

Without Purse or Scrip in Scotland

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“**T**here were . . . many traveling preachers, men full of the holy ghost . . . who travelled without purse or scrip, whom no buffetings, insults, hunger, or blows could daunt, who feared nothing that man could do, heaven’s door being always open to them.”¹ Thus wrote Hubert Howe Bancroft, nineteenth-century chronicler of the American West, regarding Latter-day Saint missionaries. More recently, in an article about the funding of LDS missionaries in nineteenth-century Europe, Richard Jensen has observed that “proselyting without purse or scrip took on the qualities of a myth, not necessarily untrue, but sometimes not tethered firmly to the ground.”² This paper examines missionary efforts in Scotland and tethers the myth to the actual experiences of those who went to gather new converts.

My intent is to focus on the Scots themselves, not on the Americans who arrived, received much attention, and were sometimes treated like near royalty.³ The Scottish traveling elders were often recent converts who had been quickly ordained and sent out as missionaries in their own country. They took up their assignments with ardent faith but without fanfare, sometimes leaving families to be supported by the local members of the Church. Exploring the experiences of these men can give a realistic picture of how going without purse or scrip worked for the humble laborer in the field.

There were two types of Scottish missionaries. First were the Sunday missionaries, those who went out on their one day off a week to preach and spread tracts in surrounding towns. As these men lived at home and worked at their normal occupations throughout the week, going without purse or scrip did not apply. The second type was the travel-

ing elders who left their homes to preach, often in areas with no members of the Church.

The period when the greatest number of traveling elders were sent out and which can thus give the best picture of their experience is the 1840s and early 1850s. This decade and a half saw the greatest growth of the Church in Scotland: from 80 members in 1840 to 3,257 in 1850. Baptisms then began to drop off; and between 1855 and 1859, membership declined by more than 50 percent.⁴ This decline was the result of three events: the announcement of polygamy, which reached Great Britain in January 1853 and turned many potential converts away in disgust; the Mormon Reformation, which reached Europe in 1857, shifted attention almost completely away from itinerant preaching to an examination and revival of current members, and resulted in many excommunications; and finally, the "gathering to Zion," when many members immigrated to Utah where the church was building "the Kingdom of God."⁵

Another reason for focusing on this early period is that Britain increasingly looked askance at vagrants who wandered the countryside asking for food and shelter. Local inhabitants took alarm at men who had no place to sleep except in the open. The government stepped up its enforcement of the vagrancy laws, consolidated charity giving, and insisted that able-bodied men work for their living. Those who avoided employment were considered "idle and disorderly persons" and could be imprisoned and set to hard labor.⁶ Although the traveling elders worked diligently at their missions and were certainly not shirkers, they were affected by the hardening public attitude.

I want to address several questions in this paper: What did "without purse or scrip" really mean? How did it work in practical terms: Where did money, lodging, food, clothes, and family support come from? Can we peel back the legends, peer through the veils of time, and glimpse what missionary life was really like—their sufferings as well as their joys? And finally, how should we measure success?

For this study, I read twenty-nine diaries or reminiscences by Scots about their experiences in the 1840s or early 1850s. Of these, twenty-one included an account of missionary work, but six were Sunday missionaries only, leaving thirteen who were traveling elders in Scotland.⁷ Eight of the thirteen left detailed accounts of the practicalities of their mission life. These are the main sources I have used, along with occasional additions from the briefer accounts. The eight covered the country widely: two were

from the Glasgow Conference (that is, western Scotland), and four were from the Edinburgh Conference (eastern Scotland).⁸ The other two had missions in both.

In addition to personal writings, I have found thirty-seven quarterly or half-yearly reports from the Glasgow Conference and twelve from the Edinburgh Conference for this period. They vary from holograph minutes in the early years to separately published reports starting in 1849; some of the published reports in particular contain accounts of traveling elder experiences. Before 1851, conference reports were published in the *Millennial Star*, the LDS newspaper in Great Britain.⁹ Besides these reports, the *Star* included various other mentions of traveling elders, usually letters from conference presidents or instructions from the British Mission president. Perhaps over time other accounts will come to light which will add to our understanding of mission life and modify the conclusions reached here.

The original model for the missionary program comes from Luke 10:1-7, which tells of Jesus sending out believers, two by two, as missionaries. He directed them to go out, for "the harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few. . . . Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes . . . and in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give." Joseph Smith, founder of the LDS Church, reiterated this biblical passage in Doctrine and Covenants 84:86: "Therefore, let no man among you, for this commandment is unto all the faithful who are called of God in the church unto the ministry, from this hour take purse or scrip, that goes forth to proclaim this gospel of the kingdom."

Just what does this injunction mean? A "scrip" in Jesus's time meant a bag or sack in which to carry provisions. Taken literally, the missionaries were to go forth, preach the gospel to strangers, and depend on the charity and hospitality of those willing to listen.

These passages, however, could also be taken as directional or instructional, thus permitting the missionary to combine the stranger's hospitality with that of local members, or to go with funds raised in the conference. Richard Jensen cites the "classic example" of the Quorum of the Twelve on their mission to England in 1839-40. Brigham Young, president of the Quorum, began a publication program with borrowed money and, from the profits of selling copies of the Book of Mormon, hymnals, tracts, and the *Millennial Star*, not only repaid the loan but secured room

and board and most of his clothing.¹⁰ These early missionaries to Britain thus understood the injunction directionally, not literally.¹¹

Except for the example of the Quorum of Twelve, the Church gave no further definition or instruction. Orson Pratt during his third term as president of the British Mission repeated the charge once more: The elders were to go among the Gentiles across the land and warn the people to repent of their sins. "Let the Elders go forth without purse or scrip, as they did in the days of Jesus, and as they have done since the early rise of this Church." Pratt continued with the promise that God would take care of them: "You shall prosper—your way shall be opened, none shall perish for want of food, or go naked for the lack of clothing. . . . When you are turned away, and not fed for a day or two, do not despair, the Lord will provide for you in due time, if your faith fail not."¹²

