UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER

An accredited institution of the
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Department of History

The Emergence and Development of the Church of Jesus
Christ of Latter–day Saints in Staffordshire, 1839–1870

by

David Michael Morris

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

This thesis has been completed as a requirement for a higher degree of
the University of Southampton

November 2010

UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER

An accredited institution of the University of Southampton

<u>ABSTRACT</u>

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

<u>Doctor of Philosophy</u>

The Emergence and Development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Staffordshire, 1839–1870

By David Michael Morris

This thesis analyses the emergence, development and subsequent decline of the LDS Church in Staffordshire between 1839 and 1870 as an original contribution to nineteenth–century British regional and religious history. I begin by examining the origins of the US Mormon Mission to Britain and a social historical study of the Staffordshire religious and industrial landscape. In order to recover the hidden voices of Staffordshire Mormon converts, I have constructed a unique *Staffordshire Mormon Database* for the purposes of this thesis containing over 1,900 records. This is drawn upon throughout, providing the primary quantitative evidence for this fascinating yet neglected new religious movement. From the data I explore the demographic composition of Staffordshire Mormonism using a more precise definition of class than has been the case previously, whilst also considering gender and age variables of Mormon converts. Subsequent chapters explore the qualitative dimensions of the conversion experience as a dynamic rather than event–based process, the demands of Church membership and commitment, the formal and informal institutional structure of the LDS Church and the hazards of emigration to the US in order to illuminate a number of key questions around which the thesis has been structured: Who were the Staffordshire Mormons? What was it about the Mormon message that appealed to the impoverished men and women of the newly industrialised Midlands? What was the nature of religious authority in the Mormon faith and in what ways did the formal Church administration adapt and respond to shifting urban contexts? Mormonism declined as rapidly as it had grown; this thesis investigates this little–known working–class religious movement and the lives of those Mormon men and women of Staffordshire who, against much personal, social and physical opposition, strived for what they regarded as a better future for themselves and their families.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, DAVID MICHAEL MORRIS declare that the thesis entitled:

The Emergence and Development of the
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, in Staffordshire 1839–1870

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

- none of this work has been published before submission,

Signed: …………………………………………………………………..

Date:………………………………………………………………….

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I want to thank my advisor and supervisor, Dr. Sue Morgan. It has been an honour to be her Ph.D. student. Not only has she provided me with more than adequate direction but exercised such diplomacy than when changes were needed, I felt as if it was to be one of the most enjoyable parts of this long journey, rather than the exercising of a painful procedure. I will always be indebted to her and the example that she has set that of a most accomplished scholar. Accordingly, appreciation to her family who also in the latter stages were also patient, particularly Prof. Keith Jenkins who also read through and made suggestions.

Other scholars whom I share my appreciation for, including their advice and direction, are Prof. Douglas J. Davies, for his patience and his friendly guidance as well as the sharing of his research; Prof. Alun Munslow, who from the beginning of my undergraduate days has been a friend and keen advocate of my understanding of 'What is History?' as well as being available to answer sometimes the seemingly most obvious of questions. These few words do not convey the appreciation adequately enough.

My friend and fellow scholar, Kim Östman, deserves a rightful place in these acknowledgements; it is an impossible journey to make without a companion on a similar path, for the sharing of experiences, challenges, disappointments, joys and ultimately the end success. The friendship like the debt, will last longer than the completion of this study.

I also extend my love and appreciation to my parents, David and Jennifer, who taught me the beauty of knowledge and the perseverance of any task. I also extend my love and thanks to my children, David, Sarah, Leah and Joshua who have suffered the neglect of their father to the hands of a scholarly mistress with the hope for a brighter future. They may never understand the obsession and pursuit of such an endeavour but hopefully will feel the benefits of it.

My most grateful and utmost appreciation goes finally, to my wife Rachel, who has been there from the beginning, and has under difficult circumstances managed to support and encourage me to the end. In her own right she is a teacher and an educator but most important, has supported me as a wife and friend.

ABBREVIATIONS

BYU   Brigham Young University

C of C   Community of Christ

D&C   *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*

FHL   Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints

LDS   Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints

LDS Church Archives   Library & Archives, Historical Department, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah

MIICD   *Mormon Immigration Index CDROM*, compiled by Fred E. Woods (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 2000)

MS   *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star*

n.d.   No date of publication given

n.p.   No pagination within document

PEF   Perpetual Emigrating/Emigration Fund

PPMU   Prominent Pioneers Mormon Utah

RLDS   Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints

SEB   *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848*, compiled by Susan Easton Black.

INTRODUCTION

In July 1837, seven American evangelists landed at Liverpool Docks from New York in order to establish the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints (LDS) within the British Isles. This 'First Apostolic Mission' to Britain and Ireland marked a significant moment in the Church's efforts to propound its message on an international stage. Established in Lancashire, the Church missionaries based themselves in Manchester in 1838 before arriving in Staffordshire, the focus of this study, in 1839. Accordingly, this thesis analyses the emergence, development and subsequent decline of this LDS Church, otherwise known as the Mormons,[1] in Staffordshire between 1839 and 1870 in order to make an original contribution to two main bodies of scholarship: nineteenth–century British religious history, which has so far neglected the narrative of the LDS Church in its larger emphasis upon 'domestic' forms of religious expression, and Mormon historiography which has been primarily concerned with the American rather than British experience.

My thesis is deliberately located within the field of Mormon history where a number of scholarly interpretive tensions exist between the 'traditionalist' school who have tended to champion a more confessional, uncritical approach to LDS activity in the past, and the 'revisionists' who, while fewer in number, have sought to introduce more critical readings of the Church's history. This thesis makes an original contribution to the latter, critical approach, through undertaking the first detailed social historical and quantitative analysis of the leadership, membership and organisational structure of the Staffordshire Mormon Conference at the height of the region's industrialising phase. Why, then a regional study, and why Staffordshire? Here I argue that, as with many existing denominational studies in British religious history, only a regional focus provides the richness of detail and specificity with regard to membership, rituals, doctrines, and the power dynamics between laity and leadership to enable a full level of analysis,[2] especially when archival deposits relating to the county are available, rendering a regional historical

---

[1] Throughout this thesis, I will use the term 'Latter–day Saint,' 'Mormon,' and 'Saint' interchangeably. They all refer to any member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, colloquially known as the 'Mormon Church,' or the 'LDS Church'.

[2] See for example, R. Leese, 'The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1743–1860' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1972); Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

approach the only feasible one for a study of this length. Staffordshire itself provides a fascinating example of an area of new and rapid industrialisation in Britain during the early–Victorian period which witnessed a tremendous fragmentation of religious orthodoxy as the privileges of the Established Church of England came under unprecedented attack. As the financial and political power of certain Nonconformist groups such as Wesleyan Methodism increased, so religious revivalism and simple 'cottage religions' became a staple feature of many working–class communities.[3] During the period under scrutiny Staffordshire had for example, already witnessed the birth of Primitive Methodism in 1811 at Mow Cop, and would experience a strong Chartist response and riots during 1842, combined with further turbulent social and religious discontent throughout the nineteenth century.[4] This thesis argues that such religious flux provided a fertile soil for the message of Mormonism. The remainder of this Introduction provides a brief introduction to the county of Staffordshire (the region's social and industrial past is discussed more fully in Chapter Three) and outlines the main arguments and the structure of each chapter in the thesis.

THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE OF STAFFORDSHIRE, 1839–1870

The landlocked county of Staffordshire is located in central England, known colloquially as the Midlands, and shares its border with a number of other counties including Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Cheshire and Shropshire.[5] The county had become heavily industrialised by the early nineteenth century with two main areas of activity, the 'Potteries' in the north and the 'Black Country' in the south, the latter so called because of the visible seams of coal which gave the surface ground a black appearance although other explanations suggest it was more to do with the blackness of smoke and polluting gases that enveloped the whole area. Elihu Burritt (1810–1879), the American Consul to Birmingham (1865–1870) observed in 1868 that the

---

[3] The concept of 'Cottage Religions' has been advanced by Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[4] Robert Anderson, *The Potteries Martyrs: Chartism in North Staffordshire*, 3rd ed. (Swindon: Heritage Books, 2008); Robert Fyson, 'Late Chartism in the Potteries, 1848–1858', *Labour History Review*, vol. 74, no. 1 (April 2009), pp. 111–129.

[5] M. W Greenslade, D. A. Johnson, and C. R. J. Currie, *A History of Counties of England: Stafford*, 13 vols. (Stafford: Victoria County History, 1908–1984). These multiple volumes can be accessed online at http://www.british–history.ac.uk/place.aspx?gid=30&region=5. (Last accessed 14 April 2010)

'Black Country was black by day, and red by night, [and] cannot be matched for vast and varied production by any other space of equal radius on the surface of the globe'.[6] A sprawling mass of towns, both the Potteries and the Black Country benefitted from prominent natural resources such as iron, coal, salt, and clay found in abundance throughout the county. By the early 1800s, Staffordshire had already gained an international reputation not for mining or shoemaking,[7] however, but for the manufacture of earthenware and ceramics pioneered by Josiah Wedgwood's business expertise and ability to embrace new technology.[8] Staffordshire became the ideal area for this type of industrial growth and, effectively, became the workshop of the Midlands and of the world for it.[9] As heavy industry grew and urbanisation increased, everyday living became compromised with the unique combination of industries around north Staffordshire creating a density of smoke and a distinctive landscape. Arnold Bennett was awestruck by the conditions:

> Great furnaces gleamed red in the twilight, and their fires were reflected in horrible black canals, processions of heavy vapour drifted in all directions across the sky, over what acres of mean and miserable brown architecture! The air was alive with the most extraordinary, weird, gigantic sounds. I do not think that Five Towns will ever be described: Dante lived too soon.[10]

By 1861, the Potteries industry had expanded to 180 manufactories or 'pot banks' with an estimated 30,000 employees.[11] As a result, the Potteries were arguably one of the most concentrated areas of industrial living in Britain and one of the most 'lethal'. In 1863 a person living in Stoke–on–Trent, for example, had a 25% per cent greater chance of mortality than the average for England and Wales. In 1880, statistician William Farr noted that the mortality of Staffordshire male potters, due mainly to respiratory diseases and

---

[6] Elihu Burritt, *Walks in the Black Country and its Green Border–Land* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1868), p. 1.

[7] See Mary Dorothy George, *London Life in the 18th Century England* (Chicago, Illinois: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1985), pp. 194–201; A. Fox*, History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 12, 20–23; all cited in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1968), p. 280.

[8] Eric Hobsbawm argues that from the eighteenth century, a foreign visitor would associate manufactured goods in Staffordshire as being that of the Potteries industry. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 25.

[9] Samuel, Raphael, 'Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid–Victorian Britain', *History Workshop* (1977), pp. 6–72.

[10] Arnold Bennett, *The Grim Smile of the Five Towns* (Gloucester: Dodo Press, 2007), p. 129.

[11] Ernest J. D. Warrillow, *A Sociological History of the City of Stoke–on–Trent* (Stoke on Trent: Etruscan Publications, 1960).

'potter's asthma', was exceeded only by 'the figures for costermongers, Cornish miners and inn and hotel servants'.[12]

In an attempt to understand the working conditions of Staffordshire in particular, in 1840 Parliament commissioned Samuel Scriven to provide a report. This gave a comprehensive review of adult and child labour in the ceramics industry, including concerns over the use of child labour, their moral condition and levels of literacy. Scriven argued that low moral conditions amongst the workers were due to:

> a general ignorance of moral duties and by the absence of religious and moral constraint shown among some classes by coarseness of manners, use of indecent language, practice gross immorality of both sexes from a very early age. Parents brought up with such habits can set no good example for the children.[13]

This, then, was the social and moral context confronting the Mormon missionaries when they arrived, the very time that the Scriven report was being undertaken. Strategically, Staffordshire was a convenient stopping–point for Mormon leaders as they travelled between the North and South of the country, for example, between Manchester, Herefordshire, Bedfordshire and London. As with other counties during the period, its religious boundaries were often blurred – thus the Mormons organised Staffordshire and most of Shropshire under the same ecclesiastical unit, namely the 'Staffordshire Conference', a unit which would become an important geographical location with its headquarters located in the 'Potteries' area. This thesis will shed new light on the British regional experience of Mormonism, showing how, amongst conditions of extreme deprivation and poverty, the LDS Church became established amongst an overwhelmingly working–class population.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

In terms of structure, Chapter One provides an overview type of national context for the subsequent regional analysis of Staffordshire Mormonism by analysing the origins, development and major features of the broader British LDS Mission between 1837 and 1870. This will establish the significance of the British Mission for the US Mormon

---

[12] Clare Holdsworth, 'Dr John Thomas Arlidge, and Victorian Occupational Medicine', *Medical History*, vol. 42 (1998), pp. 458–475.

[13] Samuel Scriven, Foreword, 'The Education of Children in the Potteries' (London: Parliamentary Report, 1843).

Church at large and will indicate methods of proselytisation employed by missionaries that had important ramifications for Staffordshire itself, exemplifying the tensions created by family conflicts and denominational rivalries evident from the very outset of Mormonism in Lancashire as well as factors of growth and decline not only in England but also in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Together these will illustrate the fully 'British' and even global dimensions of early Mormon outreach.

Chapter Two will deal with the different types and categories of sources used in the thesis and present a critical evaluation of current theoretical approaches to British Mormon history. Whilst fully acknowledging the frequent paucity and incomplete nature of materials on British Mormonism, I will illustrate one way in which regional Mormon research can still be undertaken, a task achieved through the distinctive contribution of this thesis in terms of the construction of a significant original source – the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* – and through new methodological approaches to historical documents such as diaries and institutional records. The chapter begins with an analysis of primary source materials followed by a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the extant historiography on British Mormon history. It concludes with a proposal outlining suggestions for ways in which future studies on the British LDS Church can best address such issues.

Chapter Three provides one of the central arguments of the thesis by addressing the key question: the identity of the Staffordshire Mormons. It begins with a critical examination of the current historiography on British Mormon demography and a detailed explanation of the major source, the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset*, a robust sample drawn from the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* (outlined in Chapter Two). A brief discussion of the social and industrial landscape of nineteenth–century Staffordshire will then provide the context for a detailed analysis of the social composition of Mormon converts. This is augmented by a wider comparative analysis of Staffordshire and two other regional studies of British Mormonism, namely that of Preston, another industrial urban area, and Buckinghamshire, a predominantly rural, agrarian county. The chapter will also compare and contrast Staffordshire Mormon membership with that of the Primitive Methodists, a strong presence of a very similar contemporary constituency. Finally, the Staffordshire Mormons will be examined in terms of age and gender.

In Chapter Four the process of religious conversion experienced by Mormons is considered, beginning with a critical assessment of current historiographies of religious conversion. While numerous sociological studies have been undertaken, notably by John

Lofland and Rodney Stark, Lewis R. Rambo, John Seggar and Phillip Kunz, none has yet addressed a nineteenth–century example.[14] With the exception of Seggar and Kunz, very few analyses have addressed Mormonism. Drawing upon published research, this thesis thus extends existing historical analyses of this important topic by constructing a model which defines Mormon conversion as a process rather than as a single event (an approach which has dominated so many historical studies of Victorian evangelicalism such as those by David Bebbington and Linda Wilson, for example).[15] I show the way in which specific catalysts such as illness, individual guilt, religious apostasy, the influence of family and friends and the persuasiveness of preachers were fundamental to the conversion process.

The distinctive organisational and hierarchical structure of the LDS Church and the conflicting power relations within it are examined in Chapter Five. Church life encouraged new members into a life of transformed values and activity and it was here that their conversion careers really began. The chapter shows how the Staffordshire Conference was composed of congregational branches under the direction of a single Conference authority which controlled Church administration, doctrine and general leadership. It examines the precarious nature of Mormon Branch life in Staffordshire and the experiences of local members.

The final chapter, Chapter Six, explores the organisational aspects of emigration and the financial risks and physical dangers that confronted those who undertook the perilous transatlantic journey to Zion. Fluctuations in emigration throughout the period are scrutinised and assessed. The indirect impact of the doctrine of the 'gathering' and emigration upon the vitality of the Staffordshire conference and of British Mormonism, generally is also made clear. Although more British Mormons remained in the UK than

---

[14] Primarily, John Lofland and Rodney Stark, 'Becoming a World–Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 30 (1965), pp. 863–874; David A. Snow and Cynthia L. Phillips, 'The Lofland–Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment', *Social Problems*, vol. 27 (1980), pp. 430–447. John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, 'Conversion Motifs', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* vol. 20 (1981), pp. 373–385; William Sims Bainbridge, 'The Sociology of Conversion', pp. 178–191 in *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, ed. by H. N. Malony and S. Southard (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992); Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); J. F. Seggar and P. Kunz, 'Conversion: Evaluation of a Step–like Process for Problem Solving', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 178–184; C. Daniel Batson and W. Larry Ventis*, The Religious Experience*: *A Social–Psychological Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

[15] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Linda Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal: Female Spirituality amongst Nonconformists, 1825–1875* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000).

emigrated to the US, the influence of the 'gathering' resulted in a deep but, arguably necessary, decline in British Mormon numbers.

The thesis also contains four appendices. Appendix A is a compilation of critical raw Church data drawn from the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* including details of membership, baptism, excommunication, emigration and lay priesthood figures between 1837 and 1900. Appendix B contains the chronological appointments of both British Mission Presidents and periodical editors of the *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star* between 1837 and 1871. Appendix C contains the two *Staffordshire Mormon Datasets* that provide the major information source for the analysis as undertaken in Chapter Three and Chapter Six. Appendix D contains a CDROM of the entire *Staffordshire Mormon Database* (as a PDF file) and is located on the inner back cover of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1

THE EMERGENCE OF THE BRITISH MISSION, 1837–1870

> God revealed to me that something new must be done for the salvation of His
> Church. And on or about the first of June, 1837, Heber C. Kimball, one of the
> Twelve, was set apart by the spirit of prophecy and revelation, prayer and the
> laying on of hands of the First Presidency, to preside over a mission to England,
> to be the first foreign mission of the Church of Christ in the last days.[1]

THE ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH MISSION

Joseph Smith's (1805–1844) inauguration of the Mormon mission to Britain, as
outlined in the above quote, was an inevitable development for a church whose focus was
one of active missionary expansion. Even today, missiological expansion remains a central
part of the doctrinal and operational basis of the LDS Church. This chapter provides a
contextualising background to Staffordshire Mormonism by examining the origins,
development and major features of the wider British Mission between 1837 and 1870. Why
did the Mormons come to Britain in the first place? And what forms of religious growth
and decline took place during this period? How did patterns of recruitment differ by region
and country? This chapter explores the tensions of family conflict and denominational
rivalries from Mormonism's early roots in Lancashire, spreading not just throughout
England but also Scotland, Wales and Ireland. By illustrating the origins and wider
dimensions of the LDS mission to the British Isles as a whole, it aims to demonstrate
dominant features of early Mormon missionary practice and belief that set the scene for the
specific mission in Staffordshire.

Following the initial organisation of the Church in Fayette, New York on 6 April
1830, two of the first American missionaries, Samuel H. Smith (1808–1844) and Solomon
Chamberlain (1788–1862), departed to nearby Upstate New York and began preaching the
principles of 'restored religion' and the *Book of Mormon*.[2] The whole programme of
missionary work came under the direction of Joseph Smith who had envisaged a
worldwide church from the very outset. In 1831, for example, Smith declared that he had
received a revelation from God instructing:

---

[1] Joseph Smith cited in B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1948), 2:489, hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.

[2] The *Book of Mormon* is one of the key religious texts of Mormonism. Joseph Smith makes claim to have been directed to golden plates from angelic visitors in 1823, and subsequently translated the inscriptions described as reformed Egyptian and printed in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon*.

ye people from afar; and ye that are upon the islands of the sea, listen together. And verily I say unto you, that they who go forth, bearing these tidings unto the inhabitants of the earth, to them is power given to seal both on earth and in heaven, the unbelieving and rebellious; Wherefore the voice of the Lord is unto the ends of the earth, that all that will hear may hear: That the fulness of my gospel might be proclaimed by the weak and the simple unto the ends of the world, and before kings and rulers.[3]

As a result, Mormon expansion commenced first from the state of New York, progressing outwards to surrounding states such as New England and spreading as far as Ohio. By 1832 the first mission to Canada had been initiated. In the early days of the Church, Smith's own family was engaged with him on missions, often 'tracting' (leaving tracts and books) door–to–door to relatives and friends. As the Mormon Church increased in size this distinctive prosopographical pattern of recruitment was adopted by subsequent missionaries, a method of expansion that began with the missionaries' own personal familial, friends and neighbourhood networks. This was a distinctive feature of Mormon outreach in Britain which will be discussed in greater detail below.

The British Isles served as a natural extension of LDS missionary activity. It was inevitable that Mormon networks would spread across the Atlantic to Europe and particularly to Britain, not least because many of its adherents and leaders in the US, such as Joseph Fielding (1797–1863), were of British origin. Prior to this wider international expansion, however, there was a successful mission to Canada which proved significant to the British expansion. Following the organisation of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in April 1835 (to be discussed further in Chapter Five), who were designated as 'travelling councillors' with jurisdiction outside of the organised areas of the Church and answerable to Joseph Smith,[4] senior Apostle Heber C. Kimball (1801–1868), a potter by trade, directed Parley P. Pratt (1807–1857) to travel to Toronto and Upper Canada in order to expand the Church further.[5] This Canadian venture was seen as vital to promoting the Mormon message in Britain. As Kimball observed to Pratt in 1836, 'from the things growing out of this [Canada] mission shall the fulness of the gospel spread into England and cause a great work to be done in that land.'[6]

---

[3] *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1981) 1:1–2, 4–5, 8–14, 23. Hereafter cited as *D&C*.

[4] *D&C* 107:25–27, 36–37.

[5] Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C Kimball*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967), p. 123.

[6] Brigham H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor: Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2002), p. 35.

Pratt dutifully departed for Canada. Despite adverse personal circumstances he unquestioningly accepted his assignment or 'calling'.[7] It is important to note that for many Mormons failure to accept such a call to missionary work would be to doubt the very words of Deity, a fundamental pillar of Mormon faith. In Mormon theology, the practice of 'calling' individuals as if God himself had spoken was established in a revelation declared by Smith, 'whether by mine own [God's] voice or by the voice of my [God's] servants it is the same'.[8] This fidelity to the call of God had important ramifications for the experiences of the preachers as it meant that there were numerous occasions when they set out to spread the word in hostile circumstances, relying solely on the generosity of those they met.

