhaps the fact that it is mentioned only occasionally tells us something about Mormon marriage arrangements. Presumably, people preferred to make their own arrangements through private correspondence, rather than through official channels.

The early steam era, from 1869 to 1887, saw a total of about thirty-three thousand Latter-day Saints emigrate from Europe, an average of about 1,740 per year. The previous twenty-nine years of Mormon emigration yielded a total of about fifty thousand six hundred, a nearly identical average of about 1,743 per year.⁵⁶ (See Graph 3) While the level of Mormon emigration fluctuated wildly in the nineteenth century, yearly variations were slightly less pronounced in the steam era. Mormon resources were overextended to promote

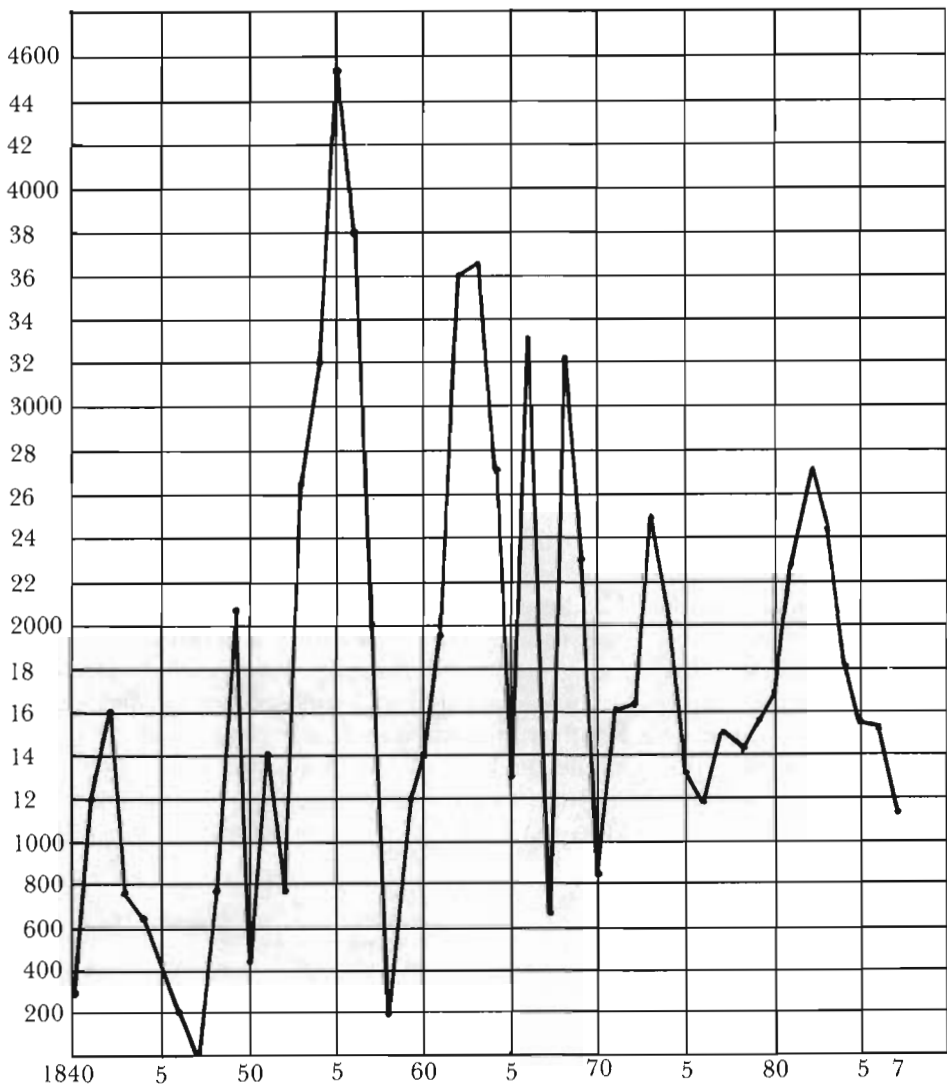
⁵⁴EM Letterbooks, 1880. The rather extensive correspondence on this matter begins with Francis Cope to S. Bamberger, March 25, 1880, and continues into May 1880.

