

CONVEYANCE & CONTRIBUTION: MORMON SCOTS GATHER TO AN AMERICAN ZION

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Introduction

“I believed in the principal [sic] of the gathering and felt it my duty to go although it was a severe trial to me, in my feelings to leave my native land and the pleasing associations that I had formed there; but my heart was fixed. I knew in whom I had trusted and with the fire of Israel’s God burning in my bosom, I forsook my home.”¹ So wrote Mormon convert Jane C. Robinson Hindley, who gathered to an American Zion in the mid nineteenth century.

Robinson was one of about 90,000 European converts who heeded the call to gather with the Saints in America during the nineteenth century (1840-1900). According to Professor Frederick S. Buchanan, of this group, some ten thousand Scots converted to Mormonism, and about half (five thousand) responded to the call to gather to Zion.² Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as Mormons) believe that God selected Joseph Smith Jr. to restore the early Christian church on earth in Fayette, New York, in 1830. They are unique among Christian faiths in their belief in The Book of Mormon—Another Testament of Jesus Christ. Also distinct to the Latter-day Saints is their belief in modern-day prophets and apostles as were had in the primitive church, whose members referred to themselves as Saints (Ephesians 2:19-20).

Joseph Smith led his Latter-day Saint followers first to Kirtland, Ohio, then to Missouri, and on later to Illinois to establish a community at Nauvoo (1839-1846). Two years after a mob killed Smith in 1844, Brigham Young became the leader of the church and determined to settle in the Great Basin, far from persecution. He led the first group of Mormon settlers into the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. This paper relates the experience of their conveyance to America and the subsequent contributions they made on an ever-expanding Zion in the West.

How the message of Mormonism came to Scotland

The divine direction to gather Latter-day Saints into one body was announced by the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith during the second conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, less than six months after its organization in 1830:

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

day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.³

This instruction not only sent a call that influenced migration, it also created millennial expectations. Proselytizing and gathering were limited to the boundaries of North America during the first decade of the Church’s existence. By the latter half of the 1830s, the message had penetrated into the borders of Eastern Canada. Before the decade came to a close, problems occurred at Kirtland among the Mormons’ own ranks, a result of the economic depression of 1837. There was a need for new blood. In this same year, Joseph Smith Jr., sent his trusted friend and fellow Church leader Heber C. Kimball to the British Isles, along with several missionaries.⁴

Two years later, two Scotsman who had previously been converted to Mormonism in Eastern Canada were sent to preach the message of Mormonism (or the restored gospel) to their homeland. One of them, Samuel Mulliner, who had learned the trade of shoemaking in Dunbar, settled in Toronto in 1832.⁵ The other, Alexander Wright, came from the area of Banffshire, Scotland and emigrated to Canada in 1835. Together, these two native Scotsmen were the first to bring the message of the restored gospel to their native countrymen.

Arriving in Glasgow 20 December 1839, they journeyed together to Edinburgh, where Mulliner’s parents lived. Wright continued on to the north to spend time with his relatives. Mulliner remained in the area of Edinburgh until 7 January 1840, when he launched his plan to systematically proselytize from one end of the country to the other. He began his missionary labors in Bishopston, six miles west of Paisley. In this area he taught Alexander and Jessie Hay, whom he baptized in the icy water of the River Clyde a week later.

Mulliner continued to preach in this area until the end of the month, at which time he left for Edinburgh, where Elder Wright had asked him to meet and join in the work. Here they preached for a two weeks before returning to Bishopston. They then began to proselytize in various towns in this region, including the towns of Paisley, Johnstone, Houston, Bridge-of-Weir, and Kilpatrick.

At Paisley they hired a hall and began to preach at public meetings. In Kilpatrick, they encountered opposition. A mob forced them to leave town, pelting them with rubbish and stones. Yet by mid-May, Mulliner and Wright had baptized eighty converts, and a branch was formed in Paisley by Church Apostle Orson Pratt.⁶ By 2 September 1840, four Scottish converts had left their homeland for Zion, the beginning of a tide of thousands who would follow.⁷

Gathering to Nauvoo

After being formally organized for only a decade, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were forced to find several gathering places. Because of early persecution, they were forced to move from New York, settling in Kirtland, Ohio and in western Missouri. Persecutions followed them in these places as well, and therefore they chose to gather in the state of Illinois, in an undesirable, swamp-ridden, mosquito-infested region they called Nauvoo, a name which, translated from Hebrew, meant a “beautiful situation” – and such a place they hoped it would become. It would be here that the Mormon Scottish immigrants would gather during the years 1840-1846.

Finding a New Zion in the West

On 4 February 1846, under pressure of anti-Mormon mobs, the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo and began to cross the icy waters of the Mississippi. They were now without their leader Joseph Smith; he and his brother Hyrum had been murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois in June of 1844. Brigham Young was now their American Moses, and as 1846 came to a close, thousands were camped out in Iowa Territory between the borders of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. On the west bank of the Missouri River, referred by Saints as Winter Quarters (present-day Omaha, Nebraska), Brigham Young provided leadership to the main body of the Saints who had assembled. On 14 January 1847, Brigham announced he had received a revelation which gave, among other things, the following advice to the Mormon emigrants: “Choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.”⁸

When the spring of 1847 arrived, this advanced group left the banks of the Missouri, and by 24 July, Brigham Young and his company had entered the Salt Lake Valley, which he declared to be the new place of the gathering of God’s covenant people. Among this first group was David Grant, the first of thousands of Scottish Mormons who would later enter the Salt Lake Valley.

Sailing to Zion in the West

In the winter of 1848, Mormon Scots again began to cross the Atlantic. One group came on the *Carnatic*, which had about 120 Mormon emigrants on board, half of whom were from Scotland. These Scottish Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1848, following a rough ocean crossing.⁹

The following year, Frederic Gardner noted on the voyage of the *James Pennell*, “I believe altogether there are about 250 souls, probably one hundred or more of whom are from Scotland. But all are filled with the spirit of the gospel, and working in harmony with each other.”¹⁰ John Penman remembered, “Myself, wife, and three children bid adieu to dear old Scotland and cast our lot with the Mormons and to make a home with that peculiar people in the desert wilds of North America.”¹¹ During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Scots gathered as individuals and families by the hundreds and thousands to make a desert blossom as a rose.