For a man with a job, going on a mission required significant sacrifice and faith on his part to leave his work when unemployment was widespread and the government gave no relief to poor able-bodied men or their families. In this period in Great Britain, and especially in Scotland, the working classes—from which the Mormon converts were overwhelmingly drawn—suffered mightily. The 1840s experienced repeated strikes and periods of unemployment. These years brought continual emigration from Ireland and the Highlands into the central industrial belt of Scotland, caused by a combination of potato famines in Ireland and the Highlands and the Highland Clearances. The influx made congested cities worse by several factors. The standard of living, measured by health, education, and housing, dropped. Rising competition depressed wages for all workers. In addition, Scots of all classes were struck with a new cholera epidemic in 1848 on top of recurring outbreaks of typhus and typhoid.¹³

On the other hand, answering a call gave a man a sense of importance with a title and an urgent role in a church that was linked to a living prophet—this in a period when the average working-class laborer could look forward to a life only of continual drudgery. The traveling elders felt themselves connected in a real way with the prophets of the Bible. As chosen members of God's people, they bore a weighty responsibility to go out and be "doers of the Word, and not hearers only."¹⁴ In addition, following Jesus's injunction to go without purse or scrip made the Mormon elders feel superior to other clergy who received a salary. To them, relying on God to supply their needs was certain evidence that Mormonism was the true faith.

What were the experiences of the laborer in the field ripe for harvest? The eight men who left good records of their missions were, taken alphabetically, John Duncan, Andrew Ferguson, William Gibson, Henry Hamilton, William Athole MacMaster, Peter McIntyre, James Ririe, and Matthew Rowan.¹⁵ Three of them—Duncan, Ferguson, and Rowan—were coal miners. The occupations of the rest ranged widely: a woodturning artisan (Gibson), a factory worker (Hamilton), a rope maker (MacMaster), a store keeper (Ririe), and a gardener, bookkeeper, and laborer (McIntyre). Four—Duncan, Hamilton, Ririe, and Rowan—were in their early twenties. Ferguson, Gibson, and MacMaster were in their early thirties. The last, McIntyre, started his mission of several years at age fifty-three. Four of the men were married with families: Ferguson, Gibson, MacMaster, and McIntyre.

Gibson, Ririe, Rowan, and probably MacMaster were specifically called on their missions. Duncan and Hamilton responded to the appeal of Edinburgh president James Marsden in the spring of 1851 for thirty or forty volunteers. The last two, Ferguson and McIntyre, appealed to Church authorities to go. Ferguson had had a motivational dream; and McIntyre, who had already gone on three preaching forays into the Highlands on his own initiative, went to Glasgow to Franklin D. Richards, president of the Scottish Mission, and his brother Samuel to express his fervent desire to go back. He received their blessing.¹⁶

Two of these men must have presented unique sights. John Duncan, having had measles when very young, had poor eyesight. Then when he was playing with other young coal-miners while on strike, a ball hit him, blinding one eye. The third catastrophe was a mining accident at age fifteen that crushed one leg so badly it had to be amputated below the knee. He walked thereafter with a wooden leg. In contrast to this handicapped young man was Peter McIntyre in his mid-fifties. He gained a reputation for being a zealous preacher in Gaelic, the language of the Highlands; and sometimes up to two hundred would press around him crying, "Preach to us!" and, "Preach to us again!" He appeared so different from other ministers that many considered him insane. By his own account, he was "light of flesh," he ate hardly anything, his clothes and shoes were worn out, and his voice was hoarse from continual preaching. When he met with Franklin D. Richards, the latter only gazed at him and did not speak for ten minutes.¹⁷

I will consider what the traveling elders had to say about money,

lodging, food, clothes, transportation, costs of renting halls and advertising, and support for their families, and finally what they did when money or hospitality ran out. In all the missionary accounts, their difficult times are the ones they wrote about most. Many routine days were expressed only as, "I went there and preached, I went here and preached, I stopped there all night." It is not possible to calculate the proportion of ordinary days to trying ones. Obviously it varied from individual to individual as well as according to how each viewed his experiences. Nevertheless, every one of the traveling elders relates a number of real hardships.

Money was needed for transportation, bridge tolls, clothes, mission costs, and food and lodging when hospitality could not be found. As people all over Scotland were very poor, they did not have much to give. Duncan was pleased to get even half a penny and often had less than three pennies to his name. McIntyre was given pennies also, but they sometimes added up to a shilling or two after he had preached to a crowd. Rowan speaks of once receiving the relatively grand sum of a five-shilling piece and on another occasion, a half crown (two shillings, sixpence).¹⁸

A few traveling elders had so little success in procuring hospitality or money that they were reduced to begging. Matthew Rowan described what happened with two who were sent into the Highlands at the same time as he and his companion in the summer of 1849: "Elders [Hugh] Fulton and [Samuel] Lindsay who were sent out with us to Argyleshire [sic] and who laboured on the Campbelltown side, got along rather worse than us. They got into a system of begging more than anything else; and they soon had the County, or rather their part of the County, begged out and they had latterly to lie out in the open air and anywhere else they could creep into at night, and before their Mission was up they had to return."¹⁹ Fulton and Lindsay, Rowan and his companion, and McIntyre were all in Argyllshire; Rowan was occasionally getting relatively substantial donations and McIntyre enough pennies to add up to shillings. It thus appears that the difference among them must have come, not from the poverty of the district, but from the missionaries' respective talents or lack of talents in attracting people to listen to them and making them sympathetic enough to be generous.