Pratt quickly found converts in Toronto amongst a small group of former Methodists and Independents who shared similar theological dogmas to Mormonism and thus readily accepted his message.[9] The Toronto mission was a significant catalyst for Mormon activity in Britain. Among the new Canadian converts was the English Methodist, John Taylor (1808–1887) who eventually succeeded Brigham Young (1801–1877) as the third president of the worldwide Mormon Church between 1877 and 1887. Taylor was an important figure in the British Mission as a leading missionary in 1840 to Liverpool and Ireland. Indeed, of the seven pioneering missionaries to Britain in 1837, four participated in Pratt's Canadian mission including Joseph Fielding, John Goodson, Isaac Russell (1807–1844) and John Snyder (1800–1875).[10]

---

[7] Parley Pratt Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Embracing His Life, Ministry and Travels, with Extracts in Prose and Verse, from His Miscellaneous Writings*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1938), p. 131. (Hereafter Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt).

[8] *D&C* 1:38. 'We listen to a Prophet's Voice', *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1985), Hymn 22.

[9] Richard E. Bennett, 'Plucking Not Planting: Mormonism in Eastern Canada, 1830–1850', in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, eds. Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer and George K. Jarvis (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1990), p. 23–24. See also G. St. John Stott, 'John Taylor's Religious Preparation', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 123–28.

[10] 'Laying the Foundation in Canada', Church Section, *Deseret News*, 31 July 1937, pp. 8–9. It is also notable that Mary Fielding, the sister of Joseph Fielding married Hyrum Smith, the brother of Joseph, and through their offspring, Joseph F. Smith would continue to later lead the Utah Church. Others who were baptised 9 May 1836, at Blackcreek, Charleton nr. Toronto included Leonora Taylor, John Taylor's parents, and Mary and Mercy Fielding. Concerning the place and date of birth of John Goodson, no details can be found or other history regarding him with the exception that he was one of the converts from Parley Pratt's mission to Upper Canada.

In the spring of 1837, following the death of his wife, Thankful Halsey (1797–1837) in Kirtland, Ohio, Pratt returned to Canada in order to visit the Saints there and 'confer on the subject of a mission to England'.[11] Those converts who were English who had relatives and friends in England were particularly receptive to the idea. As Pratt reflects in his autobiography in 1837 he felt reassured when 'several of the Canadian Elders felt a desire to go on a mission to their friends in that country'.[12] Pratt himself waited a further three years before he crossed the Atlantic to join his associates in Britain.[13]

In addition to trans–Atlantic familial connections and the importance of the Canadian episode in promoting the formation of the first British Mission, one final observation in terms of the origins of the British Mission offers a less altruistic and more pragmatic, self–interested series of justifications. The timing of the British Mission coincided with a powerful challenge to Joseph Smith's leadership in Ohio and personal tensions amongst the American leaders of the nascent Mormon Church. Indeed, scholars such as Fawn Brodie have concluded that the instigation of the British Mission was less of an intentional doctrinal imperative to expand and more of a strategic removal of actual and potential troublemakers by Smith.[14] To what extent then was the decision to open up new foreign missions merely a response to internal conflicts?

DISSENT AND LEADERSHIP, KIRTLAND, OHIO

Following the completion of a temple in 1836 at Kirtland, Ohio, and the increasing presence of Mormons there, the national financial crisis began to take its toll on Kirtland's economy and the Mormon banking system. As Robert Kent Fielding has illustrated, the failure of the LDS Kirtland Bank Safety Society in 1837 dealt the final economic blow for the stability of the Mormon community.[15] This collapse resulted in large–scale hostility towards Smith who had encouraged the creation of the bank while retaining the position of cashier with Oliver Cowdery (1806–1850), the Church's second

---

[11] Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, p. 167.

[12] Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, p. 168.

[13] Between 1837 and 1839 Pratt was engaged in the writing of missionary tracts, books and carrying out further missions. After that he left for the British Isles.

[14] Fawn McKay Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 195 and 204.

[15] Robert Kent Fielding, 'Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana State University, 1957), pp. 182–183.

Elder, and the bank's Treasurer.[16] In what amounted to an increasing social segregation within the Mormon community through the collapse of the bank, fierce criticism came not only from local residents and businesses that had lost money but from longer–term antagonists such as prominent local entrepreneurs Grandison Newell and Samuel D. Rounds.[17] Worse still, some of Smith's closest friends and supporters were disapproving, including Frederick G. William (1787–1842), counsellor to Joseph Smith, Thomas B. Marsh (1799–1866) President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Parley P. Pratt.[18] Kimball, recalling the situation some years later in a sermon in 1856, observed that at this point: 'there were not twenty persons on the earth that would declare that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God'.[19] In fact, over half of the Quorum of the Twelve accused Smith of being a 'fallen prophet'.[20]

Yet the Kirtland bank crash was not the only source of tension.[21] Other factors such as the increasing political tensions surrounding the power of the Mormon–voting bloc

---

[16] Paul D. Sampson and Larry T. Wimmer, 'The Kirtland Safety Society: The Stock Ledge Book and the Bank Failure'. *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 12 (Summer 1972), pp. 427–454; Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker and Larry T. Wimmer, *The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1977).

[17] Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994), p. 186; James H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), p.157; William A. Linn, *Story of the Mormons* (New York: MacMillan, 1902), pp. 154–155; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 203.

[18] Robert T. Divett, 'Medicine and the Mormons: a Historical Perspective', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol.12, no.3 (1979), p. 19.

[19] In a sermon delivered by Heber C. Kimball, *Journal of Discourses*, ed. by George D. Watt, 26 vols (Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1852–1886), 4:108 (28 September 1856); See also George A. Smith, *Journal of Discourses* 11:11 (15 November 1864), although this may have been exaggerated somewhat as the current membership of the church at Kirtland was approximately 2,000. See Milton V. Backman, Jr, 'Kirtland, Ohio', in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 2. As a predominant leader left the church, others stepped into their position. Kimball's remark expresses more about the strife and sentiment of apostasy and the general contention of the time.

[20] These included Parley and Orson Pratt who faltered for a few months, Orson Hyde who later asked for forgiveness and became part of the initial party to the British Isles and David Patten, the leader of the Twelve raised so many insulting questions that Joseph 'slapped him in the face & kicked him out of the yard.' See Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 332. For the concept of a 'fallen prophet' see Edward H. Anderson, *The Life of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon, 1893), e–book, p. 23. One of those who criticised was Warren Parrish later established the *Church of Christ* in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1837. A few months earlier Parrish was accused of embezzling funds from the bank and was excommunicated. See Brigham H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1930), 6 vols. 1:403–407 and Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft (1853) 1954), p. 240.

[21] Max H. Parkin, 'A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormon in Ohio between 1830 and 1838' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966).

in Kirtland had also become a problem. As more Mormons moved into the area the leaders of the Church sought to orchestrate political influence over them in terms of election campaigns without any regard for the interests of the indigenous settlers, particularly where they disagreed with the aims of Mormonism. Historians such as Brodie and Richard L. Evans have subsequently argued that in order to ensure the continued loyalty of some of the key Mormon Elders, Smith decided to send them away on missions where they might 'lose any petty grievances in preaching the purity of the gospel'.[22] Evans concedes that 'it would be pleasing to record that all was well within the Church when the Gospel first came to Britain in 1837, but history deals with stern realities, and such was not the case'.[23] There is no doubt that these local economic, political and religious tensions played a part in the origins of the British Mission but, *contra* Brodie and Evans, I would argue that this argument is not fully compelling as the sole rationale. In terms of the intention to go to Britain and Europe, as I have already noted, evidence exists to support the notion that the mission was envisaged from at least 1834, considerably earlier than the Kirtland difficulties. Thus, while visiting the Church in Michigan in 1834 Smith referred directly to a future programme of emigration where

> There are thousands of good people in England and those old countries who are waiting for the fullness of the gospel, and it will not be long before they will flock to Zion.[24]

In terms of the awareness of an approaching English mission William Smith (1811–1893), Joseph's brother, also claimed to have had a vision in 1836 where he 'saw the heavens open,' and witnessed a prophetic vision of Mormon apostles in England.[25] This 'flocking to Zion' – envisaged by Joseph Smith in the above quote – became known doctrinally as the 'gathering', a practice in which all converts physically emigrated to the main body of the Church in the US. The reality and impact of the 'gathering' as a doctrine

---

[22]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 204.

[23]Richard L. Evans, *Century of Mormonism in Great Britain; a Brief Summary of the Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the United Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News, 1937), p. 10.

[24] As cited in Joseph Grant Stevenson, 'The Life of Edward Stevenson: Member of the First Council of the Seventy, Friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Three Witnesses' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), p. 25.

[25] D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994), p. 59. See also *History of the Church*, 2:392, Saturday 6 February 1836 which states that 'President William Smith, one of the Twelve, saw a vision of the Twelve, and Seven in council together, in Old England, and prophesied that a great work would be done by them in the old countries, and God was already beginning to work in the hearts of the people.'

which is discussed more fully in Chapter Six was that it caused over 55,000 people from Britain and a further 35,000 from Europe to emigrate, primarily to Utah, between 1840 and 1900.[26] Thus the origins of the British Mission were due to a complex combination of reasons including the desire to spread the Mormon message through familial and kinship networks abroad, internal leadership challenges, political and economic difficulties within the local community and, underpinning all of this, the powerful doctrine of the 'gathering'.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BRITISH MISSION

In many ways the influx of British converts into the American body of the LDS Church rescued it from the apostasies and rebellions of the Kirtland period by replenishing the ranks of a vastly depleted laity. The establishment of the British Mission also created a Church headquarters in Europe, and Mormon membership in Britain soon surpassed Mormon membership in the US. In 1848 British membership stood at 20,212 with US membership at 20,265. By 1849, however, British membership had increased to 27,912, representing 58% of world membership, while US numbers had declined slightly to 20,248. This is a point that is often overlooked by historians in the field and is further considered in Chapter Five in which examines the Mission's organisational structure.[27]

The significance of the mission to Britain cannot, therefore, be underestimated in terms of its contribution to the wider global expansion of the Mormon Church and the provision of new leaders for that Church. It was regarded as the first 'foreign' LDS mission, and was recognised at the time by leaders as the origins of the internationalisation of the Church, with Heber C. Kimball at its head.[28]

The arrival of US based Mormon missionaries in Britain in 1837 coincided with a period of sustained religious revivalism and Nonconformist fragmentation which arguably provided fertile pickings for Mormon missionaries. Owen Chadwick has suggested that the flow of converts to Mormonism was due to 'splinter–Methodist' and 'splinter–Baptist'[29]

---

[26] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[27] Ibid.

[28] *History of the Church* 2:102; Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* 2:488, *History of the Church* 4:313; Heber C. Kimball, *Journal of Discourses* 5:151 (23 August 1857); Letter to *Millennial Star* from Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde & Willard Richards, reprinted in *Times and Seasons*, 3:879 (15 August 1842). B. H. Roberts, *Conference Report of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, October 1905*, p. 4; Franklin D. Richards and James A. Little, *Compendium of the Doctrines of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1882) p. 307; *Millennial Star* 1:289 (April 1841).

[29] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*. 3rd. edn (London: SCM, 1987), 1:436.

groups, whereas E. P. Thompson preferred to explain the growth as a 'reflex of despair' resulting from the collapse of the working–class reform agitation of the 1840s, especially Chartism.[30] W. H. G. Armytage has also argued that Mormon evangelists reaped 'the most spectacular harvest of souls since Wesley's time' on account of the collapse of Chartism in 1848.[31] *Contra* Thompson and Armytage, however, Malcolm R. Thorp has argued that Mormon influence was more attributable to the charismatic personality of the new mission president, Orson Pratt (1811–1881), and the more efficient organisation of Mormon congregations.[32] The conversion 'techniques' used by Mormon missionaries will be discussed further below and in greater detail for Staffordshire in Chapter Four, but while it is certainly the case that the majority of the Mormon congregations were working–class, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, there is little evidence to indicate that they had previously been associated with Chartism or any other working–class agitation. As I show in Chapter Four, it is highly unlikely that the Mormon conversion process was driven primarily by economics, given that so many converts prioritised internal, spiritual manifestations in their accounts or provided more intellectual explanations for their particular epiphanies.[33]

The rapid establishment of an institutional infrastructure in Britain arguably reinforced the status and importance of the Mormon Church as an attractive and novel alternative to the existing Established and Nonconformist options. Not only were Mormon headquarters conveniently located in areas central to Mormon proselytising, but the size of the central offices also expanded and relocated as requirements changed, first in Preston, then Manchester and, after March 1842, in Liverpool where an LDS Church printing press was later established in 1861.[34] Most important, perhaps, was the rapid organisation of a national network of branches and regional units, called Conferences, as examined further

---

[30] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* pp. 390, 801–802.

[31] W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experience in England, 1560–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 260 and 264.

[32] Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–1852', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 4 (1977), p. 64.

[33] The reasons for, or the reasons that converts 'say' they were converted are most complex and is dependent upon the discourse of the group, the understanding of what a conversion was, other factors may have yet remained unvoiced, or for some specific actions may have filled their idea of testimony. This is analysed further in Chapter Four.

[34] *Millennial Star*, 2:155 (February 1842). While the headquarters and Church's editorial office moved to 36 Chapel Street, Liverpool, on account of the location to the docks in regards to emigration, Richard James, in Liverpool, was contracted as almost the sole Church printer, until April 1861, when the British Mission acquired its own press.

in Chapter Five. Thus the Mormon missionaries from the US came ready to implement an efficient operational structure with which to disseminate their gospel message.

Once Mormonism was established in Britain it quickly spread to Europe after the 1848 revolutions and then through the pathways of the British Empire, reaching into many other parts of the world. Lorenzo Snow (1814–1901), a missionary who served in Staffordshire, and later became fourth president of the Church, summed up their progress by 1841 in a letter to Don Carlos Smith, Joseph Smith Jr's youngest brother:

> Throughout all England, in almost every town and city of any considerable importance, we have chapels or public halls in which we meet for public worship. All over this vast kingdom the laws of Zion are rolling onward with the most astonishing rapidity. Though we expect tremendous persecutions, yet we are confident they will not for a moment stay the onward progress, and rolling forth of Zion's glorious kingdom, throughout, not only the British Empire, but the Universal world.[35]

In the above, Snow arguably over–emphasises the Church's progress in England (and omits the important work being done in Ireland, Scotland and Wales), but his enthusiastic description of expansion indicates the energy and vision of the early mission leaders. The relationship between the propagation of the Mormon message and the development of the British Empire was inextricably linked for Snow; where the Empire's influence extended so did that of the Latter–day Saints.[36] This imperial route was demonstrated by the many missionaries originally sent out to British colonies and protectorates, especially Africa, Australia and India.[37] George Barber and Benjamin Richey travelled from England to Calcutta in 1849 to become the first Mormon missionaries to India,[38] and William Barrett, a young convert from Staffordshire, was 'set

---

[35] Letter from Lorenzo Snow to Don Carlos Smith, 14 April 1841. As reprinted in *Times and Seasons*, 2:529 (1 September 1841).

[36] The sea routes from Great Britain throughout the British Empire provided an established distribution network for the distribution of Mormon tract, books, and missionaries.

[37] See John Douglas Hawkes, 'A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Australia to 1900' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965) and Ralph Lanier Britsch, 'A History of the Missionary Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in India, 1849–1856' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1964).

[38] Britsch, 'Missionary Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in India', pp. 9–10. Following the Mormon arrival in India, the East India Mission was established.

apart' as a missionary at the age of seventeen to pioneer the Church in Australia.[39] The international dimensions of Mormonism are beyond the remit of this study, but it is important to acknowledge that the British Isles became a 'springboard' from where Mormon doctrine would spread to the rest of the world. The fascinating imperial dimensions of nineteenth–century Mormon evangelising and the associated complexities of race and class identities in analysing this aspect of missionary activity have yet to be explored in full. Arguably, another dimension for expansion must also include the commonality of English as the language of the British Empire and perhaps the language of salvation for Mormon converts.[40] Perhaps, without the dominance of English as a language, Mormonism might not have been initially so successful.

THE FIRST APOSTOLIC MISSION (1837–1838): FAMILY ESTRANGEMENT AND DENOMINATIONAL RIVALRIES

On 20 July 1837, what is often referred to by Mormons as the 'First Apostolic Mission' to Britain, began with the arrival of seven missionaries in Liverpool from the *Garrick*: Apostles Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde (1805–1878), Willard Richards (1804–1854), Joseph Fielding, John Goodson, Isaac Russell and John Snyder. Kimball records in his journal how, having found temporary lodgings on Union Street while waiting to clear customs, the seven men spent the first few days discussing a successful strategy for finding converts.[41] As with their previous policies in the US the initial thrust and development of Mormon conversion by these men was facilitated not just by public meetings but particularly through family relationships. From the outset familial networks were significant in both mapping out the geographical patterns of development for the Mormon mission and for generating potential 'recruits'. This active recruitment approach led to all manner of denominationalist rivalries which, in turn (as this discussion will show) could impact negatively upon family relations. Such tensions over the 'exploitation'

---

[39] Alfred Cordon, Diary; 10 July 1840, 8 vols. (MS f 27), also *Alfred Cordon Diaries and Reminiscences (1817–1868)*, Typescript (MS 1831) LDS Church Archives, both microfilm and typescript copies are in the possession of the author (hereafter *Alfred Cordon Diary*); John Devitry–Smith, 'William James Barratt: The First Mormon Down Under', *Brigham Young University Studies* 28 (Summer 1988), pp. 53–66; *History of the Church*, 2:482.

[40] For example, when emigrants arrived in Utah, they found that schools had been established in each ward 'for educating the Saints in the English language.' While this notion of the 'language of salvation' is beyond the scope of this study, clearly, for emigrant Mormons to be instructed in the doctrines and rites of Mormonism, it was English. *Millennial Star* 19:446 (1 June 1857).

[41] Heber C. Kimball, *Journal*, (MS 94c) LDS Church Archives, p. 17.

of family relatives are well illustrated in the case of Joseph Fielding and his brother James (1793–1877). On leaving Liverpool the missionaries had decided to begin by contacting Joseph's brother, James. As Joseph Fielding later recorded in his diary:

> We did not think of beginning our work in that [Liverpool] place, but as I had a Brother in Preston, it was concluded that we should proceed thither.[42]

James Fielding was a well–known nonconformist Independent Minister in Preston who had led the Independent Anglican Vauxhall Chapel since 1834. By 1837, he had a regular attendance of over 300 so–called Fieldingites.[43] Indeed, the size of his congregation had led to the construction of a new chapel only two streets away with an increased capacity of 1,300.[44] The new chapel's cornerstone was laid by James Fielding himself on 24 May 1837, just two months before his brother Joseph and the other Mormon missionaries first addressed his congregation. On arriving in Preston, Joseph Fielding sought out his brother and they spent an animated evening's conversation with James Fielding, his sister Martha and her husband Peter Watson, a minister from Bedford. As Kimball recollected in his diary for the 22 July 1837, 'we gave them a short account of the object of our mission and the great work which the Lord had commenced, and conversed on these subjects'.[45] The following day Martha Watson, sister to the Fielding brothers, offered a token of her appreciation for the previous discussion in the shape of a half crown piece.[46] This was probably the first financial support received by the Church in the British Isles. There is no doubt that Joseph Fielding and his fellow missionaries expected to find an open door through which to begin preaching *via* his brother's Preston congregation, and the possible conversion of his brother's flock. This was not the first time that James Fielding had heard of the Mormon gospel as he had received letters from his brother Joseph and sister Mercy whilst they were in Canada and had read the letters to his congregation who waited with anticipation to hear further details of this new Mormon

---

[42] *Joseph Fielding*, Diary 1, p. 17, (MS d 1567) LDS Church Archives. (Hereafter *Joseph Fielding Diary*) both a transcribed copy and a copy of the original are in the author's possession.

[43] P. Whittle, *The History of the Borough of Preston, in the County Palatine of Lancaster* (Preston: Whittle, 1837) p. 175. Privately reprinted and authors possession.

[44] Ibid.

[45] 'Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball', in *Millennial Star*, vol. 26 (1864), pp. 455–712 (p. 600).

[46] Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, p. 122.

gospel message.[47] Not surprisingly, then, James Fielding extended an invitation for two of the missionaries, Kimball and Hyde, to preach in the Vauxhall Chapel on 23 July 1837.[48]

Kimball and Hyde's introduction to Mormonism was favourably received by the congregation. James Fielding's congregation held no strong sectarian affiliation yet, given the controversial nature of Mormon theology for many Nonconformists (the renunciation of the Holy Trinity and the sacred status of the *Book of Mormon*, held equal to that of the *Bible*), their embracing of these foreign missionaries' message was still surprising. The appeal of the Mormon message with its familiar emphasis on millennialism and individual salvation, similar to that of many Nonconformist denominations at the time will be further examined in later chapters but, for now, it is worth positing that more emotional aspects such as the prolonged anticipation of the Mormon arrivals and the sheer novelty value of these seven US missionaries probably heightened the favourable reception of these early public addresses.

Despite extending the use of his chapel to the missionaries quite willingly, an emerging conflict between James Fielding and his brother Joseph over the souls and minds of the Vauxhall congregation began to emerge. Joseph wrote in his journal:

> My brother again offered his Chapel on Wednesday but did not seem to receive our Testimony himself and before Wednesday he began to wish he had not been so liberal, as he did not fall in with us he did not wish his People should, and could see it had taken hold of them.[49]

James Fielding had good reason to worry about his flock. At subsequent meetings, many people from the Vauxhall Chapel came forward wishing to be baptised into Mormonism by immersion, a sacrament they had previously rejected as unnecessary. As a result of the potential threat to the remainder of the congregation and his own authority, James Fielding closed the doors of his chapel to his brother and the Mormon missionaries. Within a month, and confronted with a rapidly shrinking congregation, James attempted to counter the Mormon baptisms by inviting Mr Giles, a local Baptist minister, to offer an

---

[47] *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3:880 (This article later formed part of the official history of the Church in *History of the Church,* 4:315). Keith Terry, *Great Moments in Mormonism* (Santa Barbara: Butterfly Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 23–25.

[48] Joseph Fielding records the time as being two o'clock. *Joseph Fielding Diary* 1, p. 17.