On the voyage of the *Ellen* in 1851, Crandell Dunn recalled, “We left the dock with singing some of the songs

of Scotland.”¹² As the Scottish Saints would converge at Liverpool before departure, some encountered a language and culture they were not accustomed to. For example, one Scotch woman would later recall, to “hear them talk English . . . was quite amusing to us, as we had never been out of Scotland until then.”¹³ The immigrants encountered other experiences they were also not accustomed to. For example, on a Mormon chartered voyage in 1853 James McNaughtan recalled, “The greatest difficulty we had to combat on board the *Falcon* was cooking. The convenience being so limited but even in this matter we got along much better than we had even anticipated.”¹⁴

Fellowship was characteristic of other Latter-day Saint voyages who crossed the Atlantic in the mid-nineteenth century; most of the Saints intermingled remarkably well.¹⁵ By January of 1862, even the *Edinburgh Review* would publicly admit that the voyage across the Atlantic for a company of Latter-day Saints was superior to other immigrant journeys:

The ordinary emigrant is exposed to all the chances and misadventures of a heterogeneous, childish, mannerless crowd during the voyage, and to the merciless cupidity of land-sharks the moment he has touched the opposite shore. But the Mormon ship is a Family under strong and accepted discipline with every provision for comfort, decorum, and internal peace. On his arrival in the New World the wanderer is received into a confraternity which speeds him onwards with as little hardship and anxiety as the circumstances permit and he is passed on from friend to friend, till he reaches the promised home.¹⁶

One noteworthy group who exemplified an orderly, united family in heart and voice was a company of over four hundred Saints who voyaged aboard the *International*. One of their number wrote a song for the occasion of the twenty-third anniversary of the organization of the Church (6 April 1853), which was to be sung to the tune of “Yankee Doodle.” The record of Scotsman poet John Lyon contains this song, the words written by Henry Maiben. Two of the ten verses here cited provide evidence of their discipline and harmony at sea:

Onboard the *International*
All joyful and lighthearted,
Bound Zionward, 400 Saints,
from Liverpool we started.
We’re English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh
Assembled here together
Resolved to do the will of God
What’ere the wind and weather

And Elders are appointed to
Take charge of wards and sections,
And do all things according to
the President’s direction.
Thus ev’ry regulations made
Which is found to be needed;
So that, there’s not a soul onboard
Whose welfare is unheeded.”

CHORUS:

Then sing aloud ye Saints of God,
In one united chorus;
Old Babylon well leave behind
For Zion is before us.¹⁷

For all British Saints, Babylon (a term borrowed from biblical history) represented the wickedness of the world. Still, in anticipation of abandoning Babylon, many converts experienced heartfelt resistance at the thought of leaving loved ones. Regardless of this obstacle, for many the magnetic pull of Zion was greater. For example, one Scottish child who traveled with her family to Utah in 1864 later explained, "My parents were very devoted to their religion. . . . However, as much as they loved their native country they were very anxious to emigrate to Zion, although it meant the leaving of relatives, life-long friends and a home of comparative ease and comfort in exchange for the privations and sacrifices of pioneer life."¹⁸ This condition of "comparative ease and comfort" appears to be an exception to the common circumstances of most immigrants. Evidence suggests that most Scottish-Mormon converts viewed the economic opportunities of America more favorable than those of their homeland.

Why the Scots Gathered

Economic distress was clearly a significant motivation for many Scots to depart their beloved country. At a volatile moment as fellow miners were about to mob William Gibson because they perceived him disloyal to their homeland for announcing his plans to emigrate, Gibson defused the situation by declaring that he was not leaving Scotland because he was disloyal, but rather out of necessity, due to the prevalent poverty of Scotland. He asked the striking miners assembled at Oakley, Fifeshire, "Can you blame us for wishing to leave such a state of things & go to a land where we can have a part of the soil we can call our own & work for it for ourselves & own no master but our God." This penetrating question apparently resonated in the hearts of the crowd, and instead of inflicting violence as intended, they lifted Gibson to their shoulders and hailed him through the town in a congratulatory procession.¹⁹

Another Scottish convert who described a wretched state of poverty was Andrew Sproul. During the same year the Saints first entered the Salt Lake Valley, Sproul wrote in his diary, "Poverty is in upon us like a fiend Scarcety of labour . . . ; nothing to depend upon for famely but my own labour, dearth of food, part of the last & this year has reduced us to want & I could gither my family around me before the Lord & in the naime of Jesus Pray give us this our dayley bread, all our clothes pledged except our every day appearal to purchase a little food."²⁰

While sailing towards Zion on the Queen's birthday in 1853, Scotsman Peter McIntyre vented his feelings concerning the dire state of poverty which he blamed on the monarchy:

[May] 24th. . . . This is Queen Victoria's birthday. My God will remove your diadem and take off your crown, your power will be as the potsherd and King Messiah will as with an iron rod pound all your scepters. All you kings and queens of Babylon.

Come Lord, our King, come quickly is my prayer. Thou knowest what I suffered from oppression and hard labor for a morsel of bread after my sore travel, hunger and thirst in the Peninsular War. My cry to thee, Oh, Lord, is remember the cry of the poor and fulfil thy promise, destroy them who have oppressed the hireling and kept back their wages by fraud.²¹

Converts like Gibson, Sproul and McIntyre were no doubt influenced by articles they read in the British Church periodical *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. For example, two years before Gibson immigrated to Utah, two articles appeared at the beginning of 1849, as thousands were rushing for California gold. The first article, by Parley P. Pratt to his brother, describes a prosperous Utah: "Here, too, we are all rich – there is no real poverty, where all men have access to the soil, the pasture, the timber, the water-power, and all the elements of wealth without money or price."²²

The following month, his brother Orson, in an article titled "Emigration," wrote: "Oh! how cheering to the poor Saints, who have so long been borne down by poverty and wretchedness, to escape from old Babylon, and wend their way to a land of peace and plenty . . . a land that is rich in gold, and silver, and in the precious metals."²³

Church leaders recognized several strongly held exterior variables that led the Saints abroad to gather to America. In a letter written in 1855 by Franklin D. Richards (British Mission President) to fellow Church Apostle, John Taylor, Richards summarized such external factors: "I would say again in reference to the emigration of the Saints to the States, that the horrors of war, the prevalence of hunger, the prevalence of hunger, producing bread riots, and the general depression of trade all serve to render it as impossible to stop emigration as it would be to dam up the Hudson [River] with bulrushes."²⁴ In light of these circumstances it is understandable why Brigham Young warned the British Mission president, "Be wary of assisting any of those who come into the Church now, during these troublesome times for Britain, whose chief aim and intention may be to get to America."²⁵

A delightful story from correspondence between a Scotchman and Brigham Young represents this very type of person indicated in Young's warning. Donald Gordon of Inverness, in a letter to Church President Brigham Young dated 7 February 1868, wrote, "Having heard much concerning the Brothers at Utah and feeling very anxious to join them. I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you on the subject. . . . If I thought I could be of some benefit to the Church by killing Deer and selling the venison I should be most happy to come, and I would also bring some Highland Hunters with me to assist me. . . . If there are but few deer about your Forests, I would willingly act as Missionary to advance the interests of the Church as far as in me lay Or, if it would please you better I would for a small remuneration act as a missionary here in the Highlands of Scotland, for being well versed in Gael [Gaelic], I have no doubt I could induce many to go."²⁶