Begging and the other hardships the traveling elders experienced must have quickly made the regional church leaders realize that the missionaries needed backup funds, especially if they were going into areas where no members lived who might be counted on to give food and lodg-

ing. Church publications tell of no set way of raising money, and no direction came from Church leaders in America. Instead, the methods varied over time according to who was president of a particular conference or over Scotland. Among the ways instituted were to collect donations weekly in branch meetings, usually with a plate near the door; social evenings to raise money; a subscription among the members; council members assessing themselves; and later, drawing from tithing funds.²⁰

Besides receiving Church support with which to pay for their needs, the traveling elders were taken in, fed, and in other ways provided for. This was especially true when an elder worked in an area where other members—who were invariably generous—lived. But finding a place to spend the night in an area where no members resided was frequently extremely difficult. Peter McIntyre, who had been born in the Highlands and spoke Gaelic and thus, one would think, would have had an easier time there, said that often, even in the worst weather, no one would take him in. His explanation was, “None could give me a bed, as they considered a minister would require a better bed than they could furnish.” This, he speculated, was the reason the missionaries had such a hard time finding lodgings in the Highlands, and perhaps, he conjectured, it was also true in the Lowlands.²¹

McIntyre described one night in the Highlands after a stormy, wet winter day and after he had tried but failed to get shelter with the aunt of Robert L. Campbell, a traveling elder who was preaching in the Glasgow area. There was only one house left to try and night was fast approaching. He hurried on, meeting a man who was a lodger at the house who did not think the owner would take him in. Nevertheless, McIntyre, having learned from the lodger that the owner was a widow also named McIntyre, went in and told her he shared the same name. “She then said, ‘I cannot deny you all I can do, but you must sleep in the entrance.’ This was a porch between the outer door and the kitchen, where a bed was kept for beggars, and the swine lay there at night. I sat down thankful.” On another day McIntyre “waded through two rivers of cold snow water, the rain was heavy, but I did not complain,” and found refuge with a shepherd in his hut. The next day he walked twelve miles, waded through another frigid river, and came to a mountain farm village. Here “I was made welcome when I told my name, as this farmer was of the same clan.” His Highland name gave him entrance to lodging on other occasions as well.²²

Sometimes elders were forced to sneak into some spot for the night. James Ririe, traveling in the Perth area, said that there were two roads he could take to his next destination. "On the lower road there was a big shed for the farmer's fuel [peat]. As the house was some distance off in the dark, no one could see me, and I used to make that shed my bedroom and walk off at daylight." John Duncan and two companions were likewise forced to find some shelter "from the falling dew," and got permission from a farmer to stay in an old outbuilding where they tried to sleep on a little rotting straw.²³

One night Duncan found a cart parked under a roof and "just went smothely [sic] in that no one might hear me . . . , thanking God I had got such a good place where I could lie and hear the rain pelting on, and pity my poor brethren perhaps some of them would be glad to be in such a place as me." He tried to sleep, but the cart was so hard that his hips hurt, and finally, "Morning came happily." But upon arising he was so cold he could not make his teeth stop chattering until someone finally took pity and gave him tea. Ririe also climbed into a cart; it had green hay in it and he covered himself up. "How long I slept, I know not, when one of the men that had been off to see his girl came home. He was going to feed his horses ere he went to bed. When he came to lift the hay, he gathered up my feet and legs which brought me into a sitting position. I do not know whether he or I was the most scared. However, after I got awake enough to make explanations, he said 'I sleep alone and you can sleep with me.'²⁴ Sleeping several to a bed was common in those days.

Others besides the elders who were reduced to begging were sometimes forced to sleep in the open. After being refused a bed in a gentleman's country house in Fifeshire and being further refused permission to sleep in a cart, Duncan, being very tired, tried to sleep next to a stone wall, but the horses and sheep kept him awake. He finally gave up about 2:00 A.M. and walked to the next town. Finally he found a member of the church "and not having been in bed for 3 nights, I got to bed for 2 hours." On another occasion, he and two companions, after not finding a bed or an inn that was cheap enough, decided to "take the grass for our bed, our Bibles for our pillow and the umberalla [sic] for our covering." By 4:00 A.M., they got up because they were shivering from the cold, danced about to warm up, and moved to a rock wall to finish out the night. Ririe spent some nights in the open by a hay stack. Henry Hamilton wrote that he and two companions could not find a bed and were so tired that they lay

down on the moor, but it started to rain so they went on until they found a shed. Sleep eluded them there too as it was so cold and their clothes were wet, so they walked on until they got to Aberdeen at 4:00 A.M.²⁵

Matthew Rowan tells of one night's unpredictable lodgings in the Highlands. He was preaching in Argyllshire. Finally, someone extended him hospitality for the night. A typical old-style Highland cottage made of rock and turf with a thatched roof, it had no chimney; the smoke from the peat fire in the center of the main room curled through a hole in the roof. Rowan was given an armful of straw to throw down beside the fire and a sheet and blankets, and he lay down to try to sleep.

But then, Oh! what did my eyes behold! Mice, yes, mice, in shoals running out from beneath an old oak chest at the head of our pallet. . . . Now I am naturally as much afraid of a mouse as I am of a bull-dog, and how I was to lie on that bed really I did not know. . . . No sooner had . . . I lain down than a whole bye of Mice scurried through our bed. . . . I put my head under the blankets, and tucked myself in, in order to defend myself. This keeping my head under the clothes I found to be more than I could endure; for it being the Summer Season, consequently warm, before I would have my head in five minutes, I would feel almost suffocated. . . . I could not go to sleep for a length of time, but at last I dropt over, and while I did sleep, my Spirit was troubled with the thoughts of ugly predatory rats, mice and such like vermin being about me. About 3 o'clock, daylight was visable [sic] and . . . the mice retired to their holes. I got into a comfortable doze, when all at once I was aroused by feeling something on my face; and what was this but a hen with her brood of chickens that had come out from under the same old oak chest, and walked right over my face! This, I thought, was too bad by one half, and I would lie no longer nor no more on that disagreeable and miserable bed.²⁶

This experience was perhaps only slightly better than sleeping out in the cold or rain. Rowan and the other traveling elders did not always have such troublesome lodgings, however. In fact, at one place in Argyllshire, Rowan and his companion were invited to stay with a widow named Mary Stuart who would "receive us with all that warmth of feeling, and hospitality [sic] peculiar to a Mother in Israel." Whenever they came that way, she "would make us have her bed while she would make one on the floor for herself. On our getting into bed she would come and tuck us up, speak Motherly words to us (She always called us her dear children) and would otherwise express her care and love for us."²⁷

Gibson's "journal," which was actually written sometime after his mission, skims over where he stayed, while MacMaster traveled closer to

home and was able to retreat there for the night or stay comfortably with Church members. A number of the elders, particularly Rowan, often stayed in inns or lodging houses. Usually such places were too expensive for Duncan, but he was delighted to find one for four nights for a shilling and threepence, which made him exclaim, "Happy, happy, happy[!]"²⁸