[49] Ibid.

alternative opportunity for baptism. Only one member of the congregation accepted.[50] Fielding became further embittered as more of his congregation responded to the Mormons. Kimball's later analysis in his 1837 journal recalled James Fielding's charge, 'Kimball bored the holes, Goodson drove the nails, and Hyde clinched them', referring to the order in which the three missionaries addressed James Fielding's congregation.[51] At this point Fielding did not seem to attribute any blame to his brother Joseph for bringing the American missionaries to Preston in the first place. The fact that James was reputedly 'in very ill health at the time' did not help matters as well as his loss of income.[52]

It is entirely possible that, had the Vauxhall congregation not been so quickly enticed away, the missionaries would have been made welcome for longer, but the sectarian rivalry between the brothers meant that this was not to be. Perhaps the congregations that embraced Mormonism saw this as a message of Adventism, with a restoration of old authority returned anew. Clearly though, these early converts could not have comprehended the implications of the 'gathering', especially as it was something that was kept from them at the request of Joseph Smith. However, James Fielding's indignation could be seen as somewhat surprising; he must have known the purpose of the Mormon Elders visit to the British Isles was to expand the Mormon Church as he had received letters as highlighted earlier, from not only Joseph Fielding but also Mercy his sister and John Taylor sharing the message of Mormon expansion. Nor was the *modus operandi* of this type of expansion process a single occurrence. Kimball repeated the exercise at other chapels. Following the conversion of Jennetta Richards in August 1837, for example, he was invited to speak at Richards' father's church in Walkerford, Lancashire. Like James Fielding, the Rev. John Richards grew to regret his initial invitation.[53] Kimball later justified his actions thus:

> I baptized the most of Mr Richards' members, and he afterwards told me I had
> ruined his flock. I pitied the old gentleman, but I had a duty to perform which

---

[50] Andrew Jenson, *Manuscript History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, British Mission*, (LR 1140) LDS Church Archives, 'Diary of the British Mission', 21 July 1837. (Hereafter *Manuscript History of the British Mission*). Mr Giles became an active critic of Mormonism, and would frequently appear claiming to expose the heresy taught by the Mormons. See also *Millennial Star*, 1:291 (April 1841).

[51] Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, p. 125.

[52] Ibid.

[53] *Elders' Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5–6.

outweighed all other considerations. I shall ever remember with gratitude his generous hospitality.[54]

The aggressive, recruitment impulse of the First Apostolic Mission led to a number of discontented Nonconformist ministers speaking out against Mormonism.[55] While Kimball, Hyde, Snyder, Fielding, and Russell worked in Lancashire, Elders Goodson and Richards had arrived in Bedford on the 2 August 1837 after receiving letters of introduction from Joseph Fielding to his brother–in–law, the Rev. Timothy Matthews.[56] Matthews expressed 'great joy' at their arrival and walked arm–in–arm with the Elders through the streets of Bedford, calling on the members of his church to attend their lecture at his chapel that evening.[57] As with James Fielding, Matthews had been appraised of the Mormon Church's activities through correspondence from America.[58] Goodson and Richards preached in Matthews' church on four successive evenings.[59] However, unlike James Fielding's response, Matthews openly supported their action and encouraged the congregation to come forward for baptism.[60]

Matthews engaged another house in the neighbourhood for the elders to preach in, under the pretence that some of the proprietors of the chapel might not be pleased with the elders occupying the vestry. Matthews himself continued to attend Goodson and Richards' preaching and engaged in lengthy conversation with them. On 10 August 1837, Mrs Braddock and four others were baptised by Goodson on the bank of the river Ouse. Soon after, Joseph Saville, another member of Matthews' church, requested baptism at the same time. According to a letter from Joseph Fielding to his wife Mary, Matthews failed to attend and from that point on set out to fight Mormonism.[61] The *Millennial Star* recorded in 1837 that 'Mr Matthews [had] been running about from Bedford to Liverpool; from Liverpool to Northampton; from Northampton to Bedford, and other places; crying aloud

[54] 'History of Brigham Young', *Millennial Star*, 26:615 (24 September 1864).

[55] Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 49.

[56] 'Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball, 21 Apr. 1837', *Deseret News,* 14 April 1858.

[57] *Millennial Star*, 1:292 (April 1841)

[58] 'Mission to England, or the First Foreign Mission of the Latter–day Saints', *Millennial Star,* 1:292 (April 1841).

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Letter from Joseph Fielding to Mary Fielding, 2 October 1837; R. B. Thompson, *Journal of Heber C. Kimball* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Robinson and Smith, 1840), p. 24.

in public and private, that the Latter–day Saints and their doctrines came from hell'.[62] Other ministers who protested vociferously against the Mormon's encroachment including the Rev. Robert Aitken, whom Matthews knew, and who also had large congregations in Bedford, Liverpool, and Preston and, significantly for this study, Burslem in Staffordshire. Aitken was a regular detractor of Mormonism and the *Book of Mormon* in particular until 1840, when he returned to the Church of England and was assigned a parish in Cornwall.[63] In September 1837, Goodson returned to Preston and soon after returned with Snyder to America, leaving Willard Richards to continue proselytising in Bedfordshire until March 1838.[64]

Common to all of these examples discussed was not only the loss of the respective minister's congregation but the loss of their own personal income. Inevitably, ministers in Lancashire and Bedfordshire began to close their chapels and churches to Mormon missionaries in order to protect their own congregations from what they considered to be spiritual 'plundering' or poaching of souls, although it was, in effect, a fear of financial ruin.[65] In 1838, James Fielding sent his brother Joseph, still active in Lancashire, a letter outlining his deep embitterment and disappointment at the Vauxhall Chapel affair:

> With regard to your robbing me of my flock I abide by what I said before – we must proceed upon an acknowledged principle. Now I do not believe at all that you were sent of God to rend my little church to pieces. Were I to speak as plain as you do I should boldly declare that it was not God but Satan as an angel of light sent you here?
>
> However, I do seriously declare that this is my sincere belief. I feel truly thankful to find that you give me credit for the sincerity of my prayers for you. I feel as if I could lay down my life to reclaim you. Now if God sent you as you say to preach these new covenant doctrines and without respect of persons, I cannot see on what grounds you can possibly justify yourself in passing by Liverpool and coming hither first – besides had you opened your mission in Liverpool you might have avoided the charge of working with a poor brother's materials. It would have seemed less of human and more like a work depending alone on the power of God for its success.[66]

---

[62] *Millennial Star*, 1:293 (April 1841).

[63] James R. Moss, 'The Gospel Restored to England', in Ben V. Bloxham, Larry Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull: The Church of Jesus of Latter–day Saints, 1987), p. 85.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Letter from James Fielding to Joseph Fielding, *Millennial Star* 1:52 (July 1840), LDS Church Archives.

[66] Ibid.

James Fielding provides a heartfelt critique here of the potentially exploitative nature of Mormon missionary expansion through family networks. Although James rejected the Mormon message himself, his Preston chapel ironically provided the missionaries with their first nucleus of recruits with which to establish the first British branch of Mormonism.[67] James, as result, was left financially bereft for some time after helping his brother. Yet the guilt Joseph Fielding appeared to endure because of his actions was much longer lasting, cutting him off from his family completely. During the Christmas of 1847, a decade later, Joseph admitted in his diary: 'I have not heard from my relations this long time. It seems of no use for me to write to them and I supposes [sic] they think the same'.[68] This was, perhaps, not unexpected, given the public humiliation endured by his brother James who had left Preston an embittered and betrayed man. As Kimball observed of James in 1837 'his church has left him and he is [now] an object of pity'.[69] For the Fielding family, therefore, missionary work came at a high but necessary personal price if they were to fulfil their perceived ordained purpose.

Family estrangement and expulsion did little to deter the original seven missionaries. Instead, they commenced proselytising in the homes of interested parties or 'seekers' who were either contacted in the street or had been referred to them by other Mormons and relations. The use of homes, such as the parlour of Ann Dawson's boarding house at 21 Pole Street in Preston, local halls, and rented rooms for preaching and holding church meetings became common practice wherever branches were formed; this was a pattern which continued for the remainder of the nineteenth century.[70] Relationships with organisations such as the Temperance Movement proved more fruitful still. The 'Cockpit' in Preston was offered to the missionaries by temperance advocates because they shared common doctrinal attitudes to the abstinence of alcohol and promotion of sexual chastity.[71]

---

[67] The congregational unit in Preston remains the longest active concurrent unit of the worldwide church into the 21st century.

[68] *Joseph Fielding Diary* 5, p. 131.

[69] Stanley B. Kimball, *On the Potter's Wheel*, Diary 1, 14 Sep 1837.

[70] This clear lack of a formal building programme in the British Isles during the nineteenth–century supports the idea that the British Isles was not considered by the Church as a permanent base until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the 'call to Zion' was stopped and Mormons were instructed to build the Church in their home countries and make 'locals Zions'. This is discussed further in Chapter Six. For a wider discussion of this matter see Douglas J. Davies, 'Aspects of Latter Day Saint Eschatology', *Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain,* No. 6, Michael Hill, ed. (London: S.C.M. Press, 1973).

[71] Brent Corcoran and Steven L. Richards, *Multiply and Replenish* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994), pp. 4–5.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, the Mormon Church did not undertake a specific programme of chapel building until the beginning of the twentieth century.

On 14 February 1838, Orson Hyde wrote to his fellow missionary, Willard Richards, advising that

> The time is drawing near for us to begin to think about going home; and to take some measure in relation to it. Our advice to you is that you go around and see your brethren and put them in order as well as you can, ordaining such officers among them as their circumstances may require…You have now about one month to regulate your matters and prepare for home. 'The South America' will sail…on the first day of April next, and we want to be in readiness to enter on board her.[72]

As both Willard Richards (husband to the early convert Jennetta Richards) and Joseph Fielding had married in Lancashire in 1838, they chose to remain working in the UK when Kimball, Hyde and Russell returned to the US. This signalled the end of the First Apostolic Mission which had founded and expanded the Mormon Church in Britain into ten branches with over 600 members.[73] By the end of the following year it had multiplied to thirty branches in the Lancashire and Manchester regions with 1,310 members.[74] Other than in Bedfordshire where Goodson and Richards first proselytised in 1837, little work was done outside of Lancashire. However, during the interim period between the First and Second Apostolic Missions (1838–1840) Joseph Fielding undertook the role of President of the British Mission. He expressed a lack of confidence about this responsibility in his journal:

> Of the five who have been labouring, I myself certainly am the least, and yet strange as it may appear, they have ordained me Presiding High Priest, with Elder Willard Richards… and Elder William Clayton in company with me as counsellors. This work seems far too great for me; my heart is ready to sink at the thought.[75]

---

[72] Letter from Orson Hyde to Willard Richards, 14 February 1838, LDS Church Archives.

[73] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[74] 'England', Deseret News, *2008 Almanac of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 2007) p. 465. Other sources report this as 1,500, 'Missions of the Twelve to the British Isles', Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 4, p. 920. *Manuscript History of the British Mission* details by year end 1838, 1,310 converts and year end 1839, 1,500 converts.

[75] *Joseph Fielding Diary* 1, p. 60. Church positions of leadership, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, comprise mainly, of a presiding officer or office holder plus a first and second counsellor to assist them.

Despite his anxiety, however, it was during Fielding's presidency (with Willard Richards as counsellor) that Mormon missionary work expanded into Manchester and that the first work in Staffordshire began. There were many converts who were willing to assist in the running of the branches voluntarily, but they were often too inexperienced and unable to strengthen nascent branches. Expansion work from 1838 was also hampered somewhat with a number of the initial members abandoning Mormonism, some returning to their former religion and others to their former habits of alcohol and immoral behaviour. In other cases some were baptised on invitation despite knowing very little about the Church. Natural attrition and the absence of charismatic orators such as Kimball and Hyde were also contributory factors.[76] In 1838, Manchester convert William Clayton (1814–1879) was 'called' or formally appointed by the Church take the vacant position in the mission presidency.[77] Clayton had organised much of the work in Manchester and reported to the 1840 General Conference on the 240 members in a single branch that he had built up.[78] Clayton's work was also critical in developing branches in Staffordshire and will be examined further in Chapter Four. Although the Church continued to grow it was still in its infancy and needed further assistance in terms of experienced leadership.

THE SECOND APOSTOLIC MISSION (1840–1841): CONSOLIDATION

In an attempt to reignite and support the work in Britain, Joseph Smith instigated the so–called 'Second Apostolic Mission' in 1839, sending members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Britain. This second mission was carried out in response to a revelation received earlier by Joseph Smith who, having overcome his leadership difficulties continued to direct the Church. His revelation, dated 8 July 1838, instructed the Church that God required members of the Quorum of the Twelve to leave on a second British Mission, and send them:

---

[76] *Times and Seasons*, 3:883 (15 August 1842).

[77] To be 'called' to a position is the process and formal term for appointing an officer to a responsibility in the Church, by Church leaders who are said to have received inspired consideration for the filling of a post or duty.

[78] General Conference held on 15 April 1840 in Preston, *Millennial Star*, 1:20 (May 1840).

over the great waters…[and] let them take leave of my saints in the city of Far West on the twenty sixth day of April next [1839] on the building spot of my house saith the Lord.[79]

Once again the call for this second mission came at a time of particular difficulty and persecution for the American Mormon Church. Scholars differ in their assessment of the reasons for Smith's decision to send his most trusted men away for a second time. M. Hamlin Cannon for example, has argued that while 'the dissension was at its height, Joseph Smith decided to send the Twelve Apostles on missions lest they be affected',[80] whereas for Fawn Brodie the main motivation behind a further foreign mission was the political and financial gain that Smith might realise through mass converts from Britain and other places.[81]

Although some members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles such as Kimball, Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith (1817–1875) and Orson Pratt were not in good physical health, they all arrived in England in 1840 ready to begin proselytising. Two other apostles, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, with a supporting missionary, Reuben Hedlock, had embarked earlier for Liverpool and spent between January and April 1840 opening the local Liverpool area to their missionary work with Woodruff also ministering in the Staffordshire Potteries.

Within four months Taylor had established a branch in Liverpool with a little over thirty members. Liverpool was a strategic landing point for the missionaries, but it was not until this second mission in January 1840 that Mormon leaders decided to share their message with the immediate community. By April 1840 eight further apostles had arrived in England, going to Preston to rendezvous with Willard Richards. As Richards had been living in Preston for some time his house at 21 Pole Street became the site of a historic event, the first ever meeting place of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles outside of the United States in the Church's ten–year history.[82]

---

[79] *D&C* 118:4–5. In this same epistle dated 8 July 1838 John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, John E. Page, and Willard Richard were instructed to fill the places of the vacant members of the Twelve who had fallen away or apostatised. The one exception was David W. Patten who died through persecution. Willard Richards was already in England at this time and received his ordination at the first meeting in April 1840.

[80] M. Hamlin Cannon, 'Migration of English Mormons to America', *Historical Review*, vol. 52, no. 3 (April 1947), p. 437.

[81] Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 204, 258 and 264–265.

[82] *History of the Church*, 4:115.

Those present at the meeting included Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith and Willard Richards. At this meeting on 14 April 1840, Richards was ordained as an Apostle in accordance with Joseph Smith's previous wishes. At the same meeting Richard's cousin, Brigham Young, was acknowledged as the 'standing president' of the Quorum.[83] The following day Joseph Fielding convened a General Conference in the 'Cockpit', a meeting–place used by the Temperance Society where he and Clayton presented a report to the congregation on the growth of the Church in the British Isles since 1837.[84] Fielding reported that thirty–four branches were now in existence in six counties with over 1,600 members of which approximately 800 attended the conference meeting.[85]

Parley P. Pratt also became appointed as the founding editor of the Mormon periodical, the *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star,* and was instructed to obtain a British copyright for the publication of the *Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine & Covenants*. As these books were considered part of the formal canon of the Church it was imperative for the missionaries to have them published locally, especially as some anti–Mormon factions in the US had threatened to obtain copyright in order to prevent the distribution of the books.[86] Since Kimball planned to work again in Preston, Brigham Young, Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff travelled to Herefordshire, Parley P. Pratt went to Manchester, John Taylor returned to Liverpool, Parley's brother Orson went to Scotland and George A. Smith joined the branches in North Staffordshire, known locally as the 'Potteries'. As a result of this concentrated proselytising three specific geographical areas became hotbeds of Mormon activity, namely Lancashire, Staffordshire and Herefordshire.

---

[83] *History of the Church*, 3:46–47.

[84] *History of the Church*, 4:116. The holding of conferences, especially annual and semi–annual conferences, became and continues as an important organisational feature of the Church. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

[85] The statistics for this conference are reported differently in other sources: *Millennial Star*, 1:20 (May 1840), 1,671 members; Parley P. Pratt recalls, 'On the 15th of April, 1840, a general conference was convened in the 'Temperance Hall'. Preston, Lancashire, in which thirty–three branches of the Church were represented, including a total of near two thousand members.' in *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, p. 264. William Clayton, the conference clerk records 1677 members, George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995), p. 45. This was an increase of 800 converts since Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde had left for the United States nearly a year earlier. See also *History of the Church*, 4:115.

[86] History of the Church, 7:426; Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1964), p. 237.
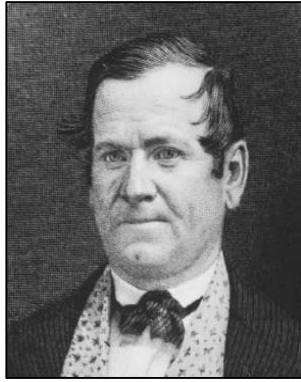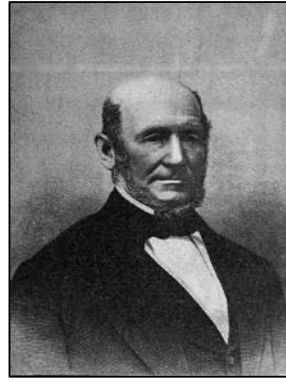
Orson Hyde (1805−1878)   Heber C. Kimball (1801−1868)   Orson Pratt (1811−1881)
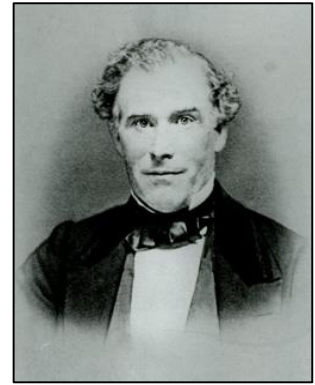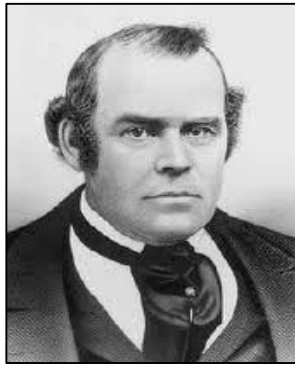
Parley P. Pratt (1807−1857)   Willard Richards (1804−1854)   George A. Smith (1817−1875)
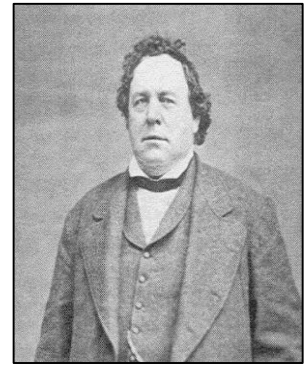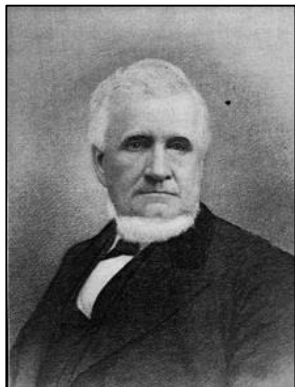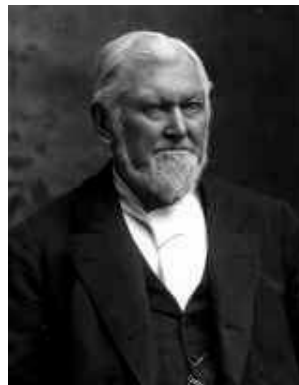
John Taylor (1808–1887)   Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898)   Brigham Young (1801–1877)
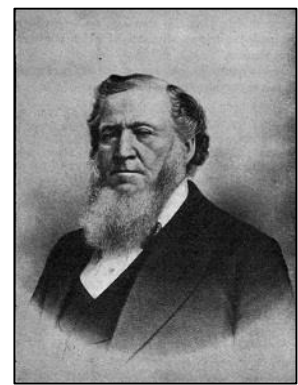
Figure 1−1 The Quorum of the Twelve who served in the British Isles 1840–1842[87]

---

[87] All photos are from Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1901. Copyright Expired.

This period of the second mission also saw the establishment of congregations in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. A brief examination of these three countries will follow in order to illustrate the diversity of public reception, the methods of missionary preaching used and the herculean efforts of the Mormon leaders to establish the faith not just in England but throughout Britain.

MORMONISM IN THE BRITISH ISLES: IRELAND

On 22 May 1840, the missionary Reuben Hedlock left Liverpool for Ireland. Kimball wrote later to Joseph Smith 'that the way is opening for the gospel into Ireland: one brother has been ordained and expects to go there directly; many that have been baptised [in Liverpool] have friends there [in Ireland]'.[88] Proselytising in Ireland was initially carried out in Belfast and Dublin, but Mormonism never became established with any lasting significance; in fact no more than 525 converts joined the Church between 1840 and 1870.[89] When compared to other areas of the British Isles, Ireland was the least successful in terms of conversion, due mainly to the power and influence of the Catholic Church which, unlike Established and Nonconformist religious adherence in England, was ingrained in the very fabric of Irish politics, community and identity. As Elder Reuben Hedlock observed in 1845, between them, the Catholic hierarchy and the landlords maintained tight control over the spiritual practices and livelihood of the Irish poor:

> There has not been much done in Ireland, the people are so bound by poverty,
> and so dependent upon their landlords, that they dare not admit any one to preach
> in their neighbourhoods or to keep them overnight if the reader of the parish
> forbids them; if they disobeyed his orders, he [could or] would inform the
> bishops and overseers of the parish, and they, the landlords and the people would
> forget their homes and employment, and this is the great reason why the gospel
> does not spread more in Ireland.[90]

---

[88] Letter from Heber C. Kimball to Joseph Smith, 9 July 1840, reprinted in *Times and Seasons*, 6:862 (1 April 1845). It is estimated that a seventh of the population of Liverpool in 1840 were Irish. If a number of Irish converts follow the familial and friendship pattern established by other converts, it would follow that contacts would be sought in their former home. See Cecil Woodham Smith, *The Great Hunger* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 270. Cited in Brent Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland since 1840' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), p. 33.

[89] For an analysis of Mormonism in Ireland see Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840'. For Irish membership figures see Barlow's Appendix A, 'Statistical Report of Mormon Progress in Ireland, 1840–1967'.

[90] *Times and Seasons*, 4:988 (8 May 1945) as cited in Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840', p. 96.