The following month, Brigham, obviously discerning Gordon to be a well intentioned investigator of Mormonism, penned a kind response to him dated 9 March 1868: "Dear Sir: The nature of the Territory of Utah is such that raising cattle, sheep, &c is far more profitable than depending upon

hunting deer and other wild animals; in fact there is but little game here, and that is left for the natives to hunt.” Brigham further directed Gordon to contact British Mission President, Franklin D. Richards, or any of the local Saints if he wished more information regarding the faith and doctrine of the Church. Young then warmly concluded, “You have the kind wishes four [sic] your welfare and four [sic] your success in your quest after . . . heaven.”²⁷ Along with a temporal motivation to convert and gather, a spiritual element is certainly strongly evident in the nineteenth century Mormon accounts written by Scots and other British converts. In fact, Historian Malcom Thorp, who studied 298 first-person Mormon British accounts, including Scots (1837-1852), estimates that nearly half (140/298) converted for religious reasons.²⁸

In looking at the various possibilities for Mormon immigration P.A.M. Taylor reasoned,

In the face of all these considerations, we have to acknowledge the plain fact, that before emigrating, these people went through a process of conversion which marked them as a strange minority within British religious life; that they lived in the Church for some time, under the scrutiny of leaders; that they had to gain those leaders’ approval, in many cases, before receiving financial aid. . . . If any assumption has to be made, or if any subjective addition has to be made after statistical or other proofs have been exhausted, it should be that of religious purpose and not, as a pure historian’s dogma, that of economic motive.²⁹

This view is certainly supported in a number of first-person Scottish-Mormon accounts. For example, Robert McKell wrote, “The spirit of gathering came upon us and we decided to bring our business to a close and emigrate with the first company in January 1850. I was quite a long time in doing this, my time being taken up in business and also in preaching and traveling around. But we had made up our minds to leave for Zion.”³⁰ Alexander Robertson, who left Scotland in this same company, recalled, “After being baptized got the spirit of gathering. We sold our household utensils and left the land of our birth. Mother and all of the family had joined the Latter-day Saint church.”³¹

William Carruth added, “After taking farewell with our aged parents, friends, home and country, by the command of the Lord, I and my wife started on the railway train from Paisley Station on Monday Feb. 14th 1848.”³²

Robert Crookston remembered, “Our Scotch neighbors thought we were crazy, and as they knew that we could not take much of our possessions with us we had to sell everything at a great sacrifice. But we wanted to come to Zion and be taught by the prophet of God. We had the spirit of gathering so strongly that Babylon had no claim on us.”³³

Upon his return home from the army in 1857, James Dunn, age 20, of Kirkintilloch, Dumbartonshire, firmly resolved “to live up to my religious duties as a Latter-day Saint, and second, to try and get means to take me to Utah, as I read in the papers that the government of the United States was organizing an army to go to Utah. . . . I made up my mind to be with the Saints to share their sorrow and privations that seemed to be before them all the time.”³⁴

In 1862 the *Millennial Star* summarized the spiritual reason tens of thousands had gathered: “They gather to build up Zion of the last days, which the prophets have predicted. . . . They gather to rear a temple unto the Lord They gather to more fully keep the commandments of God They gather that they may be near the prophets and apostles of God.”³⁵

Thus, evidence suggests that the Scots and other foreign Saints converted to Mormonism and gathered to both Nauvoo and Utah for spiritual as well as temporal reasons³⁶ gathering for “all precious things” that Zion promised to offer. The compelling spirit of the gathering seems to be captured in the words of a song written by Scotsman Matthew Rowan in 1850, five years before he finally reached Utah:

O, heard ye what news from the valley has come?
O head ye what news from the valley has come?
All we, who are faithful, are soon to go home,
O ‘tis glorious news, from the Valley, that’s Come.
Ho! Ho! To the land in the symbol of wings;
The Land that is famous for all precious things,
There Zion will stand, unto which God will Come,
To honour his saints, and the wicked Consume.³⁷

Regardless of the reasons, those who came would certainly pay a price, and some, though filled with the spirit of the gathering from their head to their toes, would even pay with their lives.

Part 2

Experiences in Gathering across America to Utah

The journey to Zion would take the Mormon converts through a variety of experiences. For Mormon immigrants disembarking at New Orleans, Utah bound (1848-1855), the wretchedness of American slavery would leave a lasting impression. Upon arriving in New Orleans and observing the beautiful sugar and cotton plantations on the outskirts of the city, one British convert wrote, “the one thing which deteriorates from its beauty is the sight of the hundreds of negroes at work in the sun. Oh! slavery how I hate thee!”³⁸ Yet Scotsman Peter McIntyre reasoned as he began his voyage up the Mississippi in 1853,

We consider ourselves in a new world, but know that Great Britain is the seat of slavery, that one white slave works more in one day than 4 black slaves, with less to support his body, as his wages there will not afford, because I know that I wrought many days upon bread and water, doing the work of 5 black slaves and traveled 5 miles, to work for 1/8 per day, to support my family of eight, and meal at 1/8 the small peck.³⁹

Church emigration agent John Brown, in New Orleans in 1853 to charter steamboats and aid passing European immigrants, warned the Saints disembarking from the ship *International* to refrain from discussing slavery. However, Stephen Forsdick, a member of the company, remembered that one Mormon Scotsman could not restrain himself, notwithstanding the fact that Brown had given the warning.

Forsdick explained, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin had been published the year before we left England and as was natural, our sympathies were with the Negroes, but New Orleans at that time, was a poor place to talk it, hence our caution. Notwithstanding the warning I remember that a man named Miller from Scotland got into a very heated argument on the levee, which was soon stopped by Brown.”⁴⁰

The Scots were not exempt from illness and disease as they made their way up America’s shores. On the western rivers, many westbound emigrants had to face the threat of cholera. In June of 1854, William A. McMaster wrote, “Sister [Isabella] Bar from Glasgow Scotland died of cholera about 8 o’clock a.m. She was very useful when she was well among the sick when on sea and on this river. . . . [She] was buried about 3 o’clock in the morning under the light of the moon on the bank of the river and another sister was also buried the same day.”⁴¹

Unfortunately, this was not the first encounter of the Saints with cholera. Years earlier, in 1849, David D. Bowen recounted that when his British group disembarked from the *Hartley* and went up the Mississippi, the dreaded disease of cholera struck violently: “For every day there was from three to six buried, . . . and before we got to St. Louis we had buried about sixty of the passengers.”⁴² In this same company was Scotsman John McLaws, who recalled, “Left Scotland for Salt Lake City in March 1849 in the ship *Hartley*. In steaming up the Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis the cholera broke out. Buried about 50 of the Saints. I was very bad with it, but through the blessing of the Lord, recovered.”⁴³