Finding food could also be a daily challenge. Fellow Saints would invariably feed the elders; but if they were traveling in an area without Church members, they often had to go without. James Ririe wrote that, while traveling north of Dundee, he looked forward to staying in a house where he had lodged before and he counted on being able to get supper, bed, and breakfast for the sixpence in his pocket. But the house was full. As there was snow on the ground, he couldn't sleep outside, so he took a bed in the next cheapest lodging house. That, however, cost him his whole sixpence, so he had no supper and no breakfast the next day. "I was quite hungry, not having had anything from early breakfast [the day before]." It took him until almost noon to finish tracting in that town, and then he started for a member's house twelve or fifteen miles away. "On the way I got quite hungry and tired. I went into two or three houses on the roadside in purpose to ask for something to eat, but I never could ask. I could ask for a drink of water, because that was quite gentlemanly, but I never in all my travels could ask for bread. Why, a missionary preacher with good clothes on and to ask for bread[!]"²⁹

Some traveling elders were driven to forage for food in the woods or in a farmer's field. Ririe wrote that, while working in the Montrose area in 1849, "I had taken a few shillings with me, but ere that two weeks were past, we had to sleep by the side of a straw stack and pick wild berries from the woods, and steal at night green horse beans from the fields for our food." Duncan told of having only a two and a half penny loaf of bread from Monday until Thursday, and "being very hungry I went into a turnip field, pulled one and eat it, came to another and did the same and sat in the field and eat it. I did not care although the man had come, I justifying myself by . . . Mark 2:23-28." This passage tells of Jesus defending his disciples who plucked heads of grain on the Sabbath against the Pharisees' charge that they were breaking Jewish law. The next evening, being hungry and tired again, "I sat down by the waysides and read the Bible. Being seated beside turnips I took one for supper and some wheatheads, and was thankful, thinking what a blessing it was that I had them."³⁰

Another time Duncan was with two other traveling elders, Hugh

Gowans and Robert Watson, in the Fifeshire countryside with only a little bread as provisions. "We then went to a wood and partook of some bread after asking the Lord to cause it to multiply like the loaves and fishes as we had eaten none from leaving Bro. Issetts in Contal the day before." Duncan's next sentence reads only, "After reading the Scriptures and praying several times we left the wood in quest of water." Presumably, the Lord failed to multiply their bread. Similarly, Andrew Ferguson reported that Duncan's sometimes companion, Hugh Gowans, had a particularly hard time as much of his territory was along the coast among fishermen. "He labord there for 3 mounths [sic] diligantly for he was a faithfull young man with little success not even baptizing one & suffered much for want of food."³¹

Perhaps the most startling account is by Isaac McDougald and Samuel Lindsay who were preaching in towns of southern Lanarkshire. Their report to the Glasgow Conference stated that they "had found the people very righteous, so much so that they would not give them anything to eat at times. At one time they had been so hungry that they had tried what virtue there was in *snails* and *heather*, but soon found they would not do instead of oat cake."³² Oatcakes along with oatmeal were staples of the Scottish diet.

Yet people could also be kind, and the elders were often given milk, sometimes alone or with bread or a biscuit. McIntyre was often given food and once potatoes and fish, which he "ate with a good relish." One generous woman made up a packet of bread and cheese for him when he left; Rowan likewise was once given "meat in our pocket handkerchiefs for the journey." McIntyre and Rowan's successes may have been the result of Rowan's approach: "We had an idea that if we could get preaching, some of our hearers would supply us with both [food and lodging]; and truly I can testify that we *lacked for nothing*."³³

The traveling elders also needed clothes. If they were in an area with a branch of the Church, the members usually supplied them with the necessary items. Andrew Ferguson regularly mentioned the clothes he received: In October 1852, one branch gave him a new top coat, which cost a little over £1. He then "borrowed" £2 to buy a pair of pants and a vest, "for my clothing was very far gone." The next August in Dundee, a Sister Alcock gave him two linen shirts, since "in great need I was." A month later in Dundee, "Bro. McKay made me a preasent of one pare of boots. god bliss him for this act of kindness." William Gibson reported that the

Edinburgh branch gave him a new hat and a pair of pants. Rowan, laboring in an area without members, wrote that the soles of his boots gave out, and he hobbled along as best he could for five miles until the next town where an old cobbler patched them. The patches soon tore off the uppers and he was in a worse state than before. He prayed that he might get a new pair, and in a day or two a postal order came from his brother-in-law for fifteen shillings, which was enough to buy new boots. He "felt to thank the Lord for them, and with them walked on in the Service of the Lord."³⁴

A constant theme of all missionary journals was their motion. They were continually traveling from one place to another; going home for a visit, particularly if they had families; and attending conferences. MacMaster went nearly everywhere by train, canal boat, steamboat, stage-coach, or ferry, probably because he was working in an industrial area where many Saints lived who could help him with the fares. Most elders, however, had to choose between paying for public transportation or covering the more basic expenses of food and shelter, which left them to journey on foot.

Ferguson wrote that, on the whole, "the brethrine was very kind to me in giving me mony to assist me in traveling from place to place durg my so jurn amoungst them." But on some occasions he was forced to walk for lack of money. Twice, in going from Aberdeen to Dundee to attend conference, he traveled fifty-two of the seventy miles on foot: "Feet was very sore & the days was very warm which renderd our Jurny very fartigen." He did not say how many days it took him. At one conference he was assigned a new mission field about fifty miles northwest of Aberdeen. "Here was almost a world, as my fild of labour, & there was no way of traveling but on foot or stage coaching it but the letter [latter] being very high Price, the former was the only alternitive." Ferguson complained little about such arduous journeys, and in fact seemed to take a certain pride in them, noting once that he had walked fifteen miles so that he "might save the expences of training [i.e., going by train], to donate to the biliding of the [Salt Lake] Temple." He showed his dedication again a month later: "Very tired, having traveled about 24 Milles & fasted, but the blissing of god was with [me], bearing me up."³⁵