According to Brent Barlow's study of the Irish Mormon experience, membership remained between 20 and 90 for ten years, only reaching 100 in 1851. At the height of Mormonism in Ireland between 1855 and 1856, just eight branches and 210 members existed. Ten years later, only two branches and 39 members were registered, including those missionaries sent periodically to Ireland to support the membership.[91] As with Catholicism, the Mormon Church and its leadership structures were strictly hierarchical and based on the authority of the priesthood and the Church's revelatory teaching. In many ways Mormonism paradoxically served to reinforce the authority of the Irish Catholic Church, as the Catholic Cardinal, Karl August von Reisach made clear.[92] But it was not solely religious conditions that prohibited the growth of Mormonism in Ireland for, as mentioned above, economic factors such as the Great Famine also frustrated the missionaries' work; ironically, it was the mass migration of starving Irish to Wales, England, and particularly Scotland that resulted in more Irish converts to the Mormon Church. According to Cecil Woodham Smith, between June and August, 1847, more than 26,000 Irish immigrants arrived in Glasgow.[93] An examination of the Glasgow Mormon branch membership records between 1840 and 1851 demonstrates that 18% were of Irish decent.[94] In addition, between 1845 and 1847, 35% of Mormons in Glasgow were Irish.[95] At a sermon on 4 January 1862, George Q. Cannon of the British Presidency commented: 'I understand there are more Saints in Glasgow and in Western Scotland who are Irish and of Irish extraction than there are of Scotch'.[96] Conversely James Carigan, a native of Ireland and a personal friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith, reported that there were only fifty–two members of the Mormon Church in all of Ireland.[97] Success among the Irish, therefore, was more effective *outside* of Ireland where there were stronger networks of

---

[91] Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840', Appendix A, 'A Statistical Report of Mormon Progress in Ireland, 1840–1967'.

[92] Mark A., Knoll, 'A Jesuit Interpretation of Mid Nineteenth–Century America: Mormonism in Connection with Modern Protestantism', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3 (2006), pp. 39–74.

[93] Cecil Woodham Smith, *The Great Hunger* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 279–280, as cited in Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840', p. 33.

[94] 'Glasgow Branch Records, 1840–1851', *Record of Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, Salt Lake City, Utah as cited in Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840'.

[95] F. Jeffery Platt, *Mission to the Irish,* unpublished research at Brigham Young University, p. 7 as cited in Barlow, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland, since 1840', p. 28.

[96] *Millennial Star*, 24:134 (29 February 1862). The occasion was a sermon given at Birmingham General Conference held in Farm Street Chapel, Birmingham.

[97] *Millennial Star*, 4:195 (April 1844).

fellowship, religious leadership and spiritual encouragement as well as few constraints from Catholic and landlord authorities. A further reason for the low conversion rate of Irish people to Mormonism might be the numerical commitment of the leaders themselves. Following the initial arrival of Hedlock to Ireland, for example, John Taylor, William Black and James McGuffie arrived to help with two Irish converts from England, but they only stayed ten days and only one or two missionaries were assigned to work there at any one time. Thus for a variety of religious, economic and operational reasons, little was accomplished in Ireland itself, although the Irish 'abroad' appeared more prepared and willing to accept the tenets of Mormonism.

MORMONISM IN THE BRITISH ISLES: SCOTLAND

The first Scottish converts to Mormonism did not join the LDS Church in Scotland or even in Europe but, like the first English Mormons, were converted in North America.[98] Alexander Wright (1804–1876)[99] and Samuel Mulliner (1809–1891)[100] converted to Mormonism in 1836 and 1837 respectively, and by October 1839 had been 'called' or assigned to go to Scotland. They met Wilford Woodruff and Parley P. Pratt in New York who themselves were also en route to Britain, and Woodruff and Pratt 'set them apart' by the biblical 'laying on of hands' in order to confirm their mission.[101] Mulliner and Wright arrived in Glasgow in December 1839 as the first assigned missionaries to Scotland.[102] Not only were they the first Mormons to preach in Scotland but also the first Scottish Mormons to preach to their own kinship networks.[103] In the common pattern of Mormon proselytising the men proceeded to Edinburgh where Mulliner's parents resided. Wright also had relatives in the north of Scotland whom he visited. Working alone for a short time, Mulliner baptised Alexander and Jessie Hay in the River Clyde near Paisley in

---

[98] North America in this context includes Upper Canada, modern day Ontario.

[99] Wright was converted to Mormonism in 1836; see Andrew Jenson, *Latter–day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1901–1936), vol. 3, p. 571.

[100] Converted to Mormonism 10, 17, 20 September 1837, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848*, compiled by Susan Easton Black (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990).

[101] Cowley, *History of Wilford Woodruff*, pp. 327–328.

[102] *Times and Seasons*, 1:110.

[103] Evans, *Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*, p. 75; Frederick S. Buchanan, 'The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland' in *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 268.

January 1840, signalling the official establishment of the Church in Scotland.[104] By May 1840, Orson Pratt, as indicated earlier, had arrived from Preston as part of the 'Second Apostolic Mission' and organised a branch of the Church in Paisley numbering sixty converts.[105] On 6 April 1841, during a Manchester conference, Orson Pratt reported on the progress of Scottish Mormonism, confirming 645 members of the Church.[106] By 1850, conversions had increased further and the Dundee Conference was organised followed by the Kilmarnock Conference two years later. These Conferences enabled leaders to have better pastoral and administrative oversight of their growing congregations, but it was short–lived.[107] By 1 June 1852, membership in Scotland was reported in the *Millennial Star* as numbering considerably over 3,100 people.[108] In the same way that membership fell dramatically in other parts of the British Isles on account of emigration, natural attrition, apathy and disassociation, the membership in Scotland had also declined by the 1860s. Despite the boost given to numbers in Scotland as a result of the immigrant Irish population, frequently, two or more branches were merged into one and by 1875 only one conference, the Glasgow Conference, was left with a membership of 482.[109] By the end of the nineteenth century there were just 336 Mormons in Scotland.[110] The doctrine of the 'gathering' was significant here, however, with an estimated 5,329 Scots having emigrated between 1840 and 1900.[111] As Frederick Buchanan comments 'what was Scotland's loss was Utah's gain'.[112] Thus the missionary work in Scotland could be considered a greater success if the goal was conversion followed by emigration to Zion; a very similar pattern can be seen in Wales.

---

[104] Jenson, 'Scottish Mission', *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, p. 782.

[105] 'News from the Elders', *Millennial Star*, 1:44 (June 1840).

[106] The purpose of the conference was for the Quorum of the Twelve to meet and discuss business one year on from the commencement of the apostolic mission. *Millennial Star*, 1:302 (April 1841).

[107] *Millennial Star*, 14:666 (11 December 1852).

[108] *Millennial Star*, 14:318 (10 July 1852).

[109] Frederick S. Buchanan, 'The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland' in *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 278.

[110] 'Statistical Report of the European Mission, For the Year Ending December 31, 1899'. *Millennial Star*, 62:103 (15 February 1900).

[111] Ibid.

[112] Buchanan. 'The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1987), p. 35. One of the serving missionaries at the turn of the century was David Oman McKay who himself was of Scottish descent. He was approached by a member of the mission presidency and advised 'you will yet sit in the leading councils of the Church'. In apparent fulfilment of those pre–emptive comments McKay became the ninth President of the worldwide church and under his administration re–established a global expansion, Jeanette McKay Morrell, *Highlights in the Life of David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1971), pp. 37–38.

MORMONISM IN THE BRITISH ISLES: WALES

It is not surprising that Mormonism was favourably received in Wales given the strong influence of Nonconformist religion found there.[113] Welsh chapels and Calvinistic Methodism provided a fertile ground for British Mormon missionaries such as Henry Royle and Frederick Cook**.** During the Manchester conference in October 1840, Royle was officially assigned to go to Wales, specifically to Cly in Flintshire, accompanied by Cook.[114] Within a month James Burnham, a US missionary, had also crossed over into North Wales from Liverpool. Initially their preaching focussed on North Wales and by 30 October 1840 the Overton Branch had been established with thirty–two converts.[115] Once again familial networks and preaching in local people's homes resulted in a branch growth of fifty–six converts by November 1840.[116] The proselytising which took place in the villages and small towns of North Wales appealed predominantly to the labouring and working classes as it did in Staffordshire – as discussed in Chapter Three.[117] The missionaries' emphasis on prophecy, millennialism, religious ordinances and universal salvation were doctrines that appealed to many of the Welsh converts, and the familiarity of a lay ministry when compared to Primitive Methodism made it even more convincing.[118] Unlike the firm hold of the Catholic Church in Ireland, Wales experienced stronger Nonconformist and local chapel influences characterised by relatively easy movement from one denomination to another. By February 1841 two further branches had been

---

[113] D. L. Davies, 'From a Seion of Lands to Land of Zion: The Life of David Bevan Jones' in Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989).

[114] 'Minutes of the General Conference', Manchester, 8 Oct 1840, *Millennial Star*, 1:168 (October 1840). Ronald D. Dennis has argued that 'Cly' was actually Cloy located two miles from Overton the first established branch. However, if pronounced as 'Cly', it is possible that it could also be Llay nr. Wrexham, Flintshire. The burden of evidence though lends itself to an Overton placement.

[115] Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, p. 936.

[116] Letter from Henry Royle to *Millennial Star*, 30 October 1840, *Millennial Star*, 1:192 (November 1840) and Letter from James Burnham to *Millennial Star* (23 November 1840), Wrexham, *Millennial Star*, 1:212 (December 1840). The *Millennial Star* records the date as 23 December 1840. However, it was published in the December issue; it is more like to have been a typo and ought to be 23 November 1840.

[117] As shown by occupations in the 1841 and 1851 census returns. Many were miners, labourers, agricultural workers and stone masons.

[118] James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, *Manchester Mormons* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974), p. 21; James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 15 (Summer, 1975), p.516.

established in Oswestry and Whittington with approximately 150 members.[119] Meanwhile, John Needham (1819–c.1892), an early British convert turned missionary who had previously proselytised in Staffordshire, was reassigned to preach in South Wales.[120] As more missionaries focussed their efforts on Wales other branches further afield from North Wales were soon established such as those at Beaufort, Rumney, Tredegar, Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare.[121] Due to the concentration of members of the Church in South Wales the Merthyr Tydfil Conference was organised in April 1844.[122]

In terms of converts made and leadership roles fulfilled, Welshman Dan Jones (1811–1861), arguably played the most significant role of proselytising and expansion in Wales. Jones had had a dramatic foretelling of his mission on 26 June 1844 whilst incarcerated with Joseph Smith in Carthage Jail, Illinois. At around midnight Jones heard Smith whisper to him:

> Are you afraid to die? Has that time come, think you? [Jones replied] Engaged in such a cause I do not think that death would have many terrors…You will yet see Wales and fulfill [sic] the mission appointed to you before you die.'[123]

What made the prediction more apposite was the murder of Smith and his brother Hyrum the following day.[124] Dan Jones left for Wales a month later, arriving in Liverpool on 4 January 1845. By April he had been appointed President of the Wrexham Conference in North Wales.[125] Jones' later activity as a missionary earned him the title of the 'Father of the Welsh Mission'.[126] By 1846, there were approximately 700 Welsh Mormons.[127]

---

[119] Letter from James Burnham to *Millennial Star*, 10 February 1840, *Millennial Star*, 1:284 (March 1841); Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:297.

[120] *Journal of John Needham*, typescript (MS 4221) LDS Church Archives. Also within same collection is *Sketch of the Life of John Needham: Pioneer of 1851*.

[121] *2008 Church Almanac*, p. 493.

[122] This was formally recognised at a general conference of the British Mission held in Liverpool, 6 April 1844 and was the first conference in Wales.

[123] *History of the Church*, 6:600–601.

[124] D&C 135:1–2, 28 August 1844, B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 2:265, fn. 20.

[125] Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 'Monday 7 April 1845'. Jenson notes that the Wrexham conference consisted of Jones and his wife. One year later there were seven hundred members of the Church in Wales.

[126] Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, p. 937.

[127] Ronald D. Dennis, 'The Reverend W. R. Davies vs. Captain Dan Jones', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1987), p. 5; 'Wales', Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Latter–day Saint History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2000), p. 1304.

During Jones' four year mission in Wales, 'a large number of branches were established and were divided into eleven conferences'.[128] In addition, a Mormon printing press was established at Rhydybont, Carmarthenshire, which Jones' older brother John, a Congregationalist minister, already owned.[129] In 1846, Jones commenced the publication of a LDS periodical in the Welsh language, the *Prophwyd y Jubili* (*Prophet of Jubilee*). This was the first Mormon publication printed in a foreign language and it continued until Jones' departure from Wales in 1849. Jones also edited and published a further 45 different pamphlets in Welsh such as *Y farw wedi ei chyfodi yn fyw: neu'r hen grefydd newydd Traethawd yn dangos anghyfnewidioldeb teyrnas Dduw* (*The Dead Raised To Life: Or The Old Religion a new Treatise Showing The Immutability of The Kingdom Of God*),[130] *Y Milwyddiant* (*The Millennium*),[131] *Gau–brophydi* (*False Prophets*),[132] and *Profion o eirwiredd Llyfr Mormon* (*Proofs of the Book of Mormon*). The pamphlets contained between eight and one–hundred pages.[133] The printing of Welsh material was an obvious and sensible response to the problems of language that the predominantly English speaking missionaries encountered. Although converts had been won around the borders of Wales and the more Anglicised towns such as Wrexham and Monmouth, the anti–Mormon Welsh paper *Seren Gomer* (*The Star of Gomer*) was right when it estimated that without Welsh speakers, Mormonism could not grow further.[134] Following these frequent encounters with prominent priests and responses to anti–Mormon material, as well as the coordinating of the mission work in Wales, Jones returned to America, leaving behind what might be considered by Church leaders as a relatively fruitful accomplishment of Church growth. There were approximately 3,281 Welsh Mormons in 1848, the majority of which were

---

[128] Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, p. 937. The exact number of branches is not readily known, but the conferences raised are recorded as: Glamorgan (formerly Merthyr Tydfil) Glamorgan East and the Glamorgan West conferences, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, Anglesey, Cardiganshire, Brecknockshire, Merionethshire, Flintshire and Denbighshire.

[129] Ronald Dennis, *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: a Historical Bibliography* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1988), pp. 13–16. Hereafter referred to as *Welsh Mormon Writings.*

[130] No. 1 48, *Welsh Mormon Writings*, p. 13.

[131] No. 12 8, *Welsh Mormon Writings*, p. 46.

[132] No. 15 12, *Welsh Mormon Writings*, p. 53.

[133] Kate B. Carter, 'A Unique Volume Treating Definite Subjects of Western History', *Heart Throbs of the West*, vol. 11, Kate B. Carter, ed., 20 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1950), p. 2.

[134] Ronald D. Dennis (trans. and ed.), Foreword, *Prophet of the Jubilee* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1997).

native Welsh–speaking as manifested by their conferences, literature and correspondence.[135]

Figure 1–2 Dan Jones Preaching in Wales in 1847[136]

Jones further reports that at the end of 1847 the Welsh translated articles of the English language *Millennial Star* and compiled them under name of the *Welsh Star*, which at its height had over 1,200 subscribers. Over the previous twelve months approximately 850,000 pages in the Welsh language had been printed and distributed in the format of handbills, pamphlets and books.[137] The proceeds of the sale of these publications provided a small profit which funded ten to twelve missionaries at a time in the mission field.[138] This in turn alleviated some of the financial burden on the struggling local branches. Following Jones's return to America John Davis, a twenty–seven year old local Welsh Mormon (an employee of Jones' brother John) succeeded him as editor of the mission periodical, the name of which was changed to *Udgorn Seion* (*Zion's Trumpet*) (1849–1862) to reflect its clarion call of religion. A more detailed explanation of the new periodical and

---

[135] *Millennial Star*, 10:24–25 (15 January 1848); 10:252 (15 August 1848).

[136] Author: Clark Kelly Price, Copyright 2010, Intellectual Reserve. Used by Permission.

[137] *Millennial Star*, 10:121–122 (15 April 1848).

[138] Carter, 'A Unique Volume Treating Definite Subjects of Western History', p. 2.

name change was made in the final issue of December 1848 of *Prophwyd y Jubili* (*The Prophet of the Jubilee*):

> We consider the name appropriate for the work that it will do, for its chief purpose will be to proclaim the remarkable news and the interesting counsels that proceed from that godly source in Zion, so that all her children scattered throughout Wales can drink from her streams, to quench their thirst through the wilderness of Babylon homeward; and we hope that as the weary traveler [sic] thirsts for the water of the cool fountain on the way, that the Saints, and all the subscribers, will every new moon long for the voice of the TRUMPET to sound forth the happenings of Zion in their ears, and its guidance for their footsteps temporally and spiritually.[139]

This was effectively a new start for Welsh Mormon publishing with a greater emphasis on emigration. Moreover, Davis, the new editor, was a professional, experienced printer. Through his employer, John Jones, Davis became involved with Mormonism, converted through printing their pamphlets! According to Ronald D. Dennis, a Mormon scholar and descendant of Jones, Davis also possessed his own press which he later sold to Jones for £3– when he returned to Wales in 1853 to resume his leadership.[140]

Udgorn Seion was published until 1862, a significant contribution to Mormon Welsh and foreign language literature. Davis published the *Book of Mormon* in Welsh and serialised the *Doctrine and Covenants*, a record of revelations from Joseph Smith, in monthly parts. In many respects there are strong similarities between the growth of the English and Welsh Mormon printing presses. Mormon leaders used the medium of both presses to respond to critical anti–Mormon publications, providing an uncensored response. Mormon publications also provided a way of updating converts on doctrinal and administrative issues which helped to overcome the difficulty of remote congregations. By the 1850s articles from the main British periodical, *Millennial Star* began to appear in Welsh.

By 1852, the membership of the Church in Wales numbered over 5,000.[141] As in other areas, the Welsh Mormons were also encouraged to 'gather' and move to Utah and by 1873, the majority of Welsh Mormons had actually emigrated to the United States.[142] South Wales in many respects resembled the Staffordshire Potteries, especially as an area

---

[139] *Prophwyd y Jubili* (*The Prophet of the Jubilee*) trans. by Ronald Dennis in *Prophet of the Jubilee* (Provo, Utah: Bookcraft, 1997), 3:191.

[140] *Welsh Mormon Writings*, p. 73.

[141] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, p. 937.

[142] Ibid.

of industrialisation, poverty and sickness.[143] Consequently, by 1870 the dozen conferences had shrunk to three (Glamorgan, Pembrokeshire, and North Wales), and by 1873 had consolidated and merged into just a single Welsh Conference. From this point on, the declining levels of Church activity were similar to that of the rest of the British Isles. Welsh converts went on to have a marked impact in the Utah Territory and the Rocky Mountain Region, establishing their own Welsh–speaking towns and festivals including the annual *Eisteddfod* as well as providing the impetus behind the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that from its early roots in Lancashire in 1837 the influence of the seven original Mormon missionaries spread quickly to the surrounding regions of Manchester and Staffordshire. LDS activity in Britain was re–animated by a further apostolic mission in 1840, which consolidated and extended Mormon influence throughout the whole of the British Isles, albeit characterised by regionally specific and often uneven levels of success. Despite painful family conflicts and bitter denominational rivalries, what began as a small team of missionaries emerged as a Church of a little fewer than 33,000 converts by 1853, representing almost 63% of the Mormon Church's total world membership. Key patterns and strategies such as an aggressive approach to conversion carried out via familial and prosopographic networks and the greater general levels of success achieved in areas where Nonconformity was already well–established were similarly reflected in Mormon activity in Staffordshire as the following chapters will illustrate. Before turning to focus upon the county of Staffordshire itself, I will in Chapter Two, assess Mormon historiography to date and the primary source materials that underpin and support this study.

---

[143] Douglas J. Davies argues that it was such circumstances in South Wales, particularly the outbreak of 'cholera' which increased Mormon conversions. See Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham and Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1987), p. 21. There are numerous similarities between the two regions; however, it is beyond the consideration of this thesis to undertake a full comparative study of the two areas.

CHAPTER 2

BRITISH MORMON HISTORY: SOURCES AND APPROACHES

Although the historical origins, development and key doctrines of American Mormonism have attracted considerable scholarly analysis,[1] British Mormon history, as noted in the introduction to this thesis, has been far less well served. In addition to the heavily American bias in the confessional tradition of much Mormon history writing, social historians of British religion have tended to focus their attention on domestic versions of Established, Catholic and Nonconformist religion in the nineteenth century rather than those initiated by visiting missionaries from other countries. With only a small reservoir of secondary literature to draw upon therefore – the majority of which focuses on the two apostolic missions between 1837 and 1842 as detailed in Chapter One – the arguments which unfold throughout this thesis are principally constructed from a diversity of hitherto unknown primary sources, drawing on individual, local, regional and national British LDS Church records.

The purpose of this chapter is to deal in some detail with the differing categories of sources used in this thesis and present a critical evaluation of current theoretical approaches in British Mormon history. Whilst fully acknowledging the relatively scarce and incomplete nature of materials on British Mormonism I show how regional Mormon research can still be significantly progressed through my construction of a significant original source – the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* – and through new approaches to existing historical texts such as diaries. The chapter begins with an analysis of the primary source materials used within this thesis followed by a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the extant historiography on British Mormonism.

---

[1] For example: James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992); Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1972); Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992); Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter–day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996); *Milton V. Backman, Jr., The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter–day Saints in Ohio 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1983); Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo, A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2002).

Many of the documents and sources used within this thesis were first identified through three prominent bibliographic collections of Mormon studies. Davis Bitton's useful *A Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (1976) listed many of the known diaries and journals of early Mormon converts and leaders including those kept by women and children, providing a resource that represented every level of Mormonism's lay hierarchy.[2] The fact that Bitton referenced materials held in institutional archives outside of Utah means that, despite being over 30 years old, the collection remains an invaluable guide to existing records despite the proportion of British Mormon references being minimal. Chad Flake's *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930*: *Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (1978), attempted to reference all books, periodicals, pamphlets and broadsides published between 1830 and 1930 dealing with the LDS Church. A second, more recent edition of this title co–edited with Larry Draper contained an additional 4,000 references but, as with Bitton, few sources pertained to British Mormon history.[3] The most recent bibliographic collection is Peter Crawley's two–volume bibliography of archived materials and related imprints covering the first 32 years of Mormonism.[4] Crawley identified more British sources than the previous two titles and itemised some of the anti–Mormon material distributed in Britain during the nineteenth century. He also provided brief descriptions and excerpts of cited works rather than giving a basic reference which was particularly helpful in evaluating the usefulness of a given source for this thesis. Despite their being only 59 British references in the 40,000 separate citations in these three collections (which serves to reinforce the point about paucity of known sources for British Mormon history) nevertheless, these bibliographies provided a useful starting–point for my research.

THE LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES, SALT LAKE CITY

In 1830, at the very origins of the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith declared he had received a revelation from God which decreed that 'there shall be a record kept among

---

[2] Davis Bitton, *A Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976).

[3] Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930*, 2nd ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2004).