Two years later Scottish convert John McNeill arrived at St. Louis with his family. While there he recalled, “The 3 children of John Bowman [his brother in law] and . . . George Bowman died and my wife Janet and our son George all died of cholera and a great many of the Saints died also about the same time with the same sickness. I was forced to stop working a few weeks to administer to the sick and help bury the dead.”⁴⁴

Cholera was not the only inherent risk along the western rivers. For example, in 1848 a Sister Mary Kerr from Glasgow apparently fell overboard while coming up the Missouri on the steamboat *Mustang* and drowned.⁴⁵ Other threats, such as snags, ice, running aground and most serious of all, boiler explosions, often put the lives of unknowing immigrants at terrible risk. Father DeSmet had given special warning of hazards on the Missouri River. “I will remind you that steam navigation on the Missouri is one of the most dangerous things a man can undertake. I fear the sea, but all the storms and other unpleasant things I have experienced in four different ocean voyages did not inspire me with so much terror as the navigation of the somber, treacherous, muddy Missouri.”⁴⁶

The *Saluda* Disaster⁴⁷

One who paid a heavy price on this hazardous river was Scotsman, William C. Dunbar, who lost his wife and children when the boilers burst on the ill-fated steamboat *Saluda* on 9 April 1852. William and his wife Helen had two children, Euphemia, age six, and Franklin Lorenzo, age one. They were part of a company of some 333 British Mormons who gathered to Zion aboard the *Kennebec*. Having reached St. Louis behind schedule, the Dunbars (like other Mormon emigrants) were worried about running out of funds for

lodging and provisions. Extra lodging and meal expenses would drain the meager funds budgeted for the rest of their journey, and lost time could cause them to miss the wagon companies going west that year.

William’s friend, fellow Scotsman David Ross, recently had come down river from Kanesville along with Elder Eli B. Kelsey to help with Mormon emigration matters. Elder Kelsey, a seasoned church worker in Scotland, had recently returned from missionary service in England and felt an urgency to book a steamboat for the Mormon flock. Unfortunately, due to the early season, great slabs of ice inhibited water travel. Working the wharf, he talked to shipping agents and boat captains, but all turned him down. He discovered that first-class boats would not leave for several days—until the river cleared. Finally, Kelsey spoke with Francis T. Belt, captain and part owner of the *Saluda*. Captain Belt, enticed by the potential profits from such a large block of passengers—in addition to others anxious to hurry upriver—decided his steamboat would brave the treacherous, ice-laden waters. Word along the docks rumored that the *Saluda* was one of the less-desirable boats plying the river. Despite that, Elder Kelsey secured her on inexpensive terms and recruited Mormon emigrants for the trip. William Dunbar later recounted, “Going to the [Church] conference office in St. Louis, I met my old friend, Brother Duncan Campbell, who, like myself, was a native of Scotland, and after consulting with him for some time, we both concluded, though somewhat reluctantly, to engage our passage, together with our families, in the *Saluda*.”⁴⁸

After signing up, he, Campbell, and David Ross went down to look over the boat, which was still waiting to complete its booking of passengers for the trip. Dunbar sadly reminisced years later:

On entering the hold a most horrible feeling came over us, and without knowing the cause of it, we had an impression that something awful was going to happen somehow or other. We looked at each other in silence, then turned away in opposite directions, and when our eyes again met, we saw tears coursing their way down each others cheeks. Hurrying away from the boat, I remarked to brother Campbell that if I had not already given in my name to go with that steamer, I would not do so now; but under the circumstances we almost felt in duty bound to go, so as not to disappoint the officers of the boat, nor the Elders who had chartered her.⁴⁹

A week and a half later, Dunbar better understood the warning when he became a victim of the *Saluda* explosion. After being blown into the Missouri near the Lexington bend, he finally regained consciousness and began to search for his family. He first recognized the mangled body of his dead baby boy, then was guided to a temporary hospital where his wife lay: “I arrived at this place just to time to see my wife, who was lying on the floor, breathe her last. She had been cast on shore by the explosion, and carried to the store in a dying condition. My other child, a little girl about five years old, was lying in the same room, among the dead, her body so mangled that I could scarcely recognize her.”⁵⁰ Despite this horrific tragedy, Dunbar continued on to Zion.

Settlement and Life for the Mormon-Scots in Utah

Nineteenth century statistics for the Scottish Mormon immigrants reveal 232 Scottish-born Utah residents in the 1850 census. Buchanan notes, "By 1890 the Scots in Utah numbered 3,474 and had become a well-recognized part of Utah's foreign-born population, ranking as the third largest immigrant group between 1850-1870 and the fourth largest between 1880-1900."⁵¹ Yet as the twentieth century arrived, baptisms declined, and the message of the gathering was no longer emphasized; instead, Scottish Mormons were encouraged to build Zion in their homelands.

Church minutes from a priesthood meeting held in Glasgow, dated 7 August 1899, reveal this reversal in emphasis and direction to the Saints. President Platte D. Lyman (a member of the European Church Presidency) "Instructed the Elders not to hurry the Saints to Zion, nor praise it up, saying it was better than Scotland rather try to prevent them from going telling them that the Lord will look after them in this Country, then after they are determined to go, tell them of the hardships, there [they] are liable to have to endure." Lyman then "related an instance about a family recently immigrating, who were disappointed and consequently were now on their way back."⁵² Notwithstanding this instruction and warning, a careful analysis of Latter-day Saint British immigration records reveals that from 1899-1917, 363 Mormon-Scots gathered to their Zion in the West.⁵³

What happened to the nineteenth century Scots who gathered to Utah? Did most of them settle in rural or urban areas? Data suggest that while other foreign converts, such as the Scandinavian Mormons, established separate settlements in Utah, the Scottish-Mormon immigrants did not. Rather, they tended to gather in areas that had already been settled by English or American emigrants, such as Salt Lake, Weber, Utah and Cache Counties.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding, evidence reveals that they supported their fellow Scots as they assimilated into the city of the Great Salt Lake. For example, when the family of Charles W. Nibley arrived in the city of the Saints in 1860, he wrote, "We camped in the city. . . . My parents had known and ministered to many of the traveling Elders in the old country, some of them like Robert L. Campbell, the father of Rob Campbell, came and hunted us up, took us into their homes, gave us food to eat, and looked after us as well as they could."⁵⁵