⁵⁵John Henry Smith correspondence, August 22–November 12, 1884, EM Letterbooks. The young woman's expenses, to be repaid by the prospective husband, were borrowed from emigration profits.

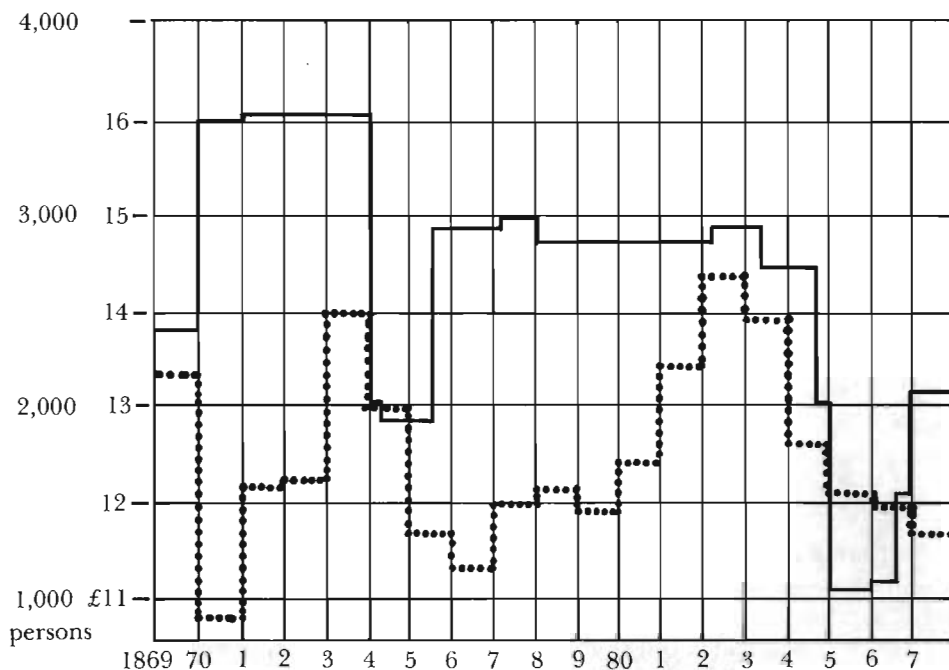
⁵⁶Based on figures in European Mission Passenger Lists, reports of departing emigrant companies in *Millennial Star*, annual reports in *ibid.*, and Andrew Jensen's information about 1840–1868 emigrant companies in *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City, Utah; Daughters of Utah Pioneers) 12 (1951):463–65.

the emigration of 1868–1869, and the aftermath was a marked decline in 1870–1871. After that, variations tended increasingly to reflect international economic conditions rather than changes in Mormon emigration policies. The Panic of 1873; the ensuing depression, coupled with declining prices for British industry; recovery peaking in the early 1880s; and economic difficulties of the mid-80s were all graphically reflected in Mormon emigration patterns of the period.

The relationship between cost of transportation and the number of Mormons to emigrate is more difficult to suggest. (See Graph 4) Peaks in LDS emigration in 1873 and 1882 came when fares were relatively high, at times of relative prosperity. On the other hand, low fares in 1874 and 1885–1886 may have enabled marginal people to emigrate even at times of relative economic



Graph 3: Latter-day Saint Emigrants from Europe, 1840–1887.



Graph 4: Adult Mormon Emigrant Fares from Liverpool, 1869–1887;
Mormon Emigrants from Europe, 1869–1887.

distress. The dramatic weakening of the pound sterling against the dollar in international exchange in 1870 put British emigrants at a disadvantage and, coupled with a decrease in aid sent from Utah, resulted in the most marked decline in LDS emigration for the period.

The conversion to steam changed the nature of the emigration experience considerably. The first all-steam company in 1869 made the trip from Liverpool to Ogden in a mere twenty-four days. A new record of seventeen days was set in 1877.⁵⁷ This was a different world from the years when emigrants would not reach the Salt Lake Valley until three to five months after departure. Gone were the days of tragically high mortality aboard ship, particularly among infants and children. By late 1872 mortality aboard steamships landing in the United States had been reduced to below that of the country as a whole, and less than one-twenty-fifth the mortality rate of sailing vessels in 1867.⁵⁸

Steam brought far greater flexibility in scheduling of departures. In early years, ice around Scandinavian ports had precluded departures before late March or early April, and the danger of early snows in the Rocky Mountains made it risky to embark after May. Later departures meant a winter layover east of the Mississippi. Hectic preparations for several large emigrant companies within a period of a few weeks sometimes seriously damaged the health

⁵⁷Brigham Young to George Nebeker, June 25, 1869; Brigham Young to Joseph F. Smith, July 17, 1877, Young Letterbooks.