[4] Peter Crawley, A *Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church: 2 vols.* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center, 1997); vol. 1 (1830–1847) was published in 1997, and vol. 2 (1848–1852) was published in 2005.

you'.[5] The present Archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah which comprises the largest global holding of Mormon historical records, is testimony to the Church's commitment to Smith's original mandate.[6] The LDS Church archives hold numerous documents donated by pioneering American Mormon families as well as thousands of items collected from the Church worldwide, spanning the personal and institutional and the legal to the financial. Including diaries, correspondence, journals, minutes of meetings, assignments, internal daybooks, organisational records, membership registers, legal documents and periodical publications – the richness of this centralised archive as a social and cultural historical resource has yet to be fully evaluated and utilised by historians of religion. The LDS archive in Salt Lake City represents the largest holding of materials for British Mormonism in the world. Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson's *Manuscript History of the British Mission* formed just one sub–section of his notable multi–volume *Manuscript History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* which he compiled between 1890 and his death in 1941. The *Manuscript History of the British Mission* constitutes a major source for this thesis with its extrapolations from branch level meetings, leadership books and day notes as well as Jenson's compilation of membership and emigration activities.[7] While recognising the potential limitations of the statistical accuracy of such figures, in terms of raw data they remain the best source historians have with regard to the expansion of Mormonism within the British Isles.

The LDS archival policy of digitising all records has meant that Mormon records have been extensively microfilmed or microfiched. Some items remain on restricted access, particularly those deemed sensitive by the Church such as certain minuted meetings, accounts of Church courts or notices of disciplinary action. Others remain restricted because of copyright law or at the request of individual donors. The indexing and digitisation of records remains an on–going process as materials continue to be deposited. I have accessed many sources in the LDS archive itself, particular microfilmed records such as membership, finance and emigration records which are largely unavailable externally. Interestingly, I *have* been able to locate and study these sources through the Church's

---

[5] *D&C* 21:1.

[6] These archives are more familiarly known as LDS Church Archives.

[7] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930 which shows compiled figures, representing by year, the amount of conferences, branches, priesthood members, lay members, baptisms, emigration, those who had died and excommunications in the British Isles 1837–1900.

worldwide network of Family History Libraries (FHL), located in most major cities in Britain and throughout the world. Indeed, it is through this latter method that most of my main sources have been acquired.

UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES: DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE

Central to this thesis are the diaries and correspondence of British converts to Mormonism and those engaged in missionary work in Britain between 1830 and 1870. These provide first–hand accounts of the daily administration of Staffordshire Mormon branches and Church activity as well as the often more traumatic experiences of personal conversion and faith. I have found no indication in any of the diaries I have read that they were written with a public audience in mind, thereby providing the historian with as authentic and honest an account as it is possible to gain. Many of the diaries, for example, are explicitly devotional, providing snapshots of the interior formation of an individual's spiritual struggles. As with all historical sources, however, the subjective and incomplete nature of such accounts needs to be confronted and dealt with sensitively. The frequently retrospective nature of many of these diaries is one such limitation. In the main those who recorded their personal histories were emigrant converts who had emigrated to Utah or 'Zion' as part of the 'gathering'.[8] Once in Utah, many illiterate British Mormons received an education which then enabled them to write down their spiritual autobiographies. Thus, these accounts tend to reflect a more romanticised notion of their experiences with a preference for the later American stages and details of earlier (British) events substantially more vague and confused.[9] Yet these records still identify aspects of local British leadership struggles and occurrences that are quite distinctive by comparison with the diaries of their American counterparts who were generally more concerned with the larger regional and national churches. Thus these British written diaries offer a new perspective on the day–to–day running of smaller, local branches and conferences and for this reason

---

[8] The fact that most sources are of those who emigrated will tend to demonstrate a wider bias of experience as compared to those who did not emigrate, consequently few of their writings are documented.

[9] Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1939); John C. Moffitt, *The History of Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City, Utah, Moffitt, 1946); Stanley S. Ivins, 'Free Schools Come to Utah', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 22 (1954), pp. 321–342; Marden J. Clark, 'On the Mormon Commitment to Education', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 7 (Winter 1972), pp. 11–19; Frederick S. Buchanan, 'Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah', *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 435–459; Charles S. Peterson, 'The Limits of Learning in Pioneer Utah', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 10 (1983), pp. 65–78.

are highly significant to this study – indeed this is the first scholarly attempt to use such sources to delineate the dynamics of the Staffordshire Conference.

Those scholars who *have* addressed the British Mormon narrative have relied mainly upon diaries of prominent American Mormons who proselytised in Britain. A number of these have now been reprinted commercially, arguably because of the prominence of the respective missionaries on the American scene rather than their UK contributions. The diaries of Wilford Woodruff and Heber C. Kimball, for example, are particularly useful in describing on a daily basis their movements and the significant events regarding the early expansion of the Mormon Church in Britain between 1837 and 1842.[10] The diaries of other American 'gospel heroes' such as George A. Smith, cousin of Joseph Smith and missionary to Staffordshire in 1840–1841, offer compelling insights on the British Church from a regional and national perspective and the conditions that Staffordshire Mormons experienced in terms of worship, employment and sanitary conditions, yet they have not, as yet, ever been examined for these perspectives.[11]

Further unpublished diaries such as those of the Englishman Joseph Fielding were obtained through the Fielding Family Association.[12] Joseph Fielding offers an important insight into the national organisation of the British Church from the perspective of a new convert and the symbolic way in which missionary work was perceived by its leaders. Fielding, for example, records in his Diary that British converts 'might be led out of the clutches of Egypt and bondage in to freedom' long before the public programme of Mormon emigration in 1840 was announced.[13] Similarly, the diaries of Alfred Cordon, the first Staffordshire man to be converted to Mormonism and later an influential regional leader, have been closely analysed for this thesis.[14]

---

[10] Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journals,* 7 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983); Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature, 1987). See also Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967). For original publication articles see 'Extracts from the Journal of Elder Heber C. Kimball's Journal' and 'Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal' in *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6 (January 15–February 15, 1845; March 15, 1845; April 15, 1845) pp. 1–3, 5, 7, pp. 771–773, 787–790, 803–805, 838–840 and 866–869.

[11] George A. Smith, *George A. Smith Papers*; George A. Smith, *Journal of Travels in England 1840*, (MS 1322) LDS Church Archives.

[12] Joseph Fielding, *Diary of Joseph Fielding 1837–1859,* Typescript copy in the possession of this author, with appreciation to the Fielding Family Association. *Joseph Fielding Diaries*, (MS d 1567) LDS Church Archives. (Hereafter *Joseph Fielding Diary*).

[13] *Joseph Fielding Diary* 1.

[14] Alfred Cordon, *Alfred Cordon Diaries and Reminiscences (1817–1868)*, Typescript (MS 1831) LDS Church Archives.

The British Mormon convert William Clayton who had early oversight for the Staffordshire Church and national responsibility, had his diaries reprinted in 1974 by James Allen and Thomas Alexander with a helpful accompanying commentary.[15] Yet once again the publishing of Clayton's diary was due to his wider American Church interest as a significant Mormon following his migration to Nauvoo, Illinois. Clayton subsequently became Joseph Smith's private secretary and, following Smith's assassination, to his successor Brigham Young. Clayton's diaries were reproduced in 1991 by George D. Smith entitled under the title *An Intimate Chronicle: the Journals of William Clayton,* which received sharp criticism from Allen, a former Assistant Church Historian, for not getting the Clayton material properly authorised through the LDS Church, declaring:

> since these journals are owned by the Church, it is inappropriate to publish them (or any other manuscripts in the Church archives) without Church permission, regardless of the legal technicalities relating to the heirs.[16]

This episode is an interesting reflection on the sometimes contentious issues confronting those wishing to expand Mormon historiography. The above quote by Allen reveals the complexities of access and legal/moral rights in reprinting Mormon historical materials when deposited in LDS Church Archives and exposes the somewhat territorial nature of certain sections of Mormon scholarship.

A further example of a Staffordshire Mormon whose work has been published for similar reasons to Clayton is Thomas Bullock whose diaries were reprinted in *Brigham Young University Studies* in 1991.[17] Like Clayton, Bullock became the private secretary to the Church's founder Joseph Smith and his successor Brigham Young. That he is remembered for this rather than his association and activism in Staffordshire is an

---

[15] Insightful annotations and publishing of William Clayton's diaries can also be found in James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842* (Santa Barbara, California: Peregrine Smith, 1974), and also George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995). For the difficulties and differing approaches to this material by the above editors, see 'Editing William Clayton' (Review by James B. Allen of *An Intimate Chronicle*) and the 'Politics of Mormon History' (Response by George D. Smith), 'A Reply' by Allen, and 'A Rejoinder' by Smith. Compiled in 'Notes and Comments', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 129–156.

[16] James B. Allen, 'Review: George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 165–175.

[17] Greg R. Knight, '"Surely It has Fallen": The Thomas Bullock Nauvoo Journal, 1845–1846', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4 (Winter 1991), pp. 15–75. *Thomas Bullock Collection (1808–1892)*, (MSS 772) [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah. The collection includes diaries, blessings, genealogical data, correspondence, financial records, and certificates. Also *Thomas Bullock Diaries*, (MS d 1385) LDS Church Archives.

oversight that this thesis aims to redress. Just as important for this study are the little–known diaries of Staffordshire Mormon converts and those that proselytised there including John Needham, William Bradbury, George Wardle, Richard Steele, and Richard Rushton.[18] In summary, unless the convert was a prominent leader with wider influence in the national Church it is unlikely that their diary would be familiar to historians of Mormonism; this makes the inclusion of these men in this thesis particularly significant.

Letters written to national and international Mormon leaders by lay members of the Church in what is known as 'the Church's incoming correspondence' also figure amongst the unpublished sources for this thesis. This correspondence could often be quite unguarded in its detail and descriptions of difficult circumstances compared with official Church records. Reuben Hedlock's letter to Joseph Smith, dated 10 January 1844, for example, referred to a local drowning incident in Crewe (five miles north of Staffordshire) of a new convert immediately following baptism.[19] Official records merely mention it in passing but Hedlock's account provides a fuller context for the tragedy. The incident involved Sarah Cartwright, the wife of Mormon priest Thomas Cartwright who, whilst being baptised by her husband, slipped and was fatally swept downstream. An Anglican minister who was keen to raise public awareness of the incident arranged for the constable to be called. Subsequently, the Branch President Jonathon Pugmire was arrested for manslaughter, as was Cartwright following the funeral of his wife; both were incarcerated in Chester Castle for six weeks while awaiting trial. Although the case was dismissed by Judge Whitehead following the jury's 'not guilty' verdict[20] this incident demonstrates the presence of at least some anti–Mormon sentiment within Staffordshire, as well as describing the baptismal methods used by local Mormons.

Incoming letters such as this were also regularly published in the *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star*, the main periodical of the British Mission which is discussed further below. For many regional leaders, i.e., those with oversight of a number of

---

[18] *John Needham Autobiography*, Photocopy of typescript. 106 pp. Brigham Young University (MSS 612) [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah. *William Bradbury Diary*, 5 pp., facsimile in author's possession; Loma Shelton Stott, *Life Sketch of George Wardle*, (MS 7788) LDS Church Archives; *Richard Steele Journal*, (MS 8373) LDS Church Archives; Transcript of *History of Richard B. Rushton Sr. and Family* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Rushton Family Organization, 1977).

[19] Letter from Reuben Hedlock, Liverpool to Joseph Smith, 10 January 1844, LDS Church Archives. See also *Millennial Star*, 4:142–144 (January 1844); *History of the Church*, 6:160.

[20] Ibid.

branches, letters were an important medium of receiving and giving direction, and they illustrate the frustrations as well as the optimism of the early Church leaders.

Despite the maximum possible utilisation of unpublished personal sources in this thesis it is salient to note that, not surprisingly, only the records of the literate, educated minority have survived or those whose part was more prominent in the wider American Church. Even more significant is the fact that for those British Mormons who did not emigrate or 'gather' to Utah (over 58% of Church membership) there is a virtual absence of sources. The historical recovery of these particular Mormons' voices remains problematic, a dilemma I return to and attempt to redress below.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND INSTITUTIONAL RECORDS

Official Mormon records of the period consist of a diverse array of forms such as minutes of branch meetings, Quarterly Conferences and General Annual Conferences, tithing records, leadership books and day notes, all of which have been drawn upon throughout this thesis. Of particular importance for this study, however, are the membership records of local branches gleaned from the FHL and the various incidental entries from the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* which provide extensive details of individual converts and their families. These sources have proved critical in the creation of the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* discussed in more detail below. There are certain limitations, however, to branch membership records as an investigative source. When a convert migrated to a new area, for example, and was added to the records of the new branch as 'received', the clerk of the prior branch might also insert into the records explanations such as 'removed', 'cut–off', 'died', or 'emigrated' in order to avoid issues of membership duplication. This was not a fool–proof method, however, and duplications did take place. A further limitation of membership records was the Church's policy of not including children. Although this continued officially until 1910 it was frequently ignored by British clerks who added children's names following baptism. Despite these irregularities, membership records arguably provide us with the best indication of the sort of people attracted by the Mormon message – their names, age at baptism and confirmation, the composition of their families, where they lived and any information seen as pertinent regarding local excommunications or disciplinary actions taken by the

Church.[21] Membership statistics were also often published in Mormon periodicals and other publications, a source type which is addressed in the following discussion.

THE STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON DATABASE

The *Staffordshire Mormon Database* is a significant and *unique* historical resource created from over five years' worth of personal research into the Staffordshire Mormons for the purposes of this thesis. It constitutes the main source of primary data underpinning key quantitative chapters such as Chapter Three and Chapter Six, but it is also interwoven throughout the entire thesis. In its creation a number of sources have been used to identify who the Staffordshire Mormons were. These include the central LDS Church Archive, emigration rosters and the records of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints. The RLDS, now known as the Community of Christ, were a Mormon group primarily composed of individuals baptised as Mormons but who later rejected the leadership of Brigham Young after the death of Joseph Smith Jr., and expanded through their own converts from 1860 onwards.[22] The US bibliographic database *The Mormons and Their Neighbors* which has an index to over 100,000 biographical sketches in 236 published volumes was also drawn upon.[23]

Finally, I am also grateful to earlier work undertaken by scholars such as Susan Easton Black who has compiled many of the US–based membership records from 1830 to 1848 (incorporating those British Mormons who emigrated prior to 1848) which have been

---

[21] For a local example see 'Hanley Branch Records *1843–1911*', *Record of Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints,* Family History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints.

[22] Following the death of Joseph Smith Jr in June 1844, a leadership crisis arose as to who would lead the church. Two main groups emerged, one under the leadership of Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the other was the Smith family, particularly Emma Smith, wife of Joseph, who insisted that it ought to be under family control. Subsequently the majority of the church, followed Brigham Young westwards, and those that remained in Illinois later became known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints being formally established in 1860 under the direction of Joseph Smith III, Joseph Smith Jr's eldest son. As part of their early expansion work, numerous RLDS converts were originally LDS converts from Dudley and South Staffordshire and so they also have added context to the database. For a discussion of UK RLDS see Michael Barry Holmes Fox, 'The Theology, History And Organisation of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the British Isles', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1995).

[23] These sketches include persons living between 1820 and 1981 in northern Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, southern California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and south–western Canada. Where known Staffordshire Mormons existed I searched their details in the database and where matches were met the results provide further bibliographic information regarding that person. This is available on a searchable CDROM or online from http://www.lib.byu.edu/Ancestry/intro.php.

usefully electronically converted for use from CDROM.[24] In a further six–volume work, Black also compiled the nineteenth–century records of the US RLDS Church. These records have been useful for this thesis as many of the RLDS members were converted in South Staffordshire and Birmingham (more particularly Dudley) all of which have obvious geographical significance to this study; as with the 50–volume LDS edition, they are also available electronically. While a voluminous amount of information is included in Black's collections, the records end at 1848 and thus I have only be able to make use of this scholarship for the early half of my period of study.[25] Whatever its shortcomings, however, Black's immense contribution remains invaluable to the wider study of British Mormonism.

The first phase of construction was thus the comprehensive compilation from the above sources of all recorded converts with a relationship with Staffordshire Mormonism. I then consulted official British and US government records in order to obtain further missing information such as birth, marriage and death details. Relevant census returns were consulted so as to complete or confirm vital data such as the member's name, address, family members, their relationship to the head of household, marital status, age, sex, occupation, county and parish of birth. In order to establish the age at and place of death, details of both UK and US burial registrations were examined as well as published obituaries in US and, where possible, local UK newspapers, although the latter did not provide any useful information.[26] In trying to gain relevant information on an individual's occupational status from the Staffordshire census returns, I focused upon the 1861 census as details were more complete in this than the 1851 version whilst the 1871 census return was technically beyond the end–date of the thesis.[27] The limitations of census data such as the often inaccurate collection and declaration of information by enumerators have been discussed by many economic and local historians such as P. M. Tillot's work on the 1851

---

[24] Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Brigham Young University, 1984) and Susan Easton Black, *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1993). Both available on *Mormon Vital Records*, Bookcraft: CDROM, 1998.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Many of the databases consulted were digitally searched at sites such as ancestry.com, worldvitalrecords.com, nationalarchives.org.uk, familysearch.org, EBSCO services, history.utah.gov as well as academic databases.

[27] D. A. Gatley, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, vol. 58 (1997), pp. 37–47. However, the 1871 census was consulted in terms of consistency for occupations based on 1851 and 1861 returns.

and 1861 censuses.[28] By definition, the information gleaned from such sources can only be considered as a snapshot of the individual's life and what they were principally engaged in at that particular point.

Once all possible records of Staffordshire Mormons between 1830 and 1870 had been identified the next stage of construction was to devise a series of demographic categories or subject headings under which this information could be analysed for patterns, commonalities and deviations. In terms of data categorisation, the following main headings for the database were decided upon:

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth
Occupation		Group	Class	Armstrong Classification		
Baptised		Cut Off		Emigration		Remarks
Marriage	Place of Marriage	Spouse	Polygamous	Death	Place of Death	

Table 2–1 Data Fields used within the *Staffordshire Mormon Database*

For the purposes of easier presentation of the above, only the columns with Boolean information, i.e., 0 or 1 to signify true/false relationship have been removed. Further Boolean fields were added for ease of analysis within sociological software such as SPSS, for example, whether a convert emigrated, practised polygamy, or the sex of the individual. '0' represented 'no' or 'female' and '1' represented 'yes' or 'male'. Many headings are self–explanatory, but for clarity explanation of certain key terms now follows: 'Source' refers to the origin of the data used, 'Residences' records where the individual has lived[29] and 'District' refers to whether or not the individual lived in North or South Staffordshire. In the second line the headings 'Occupation', 'Group' and 'Class' refer to the formal social and occupational positioning of the individual according to the methodology of the 'Armstrong Classification' which is examined in greater depth in Chapter Three. Published by the General Register Office of Great Britain, the *Classification of Occupations*, dated 1921, lists approximately 16,000 different occupations and provides a three–digit code number for each. Once the three digit code was established I compiled the

---

[28] P. M. Tillot, 'The Analysis of Census Returns', *The Local Historian*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1968), pp. 2–10; see also P. M. Tillot, 'Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Census' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 82–133.

[29] Arrowsmith has provided a helpful summary of this information for a number of the listed Mormons. Stephen Arrowsmith, 'The Unidentified Pioneer: An Analysis of Staffordshire Mormons 1837–1870' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003).

information using the well–known ranking scheme proposed by W. A. Armstrong for this purpose. His modified classification of the *Decennial Supplement for 1921,* also published by the General Register Office of Great Britain, provides a social rank for every code and places these three digits into five classes of occupation: 1–Professional, 2–Intermediate, 3–Skilled, 4–Semiskilled, and 5–Unskilled.[30] Using this data I was able to classify the status of each individual into the separate groups. For the purposes of social analysis I added 'Occupation' as revealed through either the General Census or personal writings of the individual. Under 'Group' I referenced each separate occupation of the individual against the Registrar General's social classification schemes. I have further added 'Baptism' to denote the date of Mormon baptism and 'Cut Off' where an individual was excommunicated or formally disassociated with the Church. For those that emigrated a column was inserted to record any known dates. The 'Remarks' heading includes any notable comments or identification of an RLDS baptism and finally, whilst polygamy was never practised in Britain, some Staffordshire emigrants did go on to have multiple wives in America; those who are known have been noted under the heading 'Polygamous'.[31]

Between 1837 and 1900 approximately 110,000 converts were baptised in the British Isles, yet the majority remain unknown beyond mere statistical tables with the exception of very fragmented references in British membership books. One of the major limitations of using central LDS Church records is that most of the members' names have been extracted from emigration records or membership records that were only created once the emigrants had arrived in Utah. Not only has this produced a bias towards US Mormon experience and history but over time British records have been lost, defaced or unintentionally destroyed.[32] Only by creating a template such as the above for Staffordshire Mormons, might it be possible to recover as much remaining information as

---

[30] Where occupational data was not available, or the designation of scholar, wife or child was made by enumerators, this group inherited the code of 9–Unknown, in the *Staffordshire Mormon Database*.

[31] Multiple marriages were often recorded in personal diaries, church minutes, civil records, and can also be searched in published databases such as Susan Easton Black's membership volumes as discussed later in this chapter.

[32] Other records include tithing receipts, temple ordinance records, ward minutes (similar to British Branches) and death notices within the local newspapers were also useful for a wider array of records. Interestingly, a cryptic note is found in the membership's book front page for the Middlewich Branch which alludes to intentional damage. Thomas Lewis, the newly assigned branch clerk records that the record 'has been carelessly lost or wilfully destroyed, but the latter I believe is the case and I could produce a reason why I believe it but I shall forbear moreover'. Middlewich Branch Records (Microfilm No. 87019 item 9, Middlewich Branch Records 1840–1865, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah).

possible about British Mormon membership and activity. When emigrants arrived in Utah and had new records created, for example, they would have in all likelihood declared their original local branch and place of baptism; I have thus attempted to identify a baptismal entry within the local branch records. As mentioned before, the greatest gap in the records concerns those Mormons who remained in Britain as they did not appear on as many official records as those who emigrated. Nevertheless, through undertaking a painstaking system of reviewing each individual, I have sought to obtain the maximum possible data from all records and public information known about them. This has included comparisons of duplicate information and the extraction of any missing pieces of data as well as omitting entries that were inconsistent with a Staffordshire profile such as Mormon converts who were baptised in Brampton, Lancashire rather than Brampton in Staffordshire. Where addresses were recorded the details were compared against those held on the census, as were family members within the household.