John Duncan had a particularly trying time, often walking sixteen or eighteen miles on his peg leg. On one occasion he recorded feeling blessed to have received a ride in a cart as his stump had developed blisters. In the wee hours of another morning after not having been able to

sleep near a rock wall, he started walking and then heard a cart behind him. It turned out to be four coal carts going to a pit for a new load, and he was able to get a ride. "Surely the Lord has been good to me this morning," he exclaimed. On another occasion when he was walking through the rain, he thanked God that he had a road to travel on. In spite of his handicap, Duncan took a train only once for a cost of three pennies.³⁶

In the summer of 1850, James Ririe was also short of cash and thus forced to walk a longer way: "From Perth to Blairgowrie, one road was fifteen miles, but on this road there was a toll bridge for foot passengers. It cost me half a penny to cross. The other road to Blairgowrie was nineteen miles. I often had to go that road, four miles extra for the want of that half penny." William Gibson in 1847 found the canal boats between Edinburgh and Glasgow were much cheaper than the trains, though it took three times as long, "yet as saving all the money I could was an important consideration with me, I often went by them."³⁷

In July 1849 Matthew Rowan and his companion Andrew Galloway tried to cross Loch Fyne to get to Inverary in Argyllshire; they had asked some fishermen to take them across but had been refused. Although they had only one shilling between them and the fare for the ferry was a shilling each, Galloway asked the ferryman if he would take them across for half price because "that was all we had; and that we were on a Mission to preach the Gospel, without purse and scrip, and we had appointed to preach in Inverary that evening. Still he refused to take us across; remarking that the 'days of preaching without hire were gone by, and it would not pay his rent to cross us for a sixpence each.'"

Discouraged, they sat down beside the loch and wondered what to do next. "We remembered the circumstance of Peter getting a piece of money out of the mouth of a fish in order that our Master, Jesus, might pay tribute to someone on his way, but it was not likely that a similar miracle was going to be performed in our behalf." Finally they went back along the shore and, giving up on crossing the loch, got lodgings in an inn for the night. The landlady asked them to lead the family worship that evening, which Rowan did and worked in some preaching on Mormonism. Afterwards the landlady gave them biscuits and warm milk for supper without charging them, "after which we went to bed, thinking that we had not done so ill, nor been so ill-done by, today, after all."³⁸

Besides transportation, money was also necessary for most things related to performing their mission, particularly renting halls or rooms in

which to preach and printing notices to post to invite people to hear them. In summer it was possible to preach outdoors; and when they were unable to hire a hall, that was the favored method, with someone often lending chairs on which they could stand. Matthew Rowan wrote that, on his very first day of preaching, the landlord of the inn where he and his companion James Hay had stayed brought out two chairs for them to stand on and "2 servers or covered plates for the purpose of taking up a collection for us." In winter, if missionaries could not afford to rent a hall, they spent their time "in spreading the work in a more private manner among the people. Visiting from house to house, private conversation, and tract distributing . . ." ³⁹

The elders frequently mentioned "placarding" a city or town as their primary way to announce a series of lectures or a sermon by an elder. Sometimes this technique met with great success, as it did for Andrew Ferguson in Dundee when about five hundred attended their meeting in March 1853. "The reason of so meny strangers preasent was, that we had Play carded for some days Previous, the city, intimating, that we would have on that evening a number of Elders from the vallie, who would diliver a Lecture on Polygamy, as is belived in, & Practised by us at the saints Location viz: Salt Lake vallie." Not surprisingly, the titillating subject, which had been announced in Great Britain only two months earlier, enticed people. But at other times Ferguson met with little success: "Altho the vilige had been Play carded for some days Previous, yet there were only 4 Strangers Present all day." ⁴⁰

Another way the elders advertised their meetings was to hire the town crier or a drummer. Ferguson more than once mentioned hiring the crier to announce a meeting, and Duncan hired a drummer who charged him sixpence. William Gibson gave an account of a battle between himself and those opposed to Mormonism, each employing the crier's services: "Went to Clackmannan & learned that the Town Crier had gone through the town with a proclamation to the people telling them to burn the tracts they had got from the Latter-day Saints, for they contained Soul ruining heresy. I then sent him through again to tell the people that I would preach to morrow & to come & hear for themselves. He did so & soon after he went through with another proclamation for the people to turn out & prevent me from poluting [sic] the town & with an intimation to me that if I attempted to preach at the Cross [town center], I would be stoned." ⁴¹

Pamphlets were another cost. Usually the conference would pay for them, and the traveling elders would offer them for sale, returning the money to the conference to be invested in new books and pamphlets. The traveling elders spoke sometimes of selling pamphlets or of leaving several at a house, then returning a few days later to answer questions, pick up the pamphlets, and leave new ones.⁴²

Some of the most intractable problems came less from traveling without purse or scrip than from inadequate support for the family left behind. Orson Pratt had admonished the wives and children of traveling elders to "fast and pray for their fathers and husbands . . . and not hold them back through fear of want," with the promise that their lives would be preserved, they would be blessed spiritually and temporally, and they would soon be gathered to Zion as the result of the men's missionary labors.⁴³

Of the traveling elders of this study, four had families: Andrew Ferguson had a wife, three children, and two stepchildren; William Gibson had a wife, five children, and at least for a time a father-in-law to support; Peter McIntyre had a wife and grown children, some of whom returned home when sick or unemployed; and William Athole MacMaster had a wife and five children. Three of the four—McIntyre, Ferguson, and Gibson—told of their families experiencing real privation while they were out in the field.