⁵⁸Woodworth report in Abbot, ed., *Immigration* . . . , pp. 48–49.

of British Mission officials. Now the emigration season generally extended from April, May or June through October, with smaller groups occasionally departing at other times. The heaviest months for shipping were June and September. An early departure helped immigrants become well established in their new homes before winter set in. Autumn companies were best for those dependent on farming income or on aid sent during the summer. Varying conditions and the preferences of mission presidents influenced the size and frequency of emigrant companies, which averaged about three hundred per ship.

Reliance on the railroad instead of the Church teams for the final leg of the journey freed manpower, teams, wagons, and other resources for the building of temples and other community development. In earlier years, those who had helped bring home the immigrants had missed both planting time and harvest time.

For most of the years included in this study the cost of immigration was comparable to what it had been for more than a decade before the transition to steam was complete. For a brief period in 1885–1886 expenses for individual immigrants were very close to what they had been for the most drastic attempt to cut costs — the handcart experiment of nearly three decades earlier.⁵⁹ Those who purchased their own teams and wagons in the earlier days generally paid more for the journey, but then they had a very helpful investment when they reached Utah.

While steam travel was seldom significantly more expensive than the old way, it required cash in advance to cover the entire journey. That was a relatively scarce commodity among the Latter-day Saints, whereas labor and teams and wagons were not. Thus, in a sense it is difficult to compare the costs of the two systems.

For earlier immigrants the trip to Utah was both a religious pilgrimage and a trial of faith. The act of distancing oneself from Babylon by making the long and arduous trek must have been significant for individuals and for the Mormons as a people. In the steam era much of the effort centered around the accumulation, saving, and contribution of money — perhaps more difficult to invest with religious significance, but nevertheless a function of faith and charity.

But what happened when the destination was reached? In a sense, in the old days even the teamsters at the outfitting point had been the beginning of a welcoming to Zion. The wagons coming out to meet the immigrants with fruit and baked goods, and the throngs that met them as they arrived in Salt Lake City, had been a welcome part of the process of assimilation. In 1899 George Q. Cannon commented editorially that in the old days

Within a very few days even a large company was entirely absorbed into the community,

⁵⁹Based on analysis of fares listed in EM Letterbooks, 1884–85, Church Archives; and of 1856 Immigrants' Accounts, PEF Papers, Church Archives. Post Civil War inflation in the United States, followed by periods of economic depression in both the U.S. and Europe, would have affected the relative difficulty of saving for and paying emigrant fares. Nevertheless, U.S. cost-of-living indexes for 1884–85 were slightly higher than for 1856, tending to validate comparison of fares for those years. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington D.C., 1960), p. 127.

and the new-comers fairly started in their new life. Since the railroad came there has appeared to be less interest, as there has also been less hospitality toward our immigrants.⁶⁰

Now there was less opportunity for counseling about employment and housing, less initiation into the conditions and customs of the territory.

The disincorporation of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company in 1887 affected Mormon emigration only minimally, for the gradual transition to more individualistic aid to emigration was already nearly complete. Individual Latter-day Saints in the Mountain West continued to be an important source of aid for European emigrants. By the turn of the century emigration was deemphasized and occasionally discouraged by church officials. Mission leaders and missionaries largely abandoned the promotion of emigration, although with the continued flow of converts to America they maintained some of the "shepherding" arrangements that characterized Latter-day Saint emigration from its inception. Mormon emigration assumed a lower profile, becoming only a pale reflection of its early steam era, which was a time of relatively successful adjustment to new conditions. Steaming through to America in significant numbers in the last third of the nineteenth century was an achievement both for the second generation of Mormon pioneers and for their leaders.

⁶⁰George Q. Cannon editorial, "The True Spirit of Gathering," *Juvenile Instructor* 34 (1899):83.