In total the complete database contains over 1,900 records of Staffordshire Mormons and is the largest of its kind in terms of regional membership indexing. The database is used continuously throughout the thesis to provide substantial evidence for this considerably active yet neglected group of religious communities. In Chapter Three a smaller dataset of 285 records has been extracted in order to assure the maximum possible sociological robustness and representation. This was undertaken using social science software tools such as SPSS 17, Nvivo and through discussions with prominent sociologists, Armand Mauss and Jason Long. It is hoped that the method of construction and compilation used for the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* will function as a methodological template for further regional studies in the future and thus maximise opportunities for the fullest possible historical recovery of British Mormonism.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES: PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS

Periodicals have been a central instrument of the Mormon Church since its organisation. Commencing with the *Evening & Morning Star* (1832–1834), *Latter–day Saints' Messenger & Advocate* (1834–1837), *Elders' Journal* (1837–1838), and *Times & Seasons* (1839–1846) Mormons quickly gained invaluable experience in journalism, editing and publishing. These periodicals were used not only for reporting meetings and key events of Mormon life but for teaching doctrine and responding to critics. As the Church expanded throughout the nineteenth century other publications began to appear in

different parts of the United States and Europe. Of primary influence in Britain was the *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star* (*Millennial Star*) named by Parley P. Pratt which I discuss below.

THE LATTER–DAY SAINTS' MILLENNIAL STAR

Following the beginning of the Second Apostolic Mission in Britain in 1840, a printing programme was quickly established which included pamphlets, books and periodicals. The main publication, and arguably the most significant of all Mormon periodicals, was the *Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star* (*Millennial Star*) which ran from 1840 until 1970. It was published from Manchester between May 1840 and March 1842 and then from Liverpool, it was edited by successive British Mission Presidents from Parley P. Pratt in May 1840 to Horace Eldredge in June 1870.[33]

By 1861 the Mormons owned their own press, having previously contracted out the work, and began printing from the British headquarters at 42 Islington Street, Liverpool, with missionaries serving as compositors, pressman and editors.[34] It is a remarkable success story; initially the periodical was published monthly with about 1,500 subscribers costing six pence per issue, but by mid–1845 it had become a bi–monthly periodical, had grown to 3,700 subscribers and having lowered its cost to three pence. Seven years later in 1852 it became a weekly publication, then boasting 22,000 subscribers at a cost of a penny a week.[35] As the frequency increased its size expanded from an average of 300 pages for the first ten volumes (each volume contained a single year's publication) to over 700 pages per volume for the following decades.

As can be seen from these statistics the *Millennial Star* was of huge importance in the lives of British Mormons, bringing them local, national and international news,

---

[33] See Appendix B for a table of British Mission Presidents and successive editors of the *Millennial Star*. It was normal practice as can be observed from Appendix B that the British Mission President also acted in the capacity of Editor, with the exception of Eli B. Kelsey who acted *pro tem* on behalf of Orson Pratt between March and July 1850. The *Millennial Star* was published in Manchester, England, May 1840–March 1842; Liverpool, April 1842–1843 March, 1932; London, 10 March, 1932–December 1970. Following the consolidation of Church magazines, it was replaced by *The Ensign* for the adult membership, *The New Era* for the youth audience, and *The Friend* for young children. A full description can be found in Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church. Volume One, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1997), Item 71, pp. 108–113.

[34] Richard O. Cowan, 'Church Growth in England, 1841–1914', *Truth Will Prevail,* pp. 210–211.

[35] Ibid; Brigham H. Roberts, *Conference Report: April 1914* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints) p. 105.

ecclesiastical appointments and doctrinal instruction from both British leaders and those in America. It functioned as a 'virtual' Church leader, ministering to the scattered communities of Mormons throughout the UK. The American historian Hugh H. Bancroft has rightly noted that 'but for this publication…it would be impossible to fill the gap which occurs in the records of the Mormon people'.[36] Some of these 'gaps' were the publication of vital statistics and minutes from regional conferences. Following local and regional conferences, clerks would send minutes to the then current editor which was then published in the following edition. These details offer the historian an invaluable account of the fluctuating membership in the UK as well as local leaders' concerns over their own group of congregations.[37]

As will be seen in Chapter Six, a significant use of the *Millennial Star* was the publication of organisational plans for emigration parties and routes, including the application process, financial obligations and the ships that had been chartered. The *Millennial Star* also reported the arrivals and departures of key missionaries to Britain and from where they were to proselytise or lead. Occasionally the *Millennial Star* publicly chastised local branch and conference agents for failing to increase their periodical subscriptions and published accounts indicating those who were in credit and those who were in debt, a very useful source for gauging the level of religious activity within that geographic area.

The *Millennial Star* was also the main source of reproducing extracts from the *History of the Church* by leaders such as Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the journals of prominent Mormons, and the serialisation of books such as the *Catechism for Children* by John Jacques.[38] Although primarily concerned with the British Isles, the editors' occasionally reprinted articles from its earlier sister paper, the *Times and Seasons*, an American based publication. The *Times and Seasons* also provided a resource for letters

---

[36] Hugh Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: vol. 26. History of Utah: 1540–1886* (San Francisco, California: The History Co., 1889), p. 408.

[37] All officers of leadership within the church are male; as the Priesthood was consigned to males the women were to adopt a more to a Pauline stance of submission and obedience.

[38] John Jaques, *Catechism for Children: Exhibiting the Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Liverpool and London: F. D. Richards, 1854). This catechism was the most popular learning tool among the early Latter–day Saints especially during the nineteenth century Utah era. John Jacques originally from Leicester also served in Staffordshire and is therefore significant. Among the various items found within this catechism, primarily a children's book are: ordinances of the Church; the plurality of Gods; the pre–mortal existence; The Fall of Adam; the Word of Wisdom; and the Church in the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times.

from missionaries serving in the British Isles, who often detailed their work through that medium. Arguably, British Mormons were better informed as to the status of the Church than their transatlantic contacts on account of the continual stream of information provided for them and the more stable Church environment as compared with the US. It was also indicative of a time when the intellectual centre of Mormonism was based in Britain; the writing of new theological treatises, the conceiving of new perspectives on old doctrines and, further to this, the shortage of paper in Utah, led to many tracts, books and materials being printed in England and then shipped to America. The *Millennial Star* was also shipped to America and served as a medium for the Utah saints until later in the nineteenth century when their own presses began rolling in 1850.[39] As well as going west, the *Millennial Star* was also translated into different languages and sent east to Europe and beyond. Often it would be sent with many of the publications that the Liverpool LDS Book Depot produced that were bound for Australia, South Africa, India and the Pacific Islands. Many of these far outlying areas had printed their own materials and had strayed somewhat from the message of the now centralised printing concern at Liverpool.[40]

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES: THE JOURNAL OF DISCOURSES AND WELSH PERIODICALS

Complementing the *Millennial Star* was another prominent British publication produced out of Liverpool entitled the *Journal of Discourses* which ran between 1854 and 1886.[41] Each edition consisted of a sixteen–page publication, issued twice monthly with twenty–four editions composing a single volume. Twenty–six volumes were published in all. The *Journal of Discourses* provided an international perspective on aspects of Mormon

---

[39] Utah's main newspaper and Church owned, *The Deseret News* commenced printing on 15 June 1850, however, its influence was not fully observed until after the American Civil War. For a full discussion of journalism and printing in Utah see: Monte Burr McLaws, 'Early Mormon Journalism and the Deseret, 1830–1898' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Missouri – Columbia, 1971); Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950); Arlington Russell Mortensen, 'The Deseret and Utah, 1850–1867' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1959).

[40] David J. Whittaker, 'Early Mormon Pamphleteering', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 4 (1977), pp. 45–49.

[41] For a more detailed discussion of the *Journal of Discourses*, see Peter Crawley and Chad J. Flake, *A Mormon Fifty: an exhibition in the Harold B. Lee Library in conjunction with the annual conference of the Mormon History Association* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1984), p. 31. The purpose was to save the 24 editions and at the end of the year bind them together with a title page and index to form a continuously paged volume.

life and culture, focusing predominantly on sermons given in Utah.[42] Although many of the articles were doctrinal in nature, including the stenographed reports of speeches given in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, it also recorded the concerns of Church leaders during the second half of the nineteenth century. These included complaints about emigrants coming unprepared to the US and laden with false expectations of Zion. The *Journal of Discourses* also included some of the more controversial discourses and doctrines of Mormonism such as the announcement of plural marriage and other practices that had hitherto been kept secret. Consequently, the twenty–six volumes of the *Journal of Discourses* are an important archive for British Mormon history in terms of the on–going experience of those who had emigrated and I make extensive use of the *Journal*'s printed sermons dealing with emigration in Chapter Six of this thesis.

As discussed in Chapter One, the Welsh Mormon tradition included an influential Welsh–language periodical, *Prophwyd y Jubili* (*Prophet of the Jubilee*), which appeared in Merthyr Tydfil between July 1846 and December 1848, and was then renamed *Udgorn Seion* (*Zion's Trumpet*) in 1849 under the new editorship of John Davis.[43] By this time the periodical's focus, as with the *Millennial Star,* had become mainly that of emigration, and its new name, the *Trumpet*, was intended to call all to Utah as part of the gathering. The significance of the name would not have been lost on the communities as it was reminiscent of the Chartist magazine, *Udgorn Cymru* (*The Trumpet of Wales*). The publication was disseminated widely across Wales, often through tracting, serving those people that could not read or speak English. The inability of the US and the British missionaries to converse in Welsh stifled their proselytising efforts and frustrated Welsh Mormons who needed a medium of instruction in their own language. Although the *Millennial Star* found a readership in the English–speaking border towns of England and Wales, particularly Overton and Wrexham, it did not succeed in penetrating any further westwards.[44] The Welsh–language Mormon periodical also enabled a more spirited

---

[42] The stenographer for many of the early speeches was George D. Watt, the first convert in Britain and subsequent clerk and secretary to Brigham Young. Watt learned the art of stenography after he had migrated to the United States, and was authorised to sell the proceedings as a means of subsistence for himself. The publication was not published for some years in Utah but only in Liverpool.

[32] Ronald D. Dennis, *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: A Historical Bibliography* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1988); Ronald D. Dennis, trans. and ed., *Prophet of the Jubilee* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1997); Ronald D. Dennis, trans. and ed., *Zion's Trumpet* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2001).

[44] Some articles were translated and briefly reprinted under the banner of *The Welsh Star*.

defence against the accusations and arguments of other Welsh–speaking Established and Free Church denominations. The scholarship of Ronald D. Dennis is noteworthy in this context as he has translated the Welsh Mormon periodicals and numerous diaries and other Welsh Mormon literature into English, a contribution noted by Geraint Bowen, former Archdruid of Wales:

> In many Welsh history books dealing with the religious movements of this period one finds no reference to the religious works of either of these prolific authors [Dan Jones & John Davies]…this additional contribution by Dr Ronald Davies to Welsh Mormon writings will go far to remedy this omission.[45]

To summarise Mormon periodical literature is a significant yet under–used source in British Mormon history and the wider history of nineteenth–century religion. I draw heavily upon the *Millennial Star* throughout this thesis in order to show its value for the reconstruction of Staffordshire Mormon life and culture.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES: THE 1851 CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

Along with the decennial population enumeration, the British government conducted an unprecedented religious census on Sunday, 30 March 1851. Clergymen from all identified British religious denominations were instructed to complete a form regarding the number of available seats and the number of individuals attending services in every Church, chapel, or meeting room that day. The main reason provided for conducting the census was to discover if the churches and religious meeting–places could accommodate the rapidly growing population, assuming everyone attended church. The government was also interested in finding out how many in the population actually attended religious services.[46] The official report undertaken by Horace Mann offers a fascinating insight into those churches that held services on the day of census. Yet it is replete with inaccuracies and anomalies.

Mann's report estimated LDS Church membership at over 30,000 in 222 places of worship in England and Wales.[47] Census enumerators were responsible for finding the meeting places of the different churches in their particular district and providing the church

---

[45] Geraint Bowen, in Ronald D. Dennis, *Prophet of the Jubilee,* p. xxiv.

[46] David M. Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851' in Richard Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1978), pp. 241–286.

[47] Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Report and Tables on Religious Worship in England and Wales*, vol. 10, Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Population (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1970), p. cxi.

leaders with the required forms. This task would have been relatively simple in terms of parish churches, but the process was a good deal more difficult with regard to Nonconformist denominations, especially those that met in rented halls, homes or other unofficial buildings unrecognisable as places of worship. The LDS Church is a good example of a religion with a number of congregations meeting in such locations. For this reason, the census enumerators understandably overlooked many of the organised branches of the Church and failed to ask for a census return from the presiding authority. The fact that such a large discrepancy exists between the numbers of branches reported in the *Millennial Star* and those reported by the 1851 census is evidence that many enumerators simply did not know that a religious service of the Mormon Church was being held in their registration districts.

Church membership reported in the *Millennial Star* was over 32,000 in 642 branches by June 1851.[48] The total number of branches listed for England and Wales was 572 with 28,499 members whereas Scotland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man had 70 branches in all with a total membership of 3,727. The facsimiles of Church membership records show branch records from 386 branches in England and Wales that include the period of 1851 and not simply the 222 found in the census.[49] Although difficulties exist, information can be drawn from all of these sources in order to establish a better understanding of the Mormon demographic landscape in mid nineteenth–century Britain.

APPROACHES TO BRITISH MORMON HISTORY: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY SO FAR

As has already been observed, Mormon scholars have traditionally paid little attention to areas beyond the embryonic activity found in US states such as New York, Ohio, Illinois and Utah. Consequently the British experience has been almost entirely overlooked despite its crucial importance to the sustainability and expansion of the wider international Mormon Church. In addition to this geographical myopia, a further, more general problem of an inadequately critical evaluation of the Mormon experience has plagued the intellectual historiography so far. This final section of Chapter Two critically assesses the scholarship on Mormon history to date, suggests reasons for the academic

---

[48] *Millennial Star*, 13:207 (1 July 1851).

[49] *Family History Library Catalog* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 2002), also available online at www.familysearch.org.

lacuna on British Mormon history and outlines the contribution of this thesis and the need for more regionally–focused studies in redressing the invisibility of the British experience.

As previously noted in the case of William Clayton's diaries, the construction of any Mormon historical narrative has the potential to elicit considerable controversy surrounding access to, and publication of, the centralised LDS Church Archive sources. Douglas J. Davies has commented, for example, upon the limitations of Mormon scholars operating out of a confessional context 'who control their history in every sort of way'.[50] It should be noted that critical research into the Mormon Church by practising Mormons can have consequences for Church membership, a situation which has undoubtedly led to a predominance of confessional or devotional historical works rather than the more usual critical analytical approach found in most academic histories. As the former Church Historian, Leonard J. Arrington has commented:

> our historians have been so charmed with the unity of the Saints after they have decided on a course of action that they have neglected to inquire into the process by which they made up their minds what to do. As with other people, the Saints have had their controversies, conflicts and questionings. The substantial disagreement on doctrine, practice and collective policy becomes evident when one leaves the 'Official' sources to focus on the minds and careers of individuals. While the records of the Church emphasize the triumphs of union and accord, individual diaries often dwell on the difficulties of resolving differences.[51]

Arrington's quote appears to suggest, like Davies, that it is the heavily centralised practices of record collection and the subsequent canonical status of the 'Official' LDS sources that pose the major problem for a sufficiently critical approach to Mormon history, whether American or British. The early confessional, hagiographical approach was typified by Richard E. Evans's classic text, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain* (1937), which aimed to provide an inspirational, faith–promoting account of the British Mormon experience drawn from the official Church Archives.[52] According to Evans, who was an editor of the *Millennial Star* at the time of writing, the early American missionaries were

---

[50] Douglas J. Davies, 'World Religion: Dynamics and Constraints' *The Worlds of Joseph Smith: An International Academic Conference at the Library of Congress*, 7 May 2005.

[51] Leonard J. Arrington. 'The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1968), p. 64.

[52] Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain; a Brief Summary of the Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the United Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Press, 1937).

men who 'performed many mighty works as they travelled and the Lord prospered their labours and cared for their wants'.[53]

A further criticism that has been made of this confessional historical approach and which the above quote from Evans illustrates, namely its US–centric focus whereby it is the 'American Gospel Hero' missionary who takes centre–stage, leaving the missiological talents and conversional experiences of indigenous British Mormons unaccounted for. Even confessional Mormon scholars such as Susan Easton Black have admitted that this approach 'has left British saints nearly devoid of 'British gospel heroes'. Easton Black remarks that with the 'general lack of historic recognition of the British saints the personal history of Church members in Britain is left to American–born descendants to tell' and that these descendants have frequently 'enlarged upon facts and created moralistic fables and traditional legends of their ancestry'.[54] This has proved to be a distorting legacy which has completely negated the ordinary, daily realities of British Mormon life and society, a gap which this thesis seeks to rectify by focusing *not* on US 'gospel heroes' but instead upon a number of important British–born Mormon leaders and converts such as Alfred Cordon and William Clayton.

The 1987 collection, *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987,* a collection of devotional essays published by the LDS for the sesquicentennial anniversary of the British Church, addressed British Mormon history from the American missionary hero perspective.[55] Some chapters – such as Malcolm R. Thorp's study of the wider Victorian context of religion and urban life – paid more attention to the national organisational structure, but the overall approach was strongly devotional and US–focussed.[56] A major additional failing of this publication (besides uneven scholarly quality) was the last–minute editorial decision to remove the bibliography, thus preventing proper academic scrutiny.[57]

---

[53] Evans, *A Century of Mormonism*, p. 122.

[54] Susan Easton Black, 'A Profile of a British Saint 1837–1848', in Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990), p. 103.

[55] Ben V. Bloxham and Larry Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull: The Church of Jesus of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

[56] Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social, and Economic Conditions', *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 44–70.

[57] David J. Whittaker, 'Mormonism in Victorian Britain A Bibliographic Essay', in Malcolm Thorp and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989), p. 259.

Mormons in Early Victorian Britain (1989) was edited by two of the best scholarly contributors to Mormon history, Richard L. Jenson and Malcolm R. Thorp, whose unpublished and published work has been drawn upon throughout this thesis.[58] This collection was more eclectic in its coverage of Victorian British Mormonism with chapters converted from innovative postgraduate theses such as John Cotterill's 'The Rise and Decline of the Church in the West Midlands, 1840–77' focusing on Worcestershire and Birmingham, and Susan L. Fales 'Artisans, Millhands, and Laborers: The Mormons of Leeds and Their Nonconformist Neighbours'.[59] Although these essays extended understanding of British Mormonism's class composition and administrative organisation, the collection might still be regarded as a more generalised treatment.

In 1990 Brigham Young University's Department of Church History and Doctrine published their own contribution to British Mormon history entitled *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History: British Isles*.[60] Chapter titles such as 'Satan's Opposition to the Introduction of the Gospel to England' and 'Sacrifice Brings Forth the Blessings of Heaven', reflect the heavily devotional tone but, as a privately–owned institution of the LDS Church, Brigham Young University is somewhat unlikely to present a critical analysis of the Church's history.[61] Confusingly, the same department released a further volume in 2007 with the same title but with articles engaging not only with Victorian Mormon experiences but also those of twentieth–century British Mormonism.[62]

To date emigration has formed the major theme in Mormon historiography as it encompasses the central Mormon doctrine of the 'gathering' or the nineteenth–century

---

[58] Malcolm Thorp and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989)

[59] Posthumously adapted from John Cotterill, 'Midland Saints: The Mormon Mission in the West Midlands 1837–1877' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Keele University, 1985), also Susan L. Fales, 'The Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era: A Study in Social Composition' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984).

[60] Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990).

[61] Brigham Young University is a wholly owned institution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints. As a certified university of higher education it is in many respects like other 'Faith' schools such as Notre Dame, Thomas Aquinas College (California), and Baylor University that teach a balanced higher academic curriculum, but also reflect interest in subjects relating to religion. For a discussion of faith based schools see Naomi Schaefer Riley, *God on the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation Are Changing America* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2005).

[62] Cynthia Doxey, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2007). For an in–depth review see David M. Morris, 'Book Review: *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History: British Isles*', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2007), pp. 176–183.

command for all Mormons to come out of 'Babylon' and move back to 'Zion' in the western US. Although beyond the remit of this particular thesis there is a considerable body of work on American Mormon pioneer history detailing the overland journey to, and establishment of, Utah as the new 'Zion'.[63] For many Utahns, however, their family ancestry stretches back over the Atlantic to Britain and the gathering stimulated waves of transatlantic Mormon migration which scholars have generally interpreted as either a spiritual pilgrimage (as demonstrated in the previously cited work of Richard L. Evans), and Douglas J. Davies, or as a decision grounded in economic or worldlier pursuits.[64]

The non–Mormon historian, Philip A. M. Taylor, has subscribed to the latter approach, making a significant contribution to our understanding of British Mormon migration patterns to the United States between 1840 and 1870 in his *Expectations Westward: the Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century*.[65] Although Taylor's research is now over fifty years old it remains one of the most comprehensive demographic and economic studies of British Mormon motivations for emigration. Taylor took much of his data from the British periodical the *Millennial Star* as well as other shipping and emigration records, concluding that the majority of emigrants were from the working and labouring rather than the middle classes.[66] This is useful given that a central hypothesis of *this* thesis is also that the majority of the nineteenth–century Staffordshire Mormons were from the lower echelons of society. One shortcoming of his research, however, is that it does not contain a local or regional element, something clearly problematic for the historian of regional experience; Staffordshire is *not* mentioned in the main text. This thesis rectifies this omission.

---

[63] For example: Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Journey To Zion: Voices From The Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1997); William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Shadow Mountain, 1997); Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find The Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1997); William E. Hill, *The Mormon Trail, Yesterday and Today* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996); Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1964).

[64] Douglas J. Davies, 'Pilgrimage in Mormon Culture' in *Social Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Makhan Johan, ed. (New Delhi, India: Inter–India Publications, 1991), pp. 312–325.

[65] Philip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966). Taylor has also published 'Why Did British Mormons Emigrate', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25 (October 1957), pp. 249–271.

[66] Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 150.

Other historians such as W. H. G Armytage and M. Hamblin Cannon also began to address the issue of emigration during the 1940s and 1950s.[67] More recent efforts by scholars including Richard L. Jenson and Fred E. Woods, has tended to focus on the more detailed social aspects of emigration patterns and organisation, from the advertising of shipping to Mormon travel and shipping agents working in Britain.[68] Conway B. Sonne's *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (1983) was supplemented with an invaluable number of appendices containing almost every voyage undertaken by both British and European Mormon emigrants including ships' names, ship masters' details, the total number of Mormon travellers, their departure and arrival dates, the ports and the length of passages. Sonne's study remains one of the most under–used and under–acknowledged research resources in Mormon migration narratives.[69] In this thesis I include a final chapter on emigration, despite its dominance in US Mormon history–writing, in order not only to highlight the heroic pursuits of particular missionaries and converts but also to illustrate the importance of the doctrine of the gathering as a factor in the steady decline of active and vital forms of Staffordshire Mormonism.