McIntyre wrote: "When I arrived in Greenock [I] found my wife in sore trouble, bed-fast in fact, as the brethren had discontinued the four shillings a week that they had promised to allow her, so that she had nothing to support herself with." On another occasion, he wrote, "On my arrival at home I found my family in a very poor condition. It being winter my wife had been under the necessity of pawning many things for food, even to my watch."⁴⁴

Ferguson, who went home to see his family in August 1852 after an absence of six months, found that they had been suffering, were in debt, and, "were all very bad of [off] for clothing so much so that I was almost ashamed to look at them. My Wife had sold one chest [chest] of fine Drawers for £2.10, to assist the family." In spite of their precarious situation, Ferguson affirmed his staunch faith that God would help them, but then added, "we stood much in need of it at this time for winter was setting in fast, & all required shoes [shoes], clothing &c." A little over a year later, he recorded, "Wrote a letter to my wife, & sent an order with one pound ten

shillings, to lift clothes that she had to pawn, since I came out to preach."⁴⁵

The families worked as best they could. Ferguson's wife was a straw hat maker and a son by her first marriage helped support the family as a coal miner. But two years later, the stepson was out of work and the "famely was very badly of [off] for Provisions." More than five months later, the stepson was still out of work, causing hardship for all at home, but Ferguson's fervent faith did not fail him: "For my part I do not care how much we may have to suffer, if only we can have the blissings of god to asist us in overcoming all things." Even Ferguson, however, occasionally admitted that God's support in making "all things come out right" was not timely. On one visit home in April 1853, he wrote, "They were all well in helth, but very poor having sufferd a good dale since I left them last. When I went in they had nothing to eat, no & My Wife told me that she had got nothing that day &c. This was like a dager going into my hart."⁴⁶

The help that married traveling elders received for their families was often from individuals rather than from the branch or conference. Ferguson in particular mentioned a number of individuals who helped the family. In October 1852 he wrote, "Davidson made me a preasent of 3 pounds to give my famely, & on the same day, one Sister Rottery also made me a preasent of £2 pounds, which was £5 in all. This was a great blissing to my famely." In August 1853, he gratefully acknowledged, "Bro James Christie gave me 12 S [shillings] to Purchis a New gown to my Wife, which thing she stands much in need of. The Lord put it into his hart, to do so, & may god my heavenly Father bliss & prosper that man, for his liberalitys to me."⁴⁷

William Gibson likewise attested to the generosity of one "Sister Peters who kept a store." This woman "was very kind to us & brought my wife many little things for our comfort which otherwise we could not have got." Gibson added that the Edinburgh Branch in 1846 gave him a little less than ten shillings a week to support himself (including traveling expenses), wife, and five children. "But we had been used to poverty & to live on little & we did not mind it much, although many times before going out to visit some of the branches, I had to go to bed to allow my only shirt to be washed or my only pants to be mended, but we felt cheerfull & happy because we knew it was for the cause of God."⁴⁸

What did the traveling missionaries do when money, hospitality, or help from the Saints ran out? Some, such as Duncan, finally went home to

find work, for as James Marsden, the president of the Edinburgh Conference told him, "God did not require me nor any other man to starve ourselves to death." Gibson and McIntyre both took sabbaticals from their missions for a period to earn money to support their families. In another instance, William C. Dunbar was called in "for a season" because of "family indisposition and lack of means." At least two men—Ralph Nephi Rowley and James Mair—were called back from their missions by their wives because their families were in need. In still another way to manage, Matthew Rowan, a miner, not being able to preach much in the winter season for lack of money to rent a hall, went to work in an ironstone pit near where he was living in Ayrshire on those days when he did not have a meeting. "By my labour I supported myself, in board and lodgings, and clothing; and paid to the help of the work as well."⁴⁹

James Ririe was also called in from his mission, but for a different reason. Crandell Dunn, the president of the Edinburgh Conference, asked him to return to Aberdeen to help the president of the Aberdeen Branch raise money for the branch by going to work. For seven weeks Ririe tried to find work, but it was a period of high unemployment: "I had a hard time of it. There were but few Saints or friends where I could get a meal. I had no money. I was running in debt every night for my lodgings. I visited my friends until I thought I would wear my welcome out. I walked the streets in Aberdeen so that in passing the bakery shops, the smell of the bread made me sick." Finally through a friend he had known from a prayer meeting before his conversion to Mormonism, he obtained a job at a comb factory where he earned initially only two and a half shillings a week. He rented a garret room and "got a shilling's worth of coal, some oatmeal, some molasses and started housekeeping." He continued, "I lived on oatmeal and molasses until I got more wages and then I treated myself to one cent's worth of skim milk a day." He never specified, but it seems doubtful that he was able to add much to the treasury of the branch.⁵⁰

Turning from the experiences of the traveling elders to an assessment of their labor, can one measure their success in going without purse or scrip? Historian Frederick Buchanan shows that the number of converts in this period rose dramatically. While it is easy to assume a direct correlation between the work of the traveling elders and the increase in baptisms, it would not be entirely correct. There were other more telling factors, foremost of which was Orson Pratt's prolific output of pamphlets

in this period. His writings were cogent and convincing and led many formerly skeptical British to convert. Scottish convert T. B. H. Stenhouse wrote that Pratt's "influence spread like a consuming fire among the Saints. . . . He aroused the ambition and excited the zeal of young and old to spread abroad the new faith, and armed as they were with his arguments, they scoured the country and invited discussion wherever they went." The excitement that Pratt aroused was multiplied by Eli B. Kelsey, president of the Glasgow Conference. He devised several vigorous programs to distribute Pratt's pamphlets by the thousands, primarily through the Sunday missionaries and several women's societies.⁵¹

The greatest success of these efforts lay in Scotland's central industrial belt, not in the rural regions where the traveling elders were most often sent. There, baptisms were few. McIntyre mentions baptizing only seven or eight persons during several missions covering about four years. Duncan and Hamilton, in the four months of their missions, do not mention a single baptism; and according to Ferguson, neither did Hugh Gowans, all three having been sent out at the same time in the Edinburgh Conference. In contrast, Gibson mentions that, while he was president of the Edinburgh Conference, 1,539 members were baptized, although he is not claiming them as personal conversions.⁵² These baptisms were in the industrial region and were due in great part to the work of Sunday missionaries and women's organizations in spreading Pratt's pamphlets. Nevertheless, Gibson no doubt had more success than the other traveling elders, for his field of labor was almost entirely in the central, industrial area, and his skill in debating attracted large crowds.

Ferguson also had some success: "We succeeded in Baptising a few here & there," and went on to say that in one place they had baptized most of the eighteen members. His diary mentions other baptisms, usually single ones, but sometimes two people. In a letter he wrote to Franklin D. Richards, he said, "Our Laborurs is not attended with so meny Baptisems, but there is a time to sow, and we ar trusting to God for a rich harvast very soon." Of the others, Ririe says he baptized twelve or thirteen in one area, but Rowan mentions no baptisms and MacMaster only one.⁵³ Added together, these successes are few and one can safely conclude that the number of conversions was more a function of where a traveling elder was sent and how talented he was in speaking, not of his having gone without purse or scrip.