When David Hogg Matheson from Dundee arrived with his family in the Valley in the fall of 1878, he remembered the same kind of reception, although he expressed his vulnerability at age sixty, being in a new setting: "There was a number at the depot in Salt Lake City but Andrew Macfarlane claimed us to go with him. We were royally treated as long as we stayed in the city, but I felt awfully blue one day near the Temple block wandering what in the world I could do in this new country. . . . I didn't know anything about a corral never had been on a horse's back."⁵⁶ His son, David Matheson Jr., also experienced a warm reception. Upon arrival in Salt Lake City he wrote, "There were a number of Dundee Saints there to meet me. There was a returned missionary, Hamilton G. Park in the crowd. He was on a mission twice to Scotland. They all wanted me to stay with them. Also in the crowd was an Uncle John Matheson whom I had never seen. I knew him by the fam-

ily resemblance and said I would go home with this man."⁵⁷

There were also those who never made it to Zion and felt lonely and forgotten, who longed to gather with the Saints. Yet circumstances prevented them from coming even after they had made the long Atlantic voyage to America. One was a Scottish convert from Paisley named Agnes Campbell O'Neal, who had arrived in St. Louis about 1848. Here she was stranded with her husband, who had fallen into a group who had left the Church. Shortly thereafter he died. In a letter written from Wirt County, Virginia at the time of the Civil War (4 February 1863), she explained to Church President Brigham Young that she had been remarried to a man by the name of O'Neal. Among other things, she wrote, "I neve [never] had the opportunity of conversing with any members of our church for fifteen years, But I feel thankful to God that, I am spared. . . . It is my desire that with the help of God to be with the Saints on this earth yet." In a concluding paragraph she composed the following poem:

I long to breathe the mountain air of Zion's
peaceful home,
where free from sorrow strife & care the Saints of God
may come
Oh Salt Lake City when I think of thee I long for pin-
ions like the dove,
that I should be so far from thee & distant from that
place I love.⁵⁸

Scottish-Mormon emigrants who made their way to the Valley were employed in a variety of ways. A number of them worked in a nearby quarry just outside of Salt Lake City. One Mormon emigrant who had migrated from Ireland to Scotland before gathering to the Salt Lake Valley wrote a letter to a Scottish-Mormon couple, friends still in their homeland. The letter describes his employment as well as that of other emigrants. He was employed in the rock quarry in Red Butte Canyon, just a few miles east of Salt Lake City, where he cut sandstone to be used for the Salt Lake Temple foundation as well as for other public buildings. He wrote, "I am working at the quarry & living there. It is about 4 miles from the City. The wages are good. . . . There is great numbers of People working on the Publick works and there is plenty of employment for them all. . . . There are almost all scotch & east country folks at that, that works at the quarry."⁵⁹

The LDS British periodical *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* beckoned the Scottish Saints to gather for other projects. For example, during the early 1850s, several articles requested people who could be employed in such areas as woolen workers, millers, coal miners, tanners and ironworkers.⁶⁰ Upon entering the Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1851, the Scotch Independent Company (which traveled across the plains together) (what does that mean—"one company traveled together?") were counseled by Brigham Young to settle in Southern Utah in the area of Cedar City. A number of the men used their skills and muscle to develop an iron works mill.⁶¹

Assistance from the PEF and Personal Pleas to President Young

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF), a revolving fund launched in the fall of 1849, helped to convey the

British Saints to Utah during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶² A number of letters in the correspondence of Brigham Young tell the story of many pleadings to President Young for financial assistance (via the PEF) to bring families and friends to Zion.⁶³

One heartfelt petition to President Young came from Scottish convert William Heaton. Writing from Payson, Utah 10 October 1859 he pled:

President Brigham Young

Dear Bro I make bold to write a few lines to you, hoping you will pardon me. I have a mother, three sisters and one Brother, all in the Church, who have a very strong desire to come here, but they are poor, and have not the means to come with, and they want to strain every nerve to send for them. . . .

President Young promptly responded to Heaton by letter just three days later:

Dear Brother: In reply to your note of the 10th inst. I have to inform you that we are very desirous of gathering the Saints to these valleys, and have expended a large amount of means in furtherance of that object, so much so that our hands are tied for the present in regard to operating through the P. E. Fund, and will continue to unless those who have been assisted are much more prompt than heretofore in refunding the money expended for their transportation to this place. . . .

This letter seems to explain that the lack of payment by foreign Saints certainly impacted those who later gathered. P.E.F. records reveal that about one-third paid their full debt, a third a portion, and about one-third nothing.⁶⁴

One who volunteered to donate his services for his fellow Scots was John Lyon, a gifted poet born on 4 March 1803 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Scotland.⁶⁵ Less than a month before he left Glasgow for Zion, the *Millennial Star* published an article titled, "THE HARP OF ZION." It noted that "The Harp of Zion, a collection of poetry by Elder John Lyon has been nobly donated to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, by its talented author, to help on the praiseworthy and God-like object of gathering the Lord's poor to Zion in the latter days. . . . No Saint will be satisfied to be destitute of a copy."⁶⁶ Samuel W. Richards (British Mission President) ordered 5,100 copies. Unfortunately, *The Harp of Zion* did not sell as well as intended, but the contribution of Lyon was exemplary.

Scottish Contributions to Zion

Although the Mormon Scots in Utah were small in number, they made a sizeable contribution. For example, in the area of cultural refinement, Nathaniel Spens, who in 1864 immigrated from Scotland to Zion with his family, was an accomplished painter.⁶⁷ John Lyon would impact Utah through his poetry and songs. Upon Lyon's death in 1889, the editor of the *Millennial Star* thoughtfully recognized the influence of his poem: "Thousands of copies [of his poems compiled in the *Harp of Zion*] are to be found scattered through the homes of Utah."⁶⁸ Several Scots certainly had an impact on the hymns of Zion. For example, John M. MacFarlane wrote the words to the only Mormon carol, "Far Far Away on Judea's Plains," as well as the music for

"Dearest Children, God is Near You." Thomas McIntyre also wrote the music for the hymn "How Great the Wisdom and the Love." William W. Phelps wrote the words to "Praise to the Man" as a tribute to Joseph Smith using the melody of a Scottish folk song.⁶⁹

Several Scots were also involved in performing in the Salt Lake City community. For example, David McKenzie performed on stage at the Social Hall and was recognized by the celebrated American critic John McCullough as the most talented local actor as well as the best Polonius he had ever seen portrayed. D. H. Sutherland entertained at the Salt Lake Theater with his Scottish dances, as well as William C. Dunbar, who was quite popular with his acting and comic songs.⁷⁰

Notwithstanding that he had lost his family in the steamboat *Saluda* explosion, and suffered back pain the rest of his life, Dunbar served as the president of the French Mission (1854–56) and remained an active Church man the remainder of his life. He not only remarried, he also fathered an additional thirteen children. In addition, Dunbar launched the *Salt Lake Herald*, a paper favorable to the Church. A very talented man, he was well known among the Salt Lake Saints as a gifted comedian, singer and bagpipe player until his death in 1905. His obituary summarized his great life, "ever true to the faith he embraced as a young man."⁷¹