At the twenty–third *Mormon Historical Association* annual conference in 1987, several speakers addressed the concept of class.[70] John F. C. Harrison's paper 'The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution', was notable in the sense that it tackled the source–based complexities when studying the Mormon working classes. Harrison was one of the first to propose that those working class men and women who

---

[67] See W. H. G. Armytage, complete chapter, 'Liverpool, Gateway to Zion', in *Heaven Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560–1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961). Also *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 48 (April 1957), pp. 39–44; M. Hamblin Cannon, 'Migration of English Mormons to America', *American Historical Review*, vol. 52 (1946–1947), pp. 436–455, and 'The English Mormons in America' *American Historical Review*, vol. 27 (1951–1952), pp. 893–908.

[68] Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion', in *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 165–198; 'Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter–day Saint Immigration upon Nauvoo', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 31 (Winter 1991), pp. 76–87. 'British Immigrants and Life in Utah', in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopaedia* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1994); Richard L. Jensen and Gordon Irving, 'The Voyage of the Amazon: A Close View of One Immigrant Company', *Ensign,* vol. 10 (March 1980), pp. 16–19; Fred E. Woods, 'Conveyance & Contribution: Mormon Scots Gather to an American Zion', *History Scotland*, Part 1 in July – Aug 2005, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 48–54, and Part 2 in Sep – Oct 2005, vol. 5, no. 5, pp. 37–42; Fred E. Woods, 'The Gathering of the British Saints' in *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet,* Andrew Skinner and Susan Easton Black, eds. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2005) pp. 380–387; Fred E. Woods, 'Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840–1846', *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 43–63, and Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans, 'Latter–day Saint Scandinavian Migration Through Hull, England, 1852–1894', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2002), pp. 75–102.

[69] Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1983).

[70] The twenty–third annual meeting of the Mormon History Association was held at Oxford, 6 July 1987.

accepted the Mormon message were likely to suffer not only loss of friendships and family relations but, potentially, consequences for unemployment.[71] Further important, pioneering studies of class in British Mormon historiography were undertaken by James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp.[72] Thorp undertook several pioneering analyses of class in the 1970s which, *contra* earlier (and subsequent) estimations of British Mormons as primarily middle class, firmly established the working–class background of a high proportion of British converts.[73] As Chapter Three of this thesis indicates, my research agrees with that of Thorp in that the majority of converts in Staffordshire between 1840 and 1870 were from the lower classes. I therefore draw upon and extend Thorp's work by focusing on a smaller group of converts that most importantly (as indicated by the above discussion of the *Staffordshire Mormon Database*) define class in a more sustained and robust socio– historical manner.

The development of women's history since the 1970s as an offshoot of social history more generally has generated a wealth of scholarship restoring women's visibility to the historical record.[74] It was not until 1995, however, that Rebecca Bartholomew's *Audacious Women: Early British Immigrants* attempted to raise historiographical awareness of the lives of early British Mormon women. Bartholomew's study, notably published with the more 'fringe' liberal Mormon publisher, Signature Books, documented the lives of one hundred British Mormon women converts.[75] Mormon attitudes to women display all the typically paradoxical elements of most religious denominations in that they

---

[71] Harrison's paper was later published in *Journal of Mormon History* as well as *Mormonism in Early Victorian England*, identified earlier within this chapter. See John F. C. Harrison, 'The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution' in *Mormons in Early Victorian England*, p. 11 and John F. C. Harrison, 'The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 14 (1988), pp. 3–15.

[72] See James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp 'The Mission of the Twelve to England 1842–1841: Mormon Apostles in the Working Classes', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 15 (Summer 1975), pp. 489–526. Malcolm R. Thorp's 'The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain 1837–1852', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 4 (1977), pp. 51–66. Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social and Economic conditions' in *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 44–70.

[73] See for example, Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 3:106 and Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995), p. 25. Recently Ronald Bartholomew has undertaken two pieces of research dealing with Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, which demonstrates a similar pattern of working–class origins of Mormon converts. See Ronald E. Bartholomew, 'The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire England', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 99–136; Ronald E. Bartholomew, '19th Century Missiology of The LDS Bedfordshire Conference and it's Interrelationship With Other Christian Denominations', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 2 (2009), pp. 108–127.

[74] Sue Morgan, *The Feminist History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[75] Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*. Introduction.

professed the spiritual equality of both genders while prohibiting parity of leadership roles and access to positions of power. This coupled with the relative paucity of available Mormon records as well as those more generally for working–class women of the period has contributed to a significant degree of female invisibility. Bartholomew notes, for example, that in some cases only a birth date or single biographical reference exists.[76] Only one woman is mentioned who had some relationship with Staffordshire: Mary Powell. Powell lived in Manchester, however, and only visited the Staffordshire Potteries.[77]

An increasing number of scholars are now focusing on the recovery of Mormon women in history.[78] In this sense the development of academic Mormon history mirrors that of other related disciplines.[79] Some texts have detailed the lives of influential British–born, American Mormon women, for example, such as *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter–day Saints 1830–1900* (1982).[80] Yet most of these accounts are biographical in nature about women associated with early Mormon leaders. Thus women appear here not because of their own accomplishments or historical agency, but because of a 'successful' marriage into a prominent Mormon family.[81] Other than *Audacious Women* there exists no other study focusing on Mormon women in the British Isles. Only on very rare exceptions were women the distributors of the Mormon gospel – prior to 1865 women who did act in such a capacity were likely to be self–appointed.[82] Feminist historians such as Maxine Hanks and Lavina Fielding Anderson have recently posed searching questions concerning the place of women in Mormonism and the almost complete lack of a

---

[76] Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, pp. xii–xv.

[77] North Staffordshire is more familiarly known as 'The Potteries' on account of the industry of ceramics, porcelain, and fine earthenware for several centuries in that area.

[78] For example, Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: The Public Years 1870–1920 (*Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2005) and also *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1994); Jill Mulvay Derr, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Janath R. Cannon, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992).

[79] *Bibliography of Mormon Women's History, Brigham Young University*. This site that lists over 1300 books, articles and citations devoted to the wider study of Women in Mormon history; http://www.refworks.com/refshare/?site=027751096925598000/1418680/Mormon%20Women (Last accessed 31 December 2009).

[80] Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book*,* 1982).

[81] Susa Young Gates, 'Mothers in Israel: Mary Fielding Smith, Wife of the Patriarch Hyrum Smith', in *Relief Society Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 2 (March 1916), pp. 123–142. See also Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Jenson History Company, 1901–1936).

[82] For a full discussion of the role of women missionaries in LDS Church, see Calvin S. Kunz, 'A History of Female Missionary Activity in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints 1830–1898' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976).

distinctive Mormon feminist field of historical enquiry.[83] While gender forms just one subsection of the analysis in this thesis, there remains much work to do in this field.

UNPUBLISHED THESES

My final category of historiographical analysis is unpublished postgraduate theses of which many have focused on local and/or regional studies of some relevance to my own research.[84] These are too numerous to mention in detail, but one or two deserve further comment. Then, in 1985, John Cotterill studied Mormonism in the British Midlands focusing not on Staffordshire but the more studied areas of Lancashire, Herefordshire and Warwickshire.[85] Cotterill died shortly after completing his thesis and much of his original source material, notes and card indexes are in the possession of this author. These have greatly helped in my analysis. Craig L. Foster's 2002 study, 'Anti–Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain 1837–1860' was a novel contribution to understanding the way in which Mormonism was received by the popular presses.[86] Stephen Arrowsmith's study of Staffordshire has provided a useful, albeit limited quantitative study which is somewhat flawed due to a number of unsupported and inaccurate claims.[87] Arrowsmith's main source was Susan Easton Black's Church–wide membership database, from which he collated membership data primarily referring to North Staffordshire.[88] As previously mentioned my database has greatly expanded that of both Easton and Arrowsmith and included many more additional variables.

---

[83] Maxine Hanks, ed., *Women and Authority: Re–emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1992). Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

[84] Paul Floyd Smart, 'The History of the Early Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Preston, Lancashire, England' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989); Jan Harris, 'Mormons in Victorian England' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987); Jorgenson, Lynne Watkins, 'The First London Mormons: 1840–1845: "What Am I and My Brethren Here For?"' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988); Fales, 'The Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era'.

[85] John Cotterill, 'The Mormon Mission in the West Midlands 1837–1877' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Keele University, 1985).

[86] Craig L. Foster, *Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti–Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837–1860* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2002).

[87] Arrowsmith, *The Unidentified Pioneer*. Such claims include the date of the initial proselytising in Staffordshire, due to Arrowsmith's sole reliance on *Manuscript History of the British Mission* for the source; however, I believe this is a fault of the Manuscript History as it is attributed to Willard Richards who was not in Staffordshire during this period. Arrowsmith unfortunately uses the term 'Staffordshire Conference' and the Staffordshire church interchangeable, but the conference was formed nearly two years later.

[88] Black, *Membership of the Church and Membership of the Reorganized Church.*

In conclusion, Mormon historiography shows no particular evidence of a shift away from confessional histories to more critical, academic assessments; instead, both approaches continue to develop alongside each other whilst US–centric mode continues apace. In examining the Staffordshire Conference in its own right this thesis aims to put regional British Mormon history on the map. I now turn to Chapter Three which utilises the *Staffordshire Mormon Database* in detail in order to answer the fundamental question – who were the Staffordshire Mormons?

CHAPTER 3

WHO WERE THE STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONS? A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

> Of the more than 450 Saints in this [Staffordshire Potteries] District not more than one third of them have full Employment. Many of the Rest Not more than two or three Days per Week and Many have no work at all. Times are growing harder Every Week. Some are turned out of Employ because they have been baptised by the Latter Day Saints.[1]

In 1977, Malcolm R. Thorp made an observation that is as appropriate today as it was then: 'unfortunately, too often in Mormon history, it is the institutions that count and little attention is paid to the rank and file'.[2] This criticism is not unique to Mormon historiography, indeed the preference for hierarchical and institutional emphases over a focus on the inconsistencies and contradictions, the 'messiness' of individual lives, could be said to apply to religious historical research more generally. This chapter seeks to address this lacuna through a quantitative analysis of class, age and gender identities in order to address the question 'who *were* the Staffordshire Mormons between 1839 and 1870?'

The chapter begins with a critical examination of the current historiography on British Mormon demography and a detailed explanation of its major source base, the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset*, as detailed in Chapter Two. A further discussion of the social and industrial landscape of nineteenth–century Staffordshire then provides the context for a detailed analysis of the social composition of Staffordshire Mormon converts. This provides original data that sheds light on the composition and demographics of Mormonism in Staffordshire between 1839 and 1870.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH MORMON DEMOGRAPHICS

In 1964, Philip Taylor's seminal work on British Mormon emigration, published as *Expectations Westward: the Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century*, found that 78% of British emigrant Mormons were of working–

---

[1] George A. Smith, 'History', 5 December 1840, *George A. Smith Papers, 1834–1875*, (MS 1322) LDS Church Archives. See also *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, 3 October 1840.

[2] Malcolm Thorp, 'The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–1852', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 4 (1977), p. 51.

class origin.[3] Although Taylor's class study is over 50 years old, it remains authoritative due to the lack of subsequent scholarship in this particular area of Mormon history. A significant limitation of Taylor's work, however, was that it focused exclusively on Mormons at a national level and overlooked the individual; neither is the dataset source for Taylor's analysis available.[4] Other aspects of his study were also disappointing in terms of any attempt to humanise the emigrant's experience and explain the acculturation process in Utah, unlike William Mulder's earlier study of Scandinavian Mormon emigration.[5] In 1972, Douglas J. Davies completed a study on 'The Mormons at Merthyr Tydfil' arguably the first scholar to focus on this area of Mormon experience.[6] 1975, Malcolm Thorp and James B. Allen published their classic article, 'The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes', which first established the thesis of the working–class origins of British Mormonism.[7] Since then Thorp has gone on to publish extensively on the class–based and religious backgrounds of Mormon converts in Britain. In probably his most important study, published in 1980, Thorp detailed a sample of 410 Mormons of which he estimated 87.3% originated from the working classes, with only 12.7% from the middle class.[8] Yet, significantly, absent from all of these studies mentioned is a clear classification system of the categories used to define the working, middle and upper classes. This lack of definitional clarity has proved a common problem in both British and American studies and is addressed here.

In addition to Taylor and Thorp, several smaller, more localised studies also exist, thus Ronald L. Bartholomew has published articles on Mormons in Buckinghamshire and

---

[3] Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 149.

[4] Unfortunately no tables or source material are available or published with this study, thus any later assessment of where Taylor drew his conclusions from is limited.

[5] William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: the Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

[6] Douglas J. Davies, 'The Mormons at Merthyr Tydfil', (Unpublished B. Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1972), pp. 102–106.

[7] James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 15 (Summer 1975), pp. 499–526.

[8] Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Social and Religious Origins of Early English Mormons', in *World Conference on Records: Preserving Our Heritage*, vol. 6 (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1980), pp. 1–14; See also Thorp, 'Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts', pp. 51–66; Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social and Economic Conditions', in *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 199–217.

Bedfordshire, again demonstrating a primarily labouring–class composition.[9] A number of unpublished postgraduate theses have also undertaken local studies, all confirming the predominance of working–class nature of Mormon membership. These include Susan L. Fales' study of Leeds, Paul Smart's research on the high proportion of weavers and other artisans amongst the Preston Mormons while, closer to Staffordshire, Jan Harris's work on Manchester once again supports the thesis of a mainly working–class congregation.[10] A similar study of Staffordshire Mormonism remains absent, something which, again, this thesis will redress.

One underlying feature of virtually all of these studies, in addition to the absence of a clear classificatory framework, is the lack of consideration of the impact of Mormonism amongst the higher echelons of Victorian society. Arguments concerning the working–class composition of Mormon converts are certainly borne out by contemporary sources, as the quote at the beginning of this chapter by George A. Smith, a Mormon visitor and missionary working in Staffordshire indicates. In 1941, however, Kate Carter, President of the Daughters of Utah, an organisation established for the descendants of Utah pioneers, sought to provide a very different perspective when she argued that 'there was no response to the message of the Mormon missionaries from the slums of the larger cities' and that instead 'the converts came from the great middle–classes, farmers and skilled tradesmen'.[11]

Such contrasting readings raise important questions over the nature of available empirical evidence. Carter's sources included journals, diaries, and family memorabilia although it is often not made clear from which source–type she has drawn her conclusions. In her romanticised description of the British Mormon emigrant, Carter continued that they held 'good positions, happy homes, and were in love with their country and their Queen'.[12] Carter was not alone in her general hypothesis; Rebecca Bartholomew's 1995 study of 100 British Mormon women, hoping to prove Carter substantially correct, also argued for a

---

[9] Ronald E. Bartholomew, 'The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire England', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 99–136; Ronald E. Bartholomew, '19th Century Missiology of the LDS Bedfordshire Conference and it's Interrelationship with Other Christian Denominations', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 2 (2009), pp. 108–127.

[10] Bartholomew, 'Patterns of Missionary Work'; Fales, 'Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era', Smart, 'History of the Early Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Preston'; Jan Harris, 'Mormons in Victorian England' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987).

[11] Carter, 'Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company', *Heart Throbs of the West*, 3:11.

[12] Ibid.

middle–class membership. Yet Bartholomew recognises that Carter had been attempting to 'repair the image of the British Mormon' at a time when the Latter–day Saints were more 'conciliatory toward secular society'. 'Earlier Mormons than Carter' comments Bartholomew, 'were unashamed of poverty and unhesitant to blame it on godless and inhumane government–the society of David Copperfield and Oliver Twist'.[13] One further difficulty with Carter's findings was that she failed to cite or produce any UK statistics and also to separate the manually and non–manually skilled labourers.

More recently (2008), Stephen L. Fleming has conceded that although the data on British Mormons demonstrates they were principally of working–class origin this is no more numerically significant than the wider distribution of the working classes in British society at the time.[14] In this Fleming differed from Alan D. Gilbert's earlier study on Nonconformist adherence which found that 59.4% of adult members of dissenting congregations were artisans or manually skilled, whereas in the general population of England only 23.5% of workers were in this category.[15] This chapter supports Gilbert's broader analysis of a disproportionate representation of skilled artisans in dissenting religion and thus argues against Fleming's wider assertion by showing that although 52% of Staffordshire's overall working population were skilled artisans, amongst the Staffordshire Mormons this rose to more than 70% with a further 27% located in the semi–skilled and unskilled categories.

STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON DATASET – METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The major source base for this chapter is drawn from the database of Staffordshire Mormons, previously described in Chapter Two. In order for the data to be more manageable, a smaller dataset was created through the use of statistical software (SPSS 17) and supported by the use of a custom filter for use of 'extended dating functions' in Microsoft Excel 2007, that enabled dates prior to 1900 to be analysed.[16] This form of

---

[13] Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, p. 25.

[14] Stephen L. Fleming, 'The Religious Heritage of the British Northwest and the Rise of Mormonism', *Church History*, vol. 77, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 73–104.

[15] Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740–1914* (London: Longman, 1976), p. 67. This percentage is further increased if the poorer labouring classes are added, which represent 17.4%, thus the total would be 76.4% of working class.

[16] International Business Machines (IBM), *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)*, Version 17.00; J. Walk Associates, *Extended Date Functions Add–In for Microsoft Excel 97*.

computational technology has meant that queries and case studies could be analysed almost instantaneously, thus enabling faster comparative evaluations with studies of comparative religious groups such as Primitive Methodism which arguably most resembled Mormonism in terms of its socio–cultural composition.[17]

The final dataset used for this chapter therefore, was a collection of 285 records drawn from the original database of nearly 1,900 records. Figure 3–1 below demonstrates how the dataset was constructed and how each record holds the details of a single Staffordshire Mormon convert:
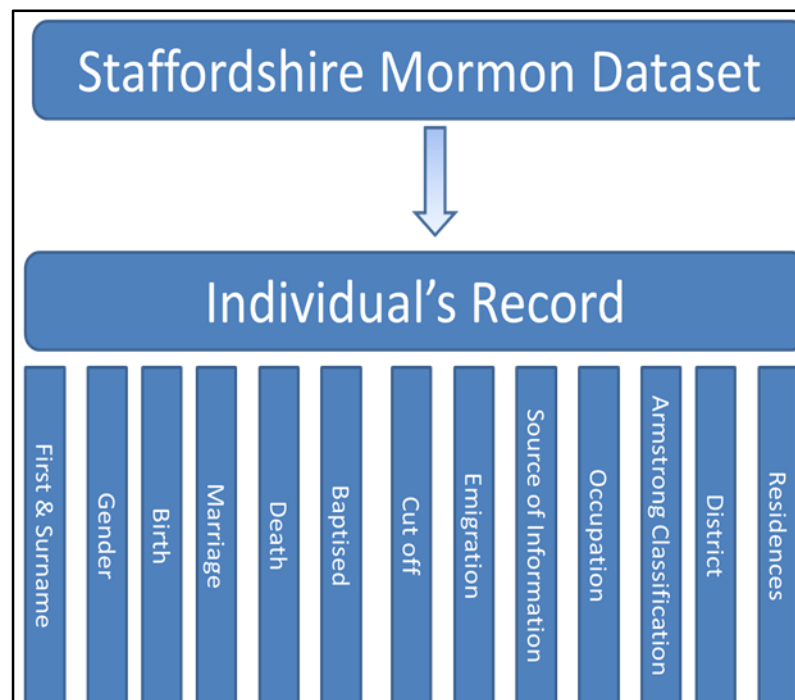
Figure 3–1 Hierarchical Structure of Dataset

Individual records were often incomplete, including baptismal information but no birth date, for example, or occupation but no death details. Such omissions in the sources highlighted the difficulties of establishing a reliable and comprehensive dataset and the need for a smaller sample size (n=285). In creating the dataset for this chapter, the qualifying criterion used was that of a 75% minimum completion rate of all the above fields. There is an extensive literature supporting the use of quantitative techniques and

---

[17] Clive D. Field, 'The Social Structure of English Methodism: Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 28 (1977), pp. 199–225.

their use in analysing the complex nature of historical social structures.[18] This study draws upon the insights of this scholarship in its innovative use of the Armstrong classification system. This system is generally regarded as essential for quantitative occupational and class analysis by social and economic historians but, to date has never been used in studies of British Mormonism.[19] Indeed, the concept of 'class' has operated in most analyses of Mormonism without either a firm theoretical *or* empirical foundation. My use of this particular classification, however, not only provides this thesis with greater academic robustness but also facilitates further comparative, cross–disciplinary, cross–denominational analyses of class status.

One of the strengths of the Armstrong classification is that it was designed specifically to be used with nineteenth–century data.[20] According to Armstrong, occupation is 'our best guide to social classes and remains more indicative than factors such as education, income or culture.[21] The statistical analysis in this chapter draws heavily upon correlated occupational data from the 1851 and 1861 censuses of England and Wales for all those identified as a Mormon convert.

---

[18] J. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2003). The beginning of the modern debate of utilising of quantification by historians might be found in the 1969 observations of Jacob M. Price who described 'quantitative historical studies are still in the stage of 'discovery and exploration'. Jacob M. Price, 'Recent Quantitative Work in History: A Survey of the Main Trends', *History and Theory: Studies in Quantitative History and the Logic of the Social Sciences*, vol. 9 (1969), pp. 1–13. See also Robert Darcy and Richard C. Rohrs, *A Guide to Quantitative History* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995); Loren Haskins and Jeffrey Kirk, *Understanding Quantitative History* (M.I.T. Press, 1990); William Aydelotte, Allan G. Bogue and Robert William Fogel, eds., *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); Konrad H. Jarausch and Kenneth A. Hardy, *Quantitative Methods for Historians: A Guide to Research, Data, and Statistics* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000).

[19] Numerous studies have used the classification, for example, Stephen Nicholas, *The Convict Workers* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); David Michael Palliser, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Stephen A. Royle, 'Aspects of Nineteenth–Century Small Town Society: A Comparative Study from Leicestershire', *Midland History*, vol. 5 (1979), pp. 50–62; Jason Long, 'Social Mobility within and across Generations in Britain Since 1851', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 68 (2008), pp. 603–617.

[20] W. A. Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation', in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 191–310. Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London 1892–1897*. Electronic book archive obtained from (http://booth.lse.ac.uk), Charles Booth Online Archive.

[21] Armstrong, 'Use of Information about Occupation', p. 202; See also Stephan A. Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress; Social Mobility in a Nineteenth–Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 84. Armstrong compiled and processed each occupation which had been previously assigned a three digit code (by census and government enumerators), following which he then assigned each to one of five classes forming the basis of the Armstrong Classification, 'Occupation may be only one variable in a comprehensive theory of class, but it is the variable which includes more, which sets more limits on the other variables, than any other criterion of status'.