Another way to look at success is whether the traveling elders were

able to live up to the scriptural model. This depends on how the missionary interpreted Jesus's words. If taken literally, as four of them appear to have done, success in obtaining the hospitality of strangers was directly related to the missionary's talent in attracting people. McIntyre secured bed and food by his preaching ability, speaking Gaelic, and sharing the same surname as many of those he went among. Duncan's hardships may have come, at least in part, from his interpreting Christ's injunction too strictly and walking almost everywhere in spite of his wooden leg. In addition to his handicaps—amputated leg and blind eye—he also had an aversion to speaking to crowds in the open. Even though he had been out for two months and was used to speaking to people, when it came to standing up in the center of town to preach, he wrote that he “would fain preach, but cannot think about doing it in such a bustle.”⁵⁴ Ririe found it impossible to beg when he ran out of money, and then could not find work to support himself. Hamilton also appears to have tried to follow the model quite literally.

In contrast are MacMaster, Gibson, and Rowan, who appear to have taken the scriptural model more as a general direction. MacMaster took public transportation everywhere, lodged with his family or other Church members, and had little difficulty raising money from Church members because he was in an industrial area with established branches. Gibson also had a successful mission, but it was most likely due to his debating ability. Rowan was able to stay with a grandmother and other family members or, when there were no relatives in the area, in inns paid for with money from those who heard him preach.

When interpreted literally, going without purse or scrip was not a success as far as providing food, shelter, clothes, and money for the Mormon traveling elders in Scotland was concerned. All eight men of this study told of real hardships. When supplemented with stories in conference reports and by those who wrote briefer accounts, the picture is quite consistent. Certainly the elders' writings show that much of their time in the field was taken up with how to find something to eat and where they would spend the night. Such concerns at times appeared to demand precedence over the purpose of their mission.

A final and perhaps more important measure of success is how the traveling elders viewed their missions. Some—Hamilton, MacMaster, and Ririe—gave no indication. Gibson gives the impression of being quite pleased with his talent in debates and proud of how many joined the

Church during his presidency of the Edinburgh Conference. Rowan wrote that his mission gave him a “*practical confidence*” in God; he also expressed pleasure that he and his companion became close friends. In contrast, Duncan felt that the thirty elders sent out by James Marsden failed in their attempts to convert “the stubborn [sic] sons of the Scottish Isle from the Presbyterianism of their fathers,” and that “after two or three months hard work, twenty-eight had returned home, some without their overcoats, others their boots, others their watches, all put in the pawn shop to raise money to get home on.” He was asked to go on another mission, but candidly said he “would rather dig coal for a living than preach.”⁵⁵

Ferguson never said explicitly how he viewed his mission, but his diary shows that his life took on a new meaning and that he gained a sense of self-importance. At one point he wrote that there were “meny evidences that god was in all my measur, for god has blissed me greatly, & the council & saints do se it.” McIntyre also felt greatly rewarded. Writing in 1850, just two or three years after his last mission when he had turned sixty, he said, “I had a great deal more joy when I preached from village to village, cold and hungry, not knowing where to lay my head, than I have now, with plenty of food, raiment and ease.”⁵⁶

The approach to missionary work had to change as the British government and people became less tolerant of able-bodied men who would not work to support themselves, no matter how lofty their cause. Thus the era of going without purse or scrip gradually came to an end, taking on, as Richard Jensen observed at the beginning of this paper, “the qualities of a myth, not necessarily untrue, but sometimes not tethered firmly to the ground.” Certainly, the portrait of the traveling elders given at the beginning of this paper in the quotation from Hubert Howe Bancroft does not hold up in its positive and simple definitiveness. The experiences of the Scottish missionaries varied widely, and all at times were daunted by real suffering. But perhaps it is right in its portrayal of the missionaries’ steadfastness, for all shared feelings of dedication to God and to their work, and their hard times do not appear to have diminished their faith, for all of them immigrated to Utah.⁵⁷

Notes

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 142.
2. Richard L. Jensen, “Without Purse or Scrip? Financing Latter-day Saint Mis-

sionary Work in Europe in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 13.

3. One example will illustrate how differently the two types of missionaries fared. Two Americans, who had each been president of the Glasgow Conference, received what appears to be excessive donations from the conference members for their respective trips home in 1849 and 1850: Eli B. Kelsey was given £85 and Harrison Burgess £58. This was at a time when it cost approximately £20 to travel independently from Liverpool all the way to Salt Lake City. At the same quarterly conference when Burgess's gift was reported, a little over £7 had been donated to the traveling elders' fund. How many such elders this fund was meant to support is unspecified; but in the conference six months previous, thirteen are named. The figure for Kelsey appears in *Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference, Held in the Merchants' Hall, Hutchison Street, Glasgow, June 24th, 1849*, LDS Church Archives, 2. The sum for Burgess is from the *Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference Held in the Mechanics' Institution, Canning St., Calton, 1st January, 1850*, LDS Church Archives, 2. For relative costs of getting to Utah, see Polly Aird, "Bound for Zion: The Ten- and Thirteen-Pound Emigrating Companies, 1853-1854," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Fall 2002): 302.

4. Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland," *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837-1987*, edited by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Solihull, West Midlands, England: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 274-77.

5. For the Reformation, an excellent study is Paul H. Peterson, "The 1857 Reformation in Britain," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 211-23.

6. Mark Neuman, "Beggars and Vagrants," *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Sally Mitchell (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 71.

7. Two others spent their missions entirely in England and are not included here; another three were primarily in England, but also had missions in Scotland.

8. In 1850, the Dundee Conference was split off from Edinburgh, and, in 1853, the Kilmarnock Conference from Glasgow. For the purposes of this paper, however, each will be included with its original conference.

9. The *Star* was published initially monthly, then semi-monthly, and finally weekly. After 1851, it printed only statistical tables and minutes of the general conference for the whole of the British Mission.

10. Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?" 4.