In ecclesiastical labors, the Scotsmen served faithfully. Those who would influence the Church in general were Daniel Mackintosh, who served as a personal secretary to Brigham Young.⁷² Another was Richard Ballantyne, born in Whitridgebog, Roxburgshire, Scotland, who organized the first Sunday School in the Church (1849) when he was but thirty-two years of age.⁷³ Charles W. Nibley came from the coal mines of Hunterfield, Midlothian, Scotland to find success in the business of lumber and sugar. He later became not only the Presiding Bishop of the Church, but eventually a member of the First Presidency, the highest body of LDS church government. His grandson, Hugh, born in 1910, later came to be considered one of the greatest Latter-day Saint scholars in the field of ancient studies. David McKay from Caithness Scotland reared a son, David O. McKay, who became president of the Church.⁷⁴ According to the *Aberdeen Evening News* (12 August 1953), President McKay could "lapse into a Scottish accent with ease."⁷⁵

The Scots also influenced Utah's education, medicine, economy and law and government. Scotsman Robert L. Campbell became Utah's most prominent superintendent of public education.⁷⁶ Janet Hardie, a Scottish midwife, who may have been trained in Edinburgh under Sir James Simpson, delivered many children in Utah. Henry McEwan was appointed as the first president of the Deseret Typographical Association.⁷⁷ David Eccles became one of the mostly wealthy men in America through banking.⁷⁸ Andrew Hill Burt served successfully as the first U.S. Marshall in Salt Lake City, though his life was cut short when a mulatto shot him in the street. This criminal quickly paid for his crime by being lynched immediately after the murder of the Scottish marshal.⁷⁹ In the twentieth century, Scotsman Calvin L. Rampton served as Utah's governor for three consecutive terms (1964-1976),⁸⁰ and Scott M. Matheson, descendant of Scottish-Mormon immigrants, served two terms as governor of Utah (1977-1984).⁸¹

In addition, the Scots influenced the construction of such structures as railroads, stone buildings and temples.

For example, John Sharp left the coal mines of Scotland and later played a key role in both as the director of the Union Pacific Railroad (Utah portion) and the superintendent of the Utah Central Railroad.⁸² Scot Mormon mason Thomas Frazer constructed dozens of beautiful stone structures in Beaver, Utah, some fashioned with a touch of his homeland in Aberdeen bond.⁸³ John Forbes Anderson would not only help with quarrying

stone for the Salt Lake Temple, but decades later (1915) was named the master stone mason for the building of the Cardston, Alberta Temple.⁸⁴

Conclusion

Sometime in the mid-1930s, Mormon Apostle Elder Richard L. Evans was called to visit an elderly Scottish widow who was ill. On this occasion he learned that she had not fared too well in material things since she had left her homeland. However, Evans related that during his interview with her, she looked into his eyes and with a thick accent said, “Aye, but it’s been worth it, lad. And if I ken [knew] what I hae to go through before I started, I would go through it all again, and mair for what I ken [know] to be true.”⁸⁵

Although there was apparently a great cost expended for her conveyance to and through Zion, this Scottish widow seems to have contributed more than a mite through her mighty faith — the kind of faith which brought the Scots from their homeland and caused them to spread their plaid across the body of the Saints in Zion.

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Footnotes

¹ Jane Charter Robinson Hindley, “Journals 1855-1905,” vol. 1, 11–14, Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

² Frederick S. Buchanan, “Scots Among The Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):329. Nearly two decades later Buchanan, “The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900,” *BYU Studies* 27 (1987):32–33 points out that nearly 80% of the Scottish converts of the nineteenth century were gathered during the first three decades (1840-1870): “During the sixty-year period beginning in 1840 and running through 1899 approximately 10,785 persons were baptized into the Latter-day Saints faith in Scotland. Of the total who joined the Church during this period, 30 percent did so during the first decade; 32 percent during the second decade; and 17 percent were baptized in the 1860s.” This paper is dedicated to Frederick Stewart Buchanan, a Mormon Scotsman and an emeritus professor of the University of Utah who has pioneered the study of Scottish Mormon migration. The author also wishes to thank Dr. Buchanan for his kind assistance and encouragement in writing this article.

³ *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 29:7-8. Hereafter cited as D&C.

⁴ See James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992):117–27 concerning the difficulties at Kirtland and the call to send missionaries to the British Isles.

⁵ Andrew Jenson, ed., *Historical Record*, here after cited as *HR*, (9 vols.), (Salt Lake City, Utah: Andrew Jenson, Publisher, 1899), vol. 6, 348.

⁶ Jenson, *HR*, 348-349. Note that on page 349 is a list of names of the 80 converts along with the date of their baptisms between January and May of 1840. According to the Paisley Branch Records, Scottish Mission, LDS Church Archives, the population of Paisley in 1840 was estimated at 37,000.

⁷ Jenson, *HR*, 351-52 informs us that the first Scottish Mormons to emigrate to America were Walter Crane, his wife and child from Glasgow and Isabel Begg of Paisley. They traveled on the ship *Archilles* and were accompanied by Elder Hiram Clark who had first crossed the Atlantic with Mulliner and Wright on their mission to the British Isles in 1839. Clark was returning from a mission, which included laboring for a time in Scotland.

⁸ D&C Section 136:7. This advanced group consisted of 143 men, three women and two children.

⁹ Andrew Jenson, *The Contributor* 13, no. 5 (March 1892):232-233, notes that this company faced rough waters during the early portion of the voyage which lasted thirteen days.

¹⁰ Frederic Gardner, *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner*, ed. with an introduction by Hugh Garner, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1993), 11.

¹¹ Reminiscences of John Penman, 28, LDS Church Archives, who voyaged on board the *Cynosure* in 1863.

¹² Journals of Crandell Dunn, 1851, 2, LDS Church Archives.

¹³ Autobiography of Hannah Thompson Brower, 8, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁴ Journal of James McNaughtan [McNaughton], 18 May 1853, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁵ However, there is evidence that although the Saints were united by their faith, wards (ecclesiastical units) were often formed by nationality. For example, Scotsman Matthew Rowan who voyaged on the *Samuel Curling* in 1855 noted, “All in my ward are Scotch.” (See Journals of Matthew Rowan, LDS Church Archives, vol. 2, 28 April 1855).

¹⁶ *Edinburgh Review*, January 1862, 198–99, quoted in Richard L. Jensen, “The British Gathering to Zion,” in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 1987), 178.

- 17 Diary of John Lyon, 15 (LDS Church Archives). For all the lyrics for this ten verse song, see Fred E. Woods, "On Board the International, All Joyful and lighthearted," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 51, no. 1 (Summer 1999):23–25.
- 18 Autobiographical Sketch of Jane Sprunt Warner Garner, 1, Utah State Historical Society.
- 19 Buchanan, "Scots Among the Mormons," 332. In 1851, Gibson led a group of British Saints to Zion aboard the ship *George W. Bourne*. According to the Diary of Jean Rio Baker Griffiths, typescript, 1851, 6, Gibson's leadership was exemplary. Having observed his good behavior she noted, "I much regret that we shall not have his company to the Valley, but he shall leave us at St. Louis."
- 20 Diary of Andrew Sproul, 31 January, 1847, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 99–100.
- 21 Autobiography of Peter McIntyre, 24 May 1853, LDS Church Archives, 36.
- 22 Letter of Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, "To President Orson Pratt, and the Saints in Great Britain," *Millennial Star* 11, no.2 (15 January 1849):24.
- 23 Orson Pratt, "Emigration," 11, no. 4 (15 February 1849):56–57. Letters written by Scotsmen James Brady (1854) and David MacNeil (1870), serve as examples that there were economic challenges for the newly arrived converts, especially during the first year in which they reached the Salt Lake Valley. See *A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland*, ed. Frederick Stewart Buchanan with a foreword by Charles S. Peterson, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 59–64,103–105.
- 24 Letter from Franklin D. Richards to John Taylor, 2 March 1855, quoted in Richard L. Jensen, "The British Gathering to Zion," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 1987), 177–78.
- 25 Letter from Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, 30 September 1855, *Millennial Star* 17, no.51 (22 Dec. 1855):814–15.
- 26 Letter of Donald Gordon to Brigham Young dated 7 February 1868, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Archives. Frederick S. Buchanan in his masters thesis titled, "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849-1900," (University of Utah, 1961), 19–20, explained missionary work in the Scottish Highlands where Gaelic was and is still spoken:
- 27 Letter of Brigham Young to Donald Gordon dated 9 March 1868, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.
- 28 Malcom R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4, (1977):52, 63.
- 29 P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 154.
- 30 Autobiography of Robert McKell, Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, 2–3.
- 31 Autobiography of Alexander Robertson, LDS Church Archives, 1.
- 32 Autobiography and Journal of William Carruth, LDS Church Archives, 15.
- 33 Autobiography of Robert Crookston, LDS Church Archives, 5.
- 34 Autobiography of James Dunn, 10, in author's possession.
- 35 *Millennial Star* 24 (9 August 1862):509.
- 36 For discussion surrounding this issue see Poly Aird, "Why Did the Scots Convert?" *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no.1 (Spring 2000):91–122; Bernard Aspinwall, "A Fertile Field: Scotland in the Days of the Early Mission," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, eds. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 104–117; Frederick S. Buchanan, "Scots Among the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968): 328–52; Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900," *BYU Studies* 27 (1987): 27–52; P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 151–59.
- 37 Frederick S. Buchanan, "Scottish Immigrants and the Muse: Verses from the Dust," *Mormon Letters Annual 1984* (Salt Lake City: Association for Mormon Letters, 1985), 42.
- 38 Diary of Jean Rio Baker Griffiths, 20 March 1851, LDS Church Archives.
- 39 Autobiography of Peter McIntyre, 22 May 1853, LDS Church Archives, 36.
- 40 Autobiography of Stephen Forsdick, LDS Church Archives, 14. The ship manifest for the *International* evidences that there was a passenger named John Miller, age 30 from Edinburgh who is most certainly the individual being referred to.
- 41 Diaries of William Athole McMaster, vol. 1 (June 13–14, 1854), 347, LDS Church Archives.
- 42 Autobiography of David D. Bowen, 21, LDS Church Archives.
- 43 Autobiography of John McLaws, 1, LDS Church Archives.
- 44 Reminiscences of John McNeill, LDS Church Archives, 41–42.
- 45 Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *Contributor* 13 no. 5 (March 1892):232–33. Frederick S. Buchanan, "From the Missouri to the Clyde: Samuel W. Richards in Scotland, 1846–48," *The Nauvoo Journal* 7, no.2 (Fall 1995), 35, writes, "Fulfilling a promise to the dying John Kerr that he would make sure his wife would be gathered to Zion, Samuel included 'Mother' Mary Kerr in this group. She had had some very difficult times with a drinking problem and Samuel, uncharacter-

istically, severely chastized her for shaming other members of the Church in Glasgow by her drinking. He hoped that once in America among the Saints, drink would become less of a problem. However, she disappeared during the voyage up the Missouri, either by leaving the party at St. Louis or by falling overboard, probably the latter he concluded.”

46 Michael Gillespie, *Wild River, Wooden Boats: True Stories of Steam boating and the Missouri River*, (Stoddard, WI: Heritage Press), 44.

47 The segment here titled “The Saluda Disaster,” is borrowed heavily from chapter one of the book co-authored by William G. Hartley and Fred E. Woods, *Explosion of the Steamboat Saluda* (Salt Lake City: Millennial Press, 2002), 1–2.

48 Andrew Jenson, “Fifty-sixth Company – Kennebec,” *The Contributor* 13, no. 9 (July 1892):411.

49 Jenson, “Fifty-sixth Company,” 411.

50 Jenson, “Fifty-sixth Company,” 412.

51 Frederick S. Buchanan, “Scots Among The Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):335–36.

52 Scottish District, British Mission, General Minutes, Priesthood Minutes dated 7 August 1899 in Glasgow, LDS Church Archives. Three years earlier, an editorial by J. H. A., “Gathering to the Land of Zion,” *Millennial Star* 53 (27 April 1891):264 counseled, “Respecting the gathering, the elders should explain the principle when occasion requires; but acting upon it should be left entirely to the individual.” This was the general message given to all foreign Saints as the 19th century drew to a close. However, there was a trickle who continued to gather. Over a century later as the 20th century drew to a close, the Church First Presidency issued an official letter encouraging Church members not to immigrate to America, but to strengthen the Church in their home lands. See *Church News*, (11 December 1999), 7.

53 This statistic is based on research I have been doing the past few years as an extension to the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 2000. My current work covers the years 1891–1925, while the earlier release included the years 1840–1890. Richard L. Jensen, “The British Gathering to Zion,” in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 1987), 189–97, explains the cautionary measures Church leaders used to monitor emigration of foreign Saints during the first half of the 20th century, although individual circumstances were taken into consideration. Jensen also points out that with the dedication of the London temple [1958], the primary reason for gathering was removed. Jensen, 192, noted, “The British Saints had come full circle. The first encouragement to emigrate had spoken of helping build temples and of the blessing to be received therein, and for more than a century blessings uniquely available in America had drawn the saints there. Now the [temple] blessings of Zion were available in Britain.” Yet even after World War II, some Scots were still gathering. Scotsman Frederick S. Buchanan, noted in his home during a 16 April 2004 interview with the author, that some two dozen Scots he knew came to Utah between 1949–

1954. Buchanan who came from Stevenston, Ayrshire in 1949, noted that he felt he was “coming to Zion.” He later pointed out to me that there is an Ayrshire Street in Salt Lake City and over one hundred Scottish street names the larger metropolitan area of Salt Lake County.