11. A third interpretation of the scriptural model might be metaphorical: Rather than strictly taking no money or food, the men were charged to go with perfect simplicity and trust, unburdened by worries or material cares and being

single-minded in urgently warning the people of Christ's Second Coming. Although some may have acted this way, it is unlikely that they consciously understood Christ's words in such a manner.

12. Orson Pratt, "General Instructions to Pastors, Presidents, and Elders," *Millennial Star* 19 (April 11, 1857): 232.

13. For more details on the hard times of this period, see Polly Aird, "Why Did the Scots Convert?" *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 91-122.

14. Rex Thomas Price Jr., "The Mormon Missionary of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1991), 26; "Mormonism," *Edinburgh Review* 99 (April 1854): 383.

15. These personal accounts are John Duncan, Journal, 1851-61, typescript, LDS Church Archives; Andrew Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography, 1852-1880," online typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/Diaries/image/4264.pdf> (accessed March 2005); William Gibson, Journal, 1841-February 1854, holograph, LDS Church Archives; Henry Hamilton, Journals [1851]-1900, holograph, LDS Church Archives; William Athole MacMaster, Diaries, 1848-87, holograph, LDS Church Archives; Peter McIntyre, "Autobiography," typescript, LDS Church Archives (on p. 29, he says he wrote the missionary part in 1850); James Ririe, "James Ririe-Archibald McFarland," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, compiled by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 9:338-76; Matthew Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account of the Rowan Family," typescript, Utah State Historical Society, 1853.

16. Hamilton, Journals, 5; Ferguson, "Diaries," 13; McIntyre, "Autobiography," 23.

17. *Ibid.*, 16, 23-28. Franklin D. Richards was keeping a diary during this period but does not mention this meeting with McIntyre.

18. Duncan, Journal, June 28 and 30, September 4, 1851; McIntyre, "Autobiography," 16-18; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 34, 35.

19. *Ibid.*, 38.

20. Conference minutes, March 28, 1847, Manuscript History of the Glasgow Conference, Scottish Mission, LDS Church Archives; "Conference Minutes, Glasgow," *Millennial Star* 10 (November 15, 1848): 344; Orson Pratt, Editorial, *Millennial Star* 12 (February 14, 1850): 57-58; Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 33-34, 114, 129, 133; Edward Bunker, Letter to F. D. Richards, *Millennial Star* 17 (August 25, 1855): 540; Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?" 5-6.

21. McIntyre, "Autobiography," 16.

22. *Ibid.*, 25-27.

23. Ririe, "James Ririe-Archibald McFarland," 350; Duncan, Journal, June 28, July 16, 1851.

24. Duncan, Journal, September 3-4, 1851; Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 350.
25. Duncan, Journal, June 30, July 1 and 25-26, 1851; Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 347; Hamilton, Journals, 6-7.
26. Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 38.
27. *Ibid.*, 35.
28. *Ibid.*, 22, 24, 26, 29, 32; Duncan, Journal, September 4, 1851; see also July 11, 1851.
29. Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 348.
30. *Ibid.*, 9:347; Duncan, Journal, September 9, 10, and 11, 1851.
31. Duncan, Journal, July 24, 1851; Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 31-32.
32. *Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference, June 24th, 1849*, 4; emphasis in original.
33. For gifts of milk and bread, see Duncan, Journal, July 4, 9, and 26, September 25, 1851; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 29, 31, 32. For gifts of food, see McIntyre, "Autobiography," 16, 24; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 34, 39; emphasis his.
34. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 43-44, 112, 123; Gibson, Journal, 94; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 39.
35. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 31, 38, 44, 107, 122.
36. Duncan, Journal, July 1 and 31, August 11, September 18, 1851.
37. Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 350; Gibson, Journal, 75.
38. Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 20-32.
39. *Ibid.*, 23; "Tract Distributing," *Millennial Star* 15 (October 29, 1853): 713.
40. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 65, 80.
41. *Ibid.*, 86, 129; Duncan, Journal, July 30, 1851; Gibson, Journal, 93. See also Hamilton, Journals, 27.
42. Eli B. Kelsey, Letter to Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star* 10 (September 15, 1848): 285; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 30; Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 32-33; Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 347-48; Hamilton, Journals, 9.
43. Orson Pratt, Editorial, *Millennial Star* 19 (April 11, 1857): 232-33.
44. McIntyre, "Autobiography," 23, 28-29.
45. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 39, 132.
46. *Ibid.*, 12, 68, 91, 142.
47. *Ibid.*, 44, 108. This gown was an ordinary dress, not a fancy item.
48. Gibson, Journal, 67.
49. Duncan, Journal, September 28, 1851; Gibson, Journal, 28; McIntyre, "Autobiography," 14, 23; "Conference Minutes, Edinburgh," *Millennial Star* 9 (November 15, 1847): 345; "Conference Minutes, Edinburgh," *Millennial Star* 10

(July 1, 1848): 198; Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 110. Ferguson described Mair's wife as manifesting "a dissatisfied spirit" and added disdainfully, "You would think that a world of sorrows & difficults [sic] presents before her." Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 28.

50. Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 350–51.

51. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland," 274–76; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Shepard Book Company, 1904), 10; Eli B. Kelsey, three letters to Orson Pratt published in the *Millennial Star*: 10 (September 15, 1848): 28; 10 (November 15, 1848): 350; and 11 (March 15, 1849): 92.

52. McIntyre, "Autobiography," 29; Duncan, *Journal*, September 5, 1851; Hamilton, *Journals*, 5–32; Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 31–32; Gibson, *Journal*, 71.

53. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 4, 17–18, 38, 82, 137, 138, 140, 144, 149, 212, 214; Ririe, "James Ririe—Archibald McFarland," 347; Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 9:347; and MacMaster, *Diaries*, 18.

54. Duncan, *Journal*, August 13 and 14, 1851.

55. Rowan, "A Concise Historical Account," 39, emphasis his; John Duncan, Autobiographical letter to A. J. Holmes, May 30, 1902, LDS Church Archives.

56. Ferguson, "Diaries and Autobiography," 119; McIntyre, "Autobiography," 29.

57. That they emigrated is the reason their writings have survived. What is not known is whether there were others who went out as traveling elders who did not remain faithful and did not emigrate. It is an unanswerable question.