54 Frederick S. Buchanan, “Scots Among The Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):335–36.

55 *Reminiscences of Charles W. Nibley, 1849-1931* (privately printed, 1934), 22–23. This warm reception seems to be characteristic of what other Scots experienced by their fellow countrymen as well as the Saints in general. For example one Scottish woman remembered, “Our company arrived in the Valley September 3, 1852, and were met by Ballos Brass Band, at Echo Canyon. We were the first company of Saints to have been brought by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which had been organized by President Brigham Young. We received great honors. . . .” (Autobiography of Hannah Brower Thompson, LDS Church Archives, 14).

56 Autobiography of David H. (Hogg) Matheson, Gerald Sherratt Library, Special Collections, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah, 18–19.

57 Life Sketch of David Matheson, Junior, Gerald Sherratt Library, Special Collections, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah, 3. Appreciation is expressed to archivist Janet Seegmiller who brought these Matheson accounts to my attention.

58 Letter of Agnes Campbell O’Neal in Rathbone, Wirt County, Virginia to Brigham Young, dated 4 February 1863, Incoming Correspondence of Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives.

59 Letter of James Brady to David and Ann MacNeil, dated 28 May 1854 from Great Salt Lake City, quoted in Frederick Stewart Buchanan, *A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 60,62. By 1875, work on the Salt Lake Temple must have traveled far and wide as James McPherson a Scottish non-Mormon who had migrated to North Carolina had sought work there. McPherson wrote to Brigham Young stating, “Having heard that You were building a large Temple and that you were probably in want of Stone Cutters. . . . I am a native of Scotland and am a good workman having had Sixteen years experience in Scotland, England and Short time in the U.S. You will greatly oblige me as I would like to go if I could get work. . . . There is another good workman here [who] would like to go if there is work.” This letter from Jas. McPherson to Brigham Young dated 19 Dec. 1875 was brought to my attention and transcribed by Frederick S. Buchanan for which the author expresses gratitude. It is housed in the Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

60 See for example references listed in the *Millennial Star* by Frederick S. Buchanan, “Scots Among The Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):332.

61 Morris A. Shirts and Kathryn Shirts, *A Trial Furnace: Southern Utah’s Iron Mission* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2000), 142–46.

62 Fred E. Woods, “Perpetual Emigrating Fund, “ in

- Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, eds. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 2000), 910.
- ⁶³ Letter of William Hunter to Brigham Young, 17 September 1856, Incoming Correspondence of Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives. Although there is a note on this letter stating that it was answered by Brigham on 30 September 1856, this letter has not yet been located. Letter of John Mac Phie to Brigham Young, 25 January 1876, Incoming Correspondence of Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives. Although a letter written by President Young is not in his correspondence, there are a number of missing letters over the three decades he served as Church president (1847-1877). Letter of John McEwan to Brigham Young, 8 September 1852, Incoming Correspondence of Brigham Young, LDS Church Archives.
- ⁶⁴ Fred E. Woods, "Perpetual Emigrating Fund," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, eds. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 2000), 910.
- ⁶⁵ T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet*, vol. 6 in the Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center, 1989), 1.
- ⁶⁶ "The Harp of Zion," *Millennial Star* 15, no. 5 (29 January 1853):73.
- ⁶⁷ Nathaniel Spens was brought to my attention during a discussion with Richard Oman (18 March 2004). Later research revealed that Spens, his wife and two children crossed the Atlantic on the *General McClellan*. The ship manifest notes that he was born in 1838 and that he was a "painter."
- ⁶⁸ "Death of Elder John Lyon: A Faithful Veteran Passes to his Rest," *Millennial Star* 51, no. 51 (23 December 1889), 813-814. See also T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet*, vol. 6 in the Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center, 1989), 159-59. It should be noted that the editor may have used a bit of hyperbole inasmuch as the *Harp of Zion* was by no means a best seller.
- ⁶⁹ *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 27,96,195,212.
- ⁷⁰ Frederick S. Buchanan, "Scots Among the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):341-42. This is excellent article which covers a variety of contributions which the Scots made once they arrived in Utah.
- ⁷¹ This summary of Dunbar's life is taken from William G. Hartley, "Don't Go Aboard the *Saluda!*": William Dunbar, LDS Emigrants, and Disaster on the Missouri," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 61.
- ⁷² The name of David Mackintosh appears on much of the correspondence of Brigham Young which is located in LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City.
- ⁷³ Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Sketches*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901) 1:703-706.
- ⁷⁴ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" In Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1937), second printing, 1984, 83. See also Richard L. Jensen, "British Immigrants and Life in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 54-55.
- ⁷⁵ Quoted from Frederick S. Buchanan, "Scots Among the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968):350.
- ⁷⁶ Richard L. Jensen, "British Immigrants and Life in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 54-55.
- ⁷⁷ Brittany Nelson, "Utah's Immigrants at the Turn of the Century," 1, condensed from the work of Utah historian, Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, The Right Place*.
- ⁷⁸ For more information on the industrious life of David Eccles as well as keen insights into economic activities of 19th century Utah, see Leonard J. Arrington, *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1975).
- ⁷⁹ In an editorial in the *Deseret Evening News*, "Horrible Tragedy," (25 August 1883), 5, the editor notes that Andrew Hill Burt was killed August 25, 1883. Information about Andrew Hill Burt's life was provided by Richard Wight Burt who has various documents about Andrew in his possession at his home in Centerville, Utah. The author wishes to thank Richard for bringing this information to his attention.
- ⁸⁰ Allan Kent Powell, "Elections in the State of Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1994), 164-165.
- ⁸¹ John S. McCormick, "Scott M. Matheson," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allen Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1994), 349-50.
- ⁸² For more information on the Sharp's influence in the railroad business see, Craig L. Foster, "The Canny Scotsman: John Sharp and the Union Pacific Negotiations, 1869-72," *Journal of Mormon History* 27, no.2 (Fall 2001): 197-214.
- ⁸³ Linda L. Bonar, "The Influence of the Scots Stonemasons in Beaver, Utah," *Utah Preservation/Restoration* 3 (1981):54-60.
- ⁸⁴ Autobiography of John Forbes Anderson, (LDS Church Archives), 5-10.
- ⁸⁵ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" In Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1937), second printing, 1984, 83-84.