Table 3–1 below shows examples from the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset* and illustrates the classification of sample occupations used in this chapter, following the Armstrong class grouping:

Class Grouping	Sample Occupations
I – Professional	Excise Officers, Government Officials, Ministers
II– Intermediate	Farmers, Factory Managers
III – Skilled	Potters, Locksmiths, Miners, Machinists, Silk Spinners, Butchers, Weavers, Boatmen, Stonecutter, Toolmakers
IV – Semiskilled	Nailers, Ropemakers, Agricultural Labourers, Silk Throwers, Railway Workers, Laundress, Housekeepers
V – Unskilled	All Labourers except Agricultural, Servants, Homeworkers, Stokers, Factory Workers

Table 3–1 Examples of Class Grouping Occupations for Staffordshire Mormon Converts

It is worth noting that Jason Long, a proponent of this classification method, has identified a significant further modification, i.e., that regardless of job title, all persons who employed 25 or more individuals were automatically included in Professional Class I, and that all individuals within Skilled Class III or Semiskilled Class IV occupations employing at least one person other than a family member are included in Intermediate Class II.[22] There is a general agreement by scholars therefore that Classes III, IV and V represent the working and labouring classes, while Class II is associated with the traditional, non–manual labouring middle class and Class I represents the Professional, or the upper middle classes. The upper classes are generally omitted from this classification as they invariably derived their private income from sources other than employment. While this classification method works well for men, the ability to analyse female occupations is less effective. However, this is more a deficiency of corresponding census data rather than the classification index itself. While collecting household data, for example, census enumerators frequently recorded the wife as 'wife of <husband's or father's trade>' or 'housewife', and only rarely recorded a woman's occupation. In many homes, the wife or older daughter would have adopted the class of the household head which, in most cases, was the husband. Where individual women *were* identified as having an occupation, this

---

[22] Appreciation is extended to Jason Long, Associate Professor of Economics at Colby College, Maine, for his assistance and explanation of the Armstrong Classification and further providing a software macro to assist in automation of coding.

information was used within the dataset so as to gain the most accurate understanding of class composition of all Staffordshire Mormons, regardless of gender. One of the major flaws therefore of the census is the non–categorisation of women, who often did not work outside of the home and, even they did, were invariably subsumed under the occupational status of the male head of household by the enumerators.

In his celebrated definition of class, the social historian E. P. Thompson famously described it as a powerful experiential category of commonly shared interests and outlook:

> Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.[23]

By undertaking a quantitative rather than qualitative study of class therefore, I depart from Thompson's view somewhat in seeking to analyse precisely the statistical differences in occupation or wages that discrete social groups experienced.[24] By asserting 'occupation' as a primary indicator of class and using Church membership records it becomes possible to categorise Mormon converts into discrete class groupings. The absence of Mormon activism in the middle and higher classes of society, and the Church's lack of success in these strata was a theme common to all British Mormon missions. Before moving on to a discussion of the predominance of working–class Mormon membership in Staffordshire, however, I first provide some context by analysing the wider social and industrial landscape of the region.

---

[23] Thompson, Preface, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

[24] There is a voluminous amount of literature regarding class, class consciousness, and formation. An excellent article reassessing such is Margaret R. Somers, 'Narrativity, Narrative Identity, and Social Action: Rethinking English Working–Class Formation', *Social Science History*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 591–630.
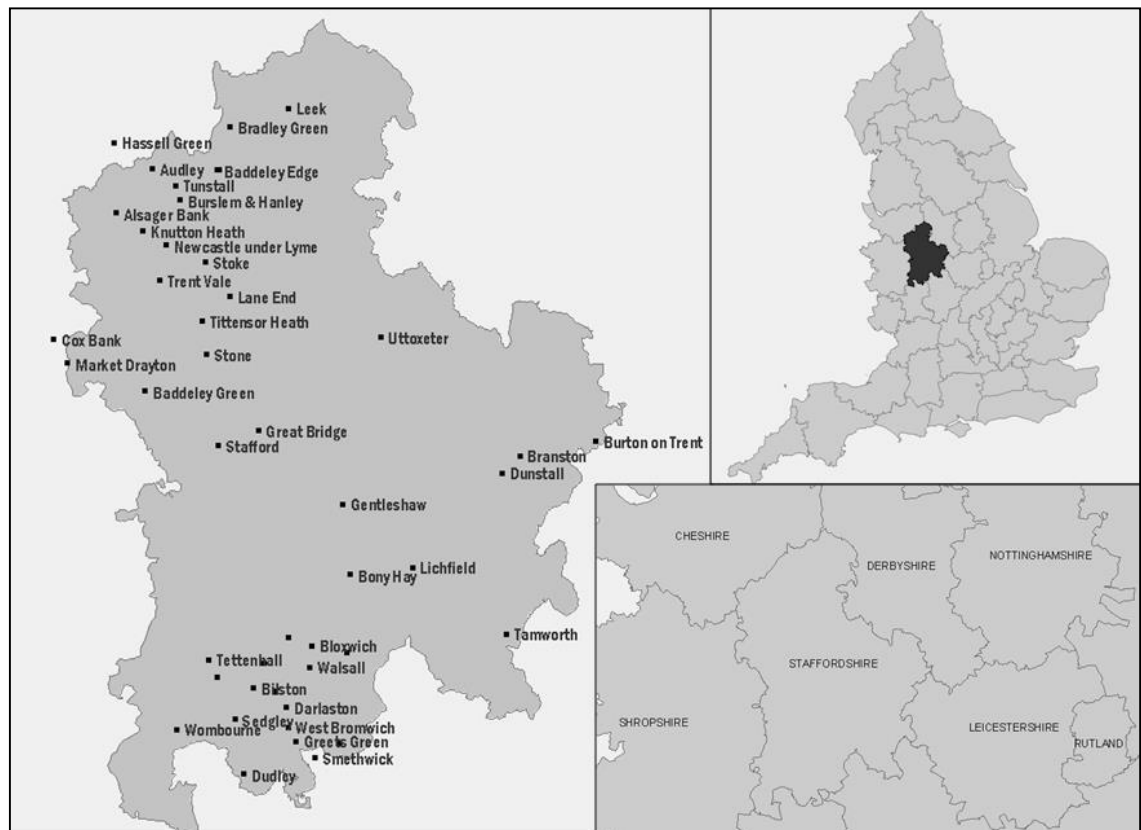
Figure 3-2 Staffordshire Incorporating Mormon Branches

Figure 3-2 above shows the geographic location of Staffordshire within England and, more importantly, the distinct areas of population, industry and Mormon penetration. Staffordshire experienced the full social and industrial turmoil of nineteenth–century Britain with particular intensity in the north and south of the county. These areas operated fairly distinct industries from each other, ranging from agriculture, brewing, earthenware and ceramics to metallurgy, shoe making and mining.[25] Common to both the north and south, however, was a rapidly burgeoning population of manually–skilled artisans and semi–skilled and unskilled workers. The population of Staffordshire in 1801 was 239,153, for example, increasing to 510,504 by 1841, an average population increase of 52,000 per decade.[26] As Figure 3–3 and Table 3–2 below indicate, between 1840 and 1870 an even

---

[25] *The Victoria History of the County of Staffordshire*, edited by J. G. Jenkins, M. W. Greenslade, et al., University of London, Institute of Historical Research, reprinted by Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1956–1996, 17 vols. Published online, http://www.british–history.ac.uk. (Last accessed 15 January 2010).

[26] *England & Wales Decennial Census Reports* 1801–1871, with assistance from the staff of Office for National Statistics, British Library.

more dramatic growth was witnessed, increasing by nearly 100,000 per decade to 858,326 in 1871.[27] It is interesting to note that the growth of men and women remains in steady proportion to each other throughout.
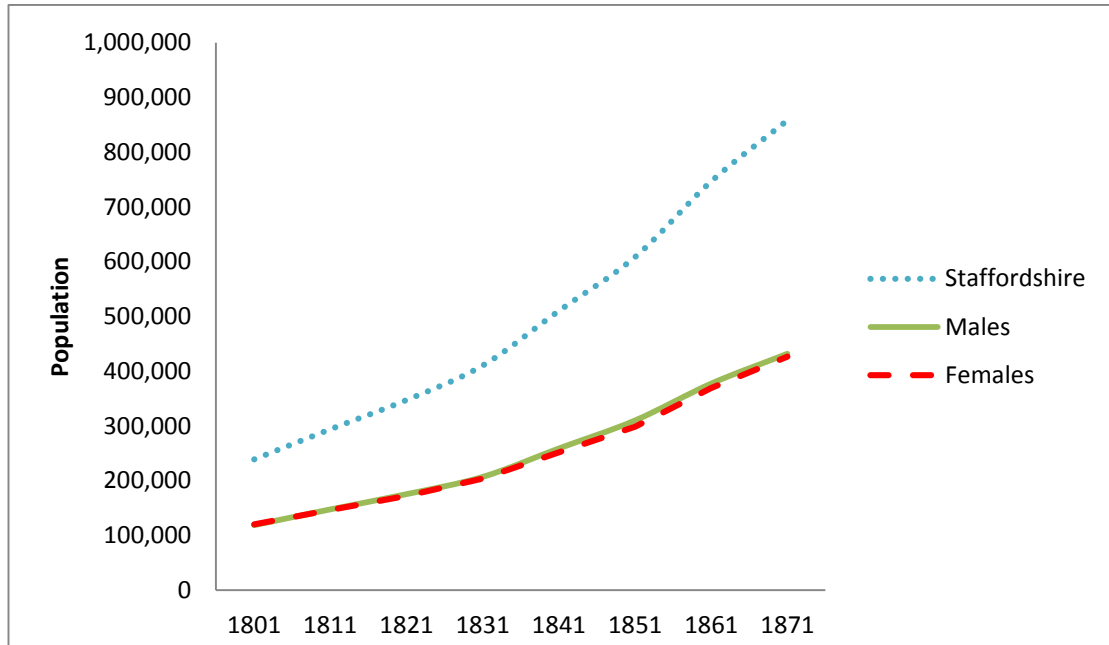
Figure 3–3 Staffordshire Population Growth, 1801–1871

Year	Staffordshire	Males	Females	Male %	Female %
1801	239,153	118,698	120,455	49.63	50.37
1811	294,196	147,581	146,615	50.16	49.84
1821	347,577	175,400	172,177	50.46	49.54
1831	410,512	206,921	203,591	50.41	49.59
1841	510,504	258,864	251,640	50.71	49.29
1851	608,716	310,032	298,684	50.93	49.07
1861	746,943	377,363	369,580	50.52	49.48
1871	858,326	431,814	426,512	50.31	49.69

Table 3–2 Staffordshire Population Growth, 1801–1871

Due to its dominant trade in earthenware, North Staffordshire became known simply as the 'The Potteries'. The manufacturing of pottery, ceramics and other earthenware became a major industrial centre not only for local consumption but as part of

---

[27] Ibid.

a successful national and international trade. With its increased output and rich resources of clay, coal and ore, the region provided a powerful magnet for the migration of miners, potters, and labourers throughout the country. The Potteries were an amalgamation of six sprawling industrial urban towns – Tunstall, Longton (Lane End), Hanley, Stoke, Fenton, and Burslem – which formed a district of intense industrial activity. Immediately adjoining the Potteries were Newcastle–under–Lyme, Leek, Kidsgrove and other smaller villages that were engaged in silk and lace manufacture. The resulting population growth in the Potteries was dramatic, rising from nearly 24,000 in 1801 to 68,000 in 1841 and following a similar pattern for several decades after.[28]

South Staffordshire, or the 'the Black Country' as it was known, resembled the north of the county in terms of population growth and industrial activity between the 1830s and 1850s. By 1840 it had gained a reputation of being one of the largest heavy industrial centres in Europe, dealing with steel and ore refining. The accompanying pollution and poor living conditions of such regions was famously characterised by Charles Dickens in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, when he wrote of chimneys that 'poured out their plague of smoke, obscured the light, and made foul the melancholy air'.[29] The Mormon missionary Wilford Woodruff recorded a similar observation while proselytising in the Black Country in 1840:

> It would be a difficult task to give a description of the country from Birmingham to Wolverhampton. I never saw anything that comes so near the description of the Lake of fire & Brimstone Spoken of by the Revelator John as several miles of that country for it is one universal mass of coal pits & Iron mines & while thousands of human beings are under ground at work in the midst of fire, Brimston, sulpher, Gas & cole &c. the whole face of the earth & heavens air & horizon, men, women, & houses, are filled & Coverd with the composition of fire, cinders, Gas, sut, & smooke of their miserry & labours that assended up out of their piles, firnesses, & pitts from day to day & from year to year.[30]

As with other industrial areas, the middle–classes quickly abandoned the town centres and moved out to the 'suburbs', while the working classes filled the urban void. Like the Potteries, the Black Country was a mass of sprawling towns including Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Tipton, Dudley and Stourbridge, each stimulating high levels of

---

[28] Ernest J. D. Warrillow, *A Sociological History of the City of Stoke on Trent* (Stoke on Trent: Etruscan Publications, 1960), p. 235.

[29] Charles Dickens, *The Curiosity Shop* (London: Macmillan, 1892), p. 73.

[30] *Wilford Woodruff Journal*, 22 January and 26 June 1840. Please note use of original spelling throughout.

migration.[31] Clearly the north and south of the county were predominantly industrial areas and, as might be expected, attracted a greater proportion of working and labouring classes. In the following discussion I address the class comparisons between Staffordshire as a county and the composition of its Mormon congregations drawing upon the Staffordshire Mormon Dataset constructed for these purposes.

COMPARATIVE CLASS ANALYSIS OF STAFFORDSHIRE AND ITS MORMON POPULATION

Having provided a brief overview of the intensely industrialised landscape of The Potteries and The Black Country, I now address the region's class dimensions using the Armstrong Classification. I have drawn and compiled the following county results from the 1861 census and accompanying reports as these provide the most detailed accounts of occupational status for men and women throughout England and Wales.[32] Given the intense industrialisation of Staffordshire, it is hardly surprising that 51.9% (137,042) of the population was Skilled Class III. This included, amongst others, manually skilled trades such as miners, bricklayers, wheelwrights, stonemasons and boatmen. As noted above, this occupational composition pertained mainly to the north and south of the county; the mid and east regions were comprised more heavily of shoemakers and brewers although still represented by Skilled Class III.

Figure 3–4 and Table 3–3 below indicate that the next largest section of the working population was that of the Semi–skilled Class IV, with 22.7% (59,932). These were the chimney sweeps, nailers, agricultural labourers and other manual labour trades. Class V at 13.1% (34,497) represented the unskilled or general labourers, factory workers, servants and errand boys. Intermediate, middle–class occupations accounted for just 11.2% (29,695) in Staffordshire, most of which were shopkeepers or skilled (non–manual)

---

[31] The Black Country commences at Wolverhampton, extends eastward a distance of sixteen miles to Stourbridge, eight miles to West Bromwich, penetrating the northern district through Willenhall to Bentley, Walsall, Birchills, and Warley; the townships of Wolverhampton and Willenhall, Walsall and Darlaston, Wednesbury, Smethwick and Dudley Port, Oldbury, Sedgley, Gornall, and Brierley Hill.

[32] A major shortcoming of the census was its lack of focus on the occupations of women; many worked part–time or had multiple employments, or used the home as the place of work, yet many appeared only as a member of a household disregarding their occupational status. For a full discussion see: Edward Higgs, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1987), pp. 59–80. Elizabeth Roberts explores the commonly accepted ideology of limited work, thus having women appear might also be taking away from another man's employment, see Elizabeth Roberts, *Women's Work, 1840–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 6.

workers, farmers and manufacturers. Finally, those classified as Class I, at just 1.1% (3,011) were ministers, magistrates and doctors.
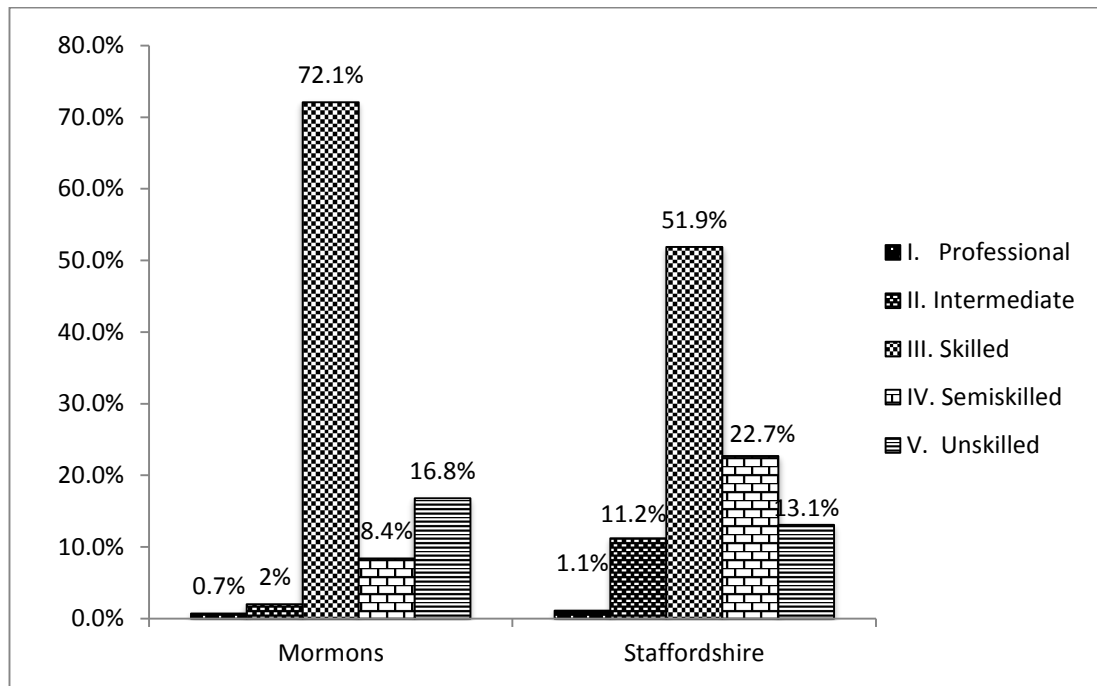
Figure 3–4 Comparison or Mormon Class versus the County of Staffordshire

	I. Professional	II. Intermediate	III. Skilled	IV. Semiskilled	V. Unskilled
Mormons	0.7%	2%	72.1%	8.4%	16.8%
Staffordshire	1.1%	11.2%	51.9%	22.7%	13.1%

Table 3–3 Comparison of Mormon class versus the County of Staffordshire

Figure 3–4 and Table 3–3 also demonstrate the social composition of the Mormon sample between 1839 and 1870, drawn from the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset*. This shows that 72.1% (181) of the Mormon membership belonged to Class III manually skilled artisans. In descending order, Class V, the unskilled, labourer and servants follows at 16.8% (42) which is, once again, a higher percentage than that of the overall Staffordshire region. Next, in terms of representation, Class IV, the semi–skilled agricultural labourer, laundress, chimney sweep, wool comber or Waggoner were recorded as 8.4% (21). These three classes constituted the labouring and working classes, a combined total of 97.3% of the Mormon population. Only 2% (5) of Mormons came from Intermediate Class II, the middle classes. The smallest group represented, Professional Class I, shows just 0.7% (2) although even this figure is misleading. Cliff Edward, was indeed listed as an LDS Minister on the 1861 census and, as a result of the inherent, class–based (and Anglican) assumptions that beset census data, was assumed as an educated, trained professional. Yet

LDS ministers, as with many dissenting religious groups, were frequently uneducated and unpaid. The other individual cited in this occupational category, Thomas Bullock, was employed as a customs excise officer and is correctly placed, while his family and in–laws were considered as those of Intermediate Class II workers as factory owners and skilled non–manual workers.

Figure 3–4 and Table 3–3 further illustrate a greater concentration of unskilled workers (16.8%) among the Mormons, which was 3.7% higher than Staffordshire as a whole. Also of interest is that there was a significantly lower percentage of Classes I and II in Mormon congregations (2.7%) than the county average (12.3%). Of most statistical significance for this thesis, however, is the much higher representation of Mormon Skilled Class III workers at 72.1% compared with the county's overall average of 51.9%, a remarkable increase of 20.2% which supports my hypothesis of the predominantly skilled artisanal composition of the Staffordshire Mormons.

A regionalised study of the above sample identifies two significant areas in Staffordshire that experienced Mormon activity. As has been previously stated, the strongest base of Mormon proselytising was amongst the working and labouring classes, witnessed by its success in the industrialised areas of the north and south of the county as shown below in Figure 3–5 and Table 3–4. Thus the Potteries in the north represented 57.2% of the overall Staffordshire Mormon membership and the south 'Black Country' represented 42.8%.
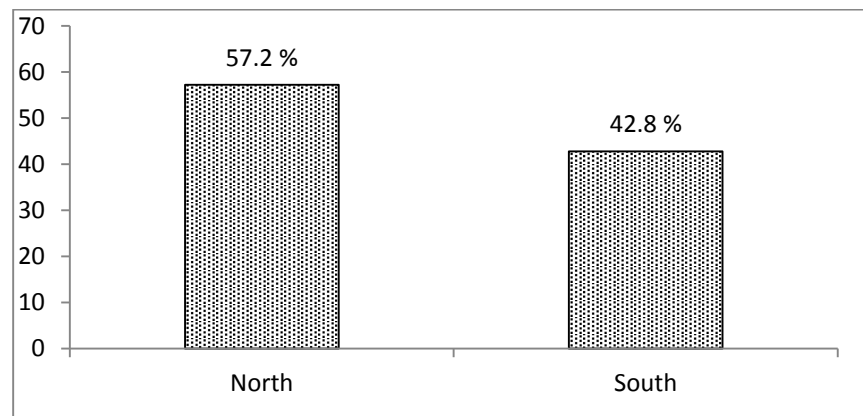
Figure 3–5 Mormon Membership by Regional Breakdown by per cent.

n=285	%	Membership
North	57.2	163
South	42.8	122

Table 3–4 Mormon Membership by Regional Breakdown by per cent.

Figure 3–6 and Table 3–5 below show that in the north 74% of Mormons derived from Skilled Class III occupations, just 7.6% from Semiskilled Class IV and 17% from the Unskilled Class V forms of labour. An insignificant 1.4% of the membership was from the middle–class Professional Class I and Intermediate Class II. In the Black Country in the south, heavy mining, nail–making and steel work dominated with just 39% of Staffordshire Mormons represented here but, once again, this group was dominated by Skilled Class III occupations at 76%, Semiskilled Class IV labourers comprised 8.8% and only 12% were Unskilled Class V workers. In South Staffordshire just over 3% originated from middle classes (Classes I and II).
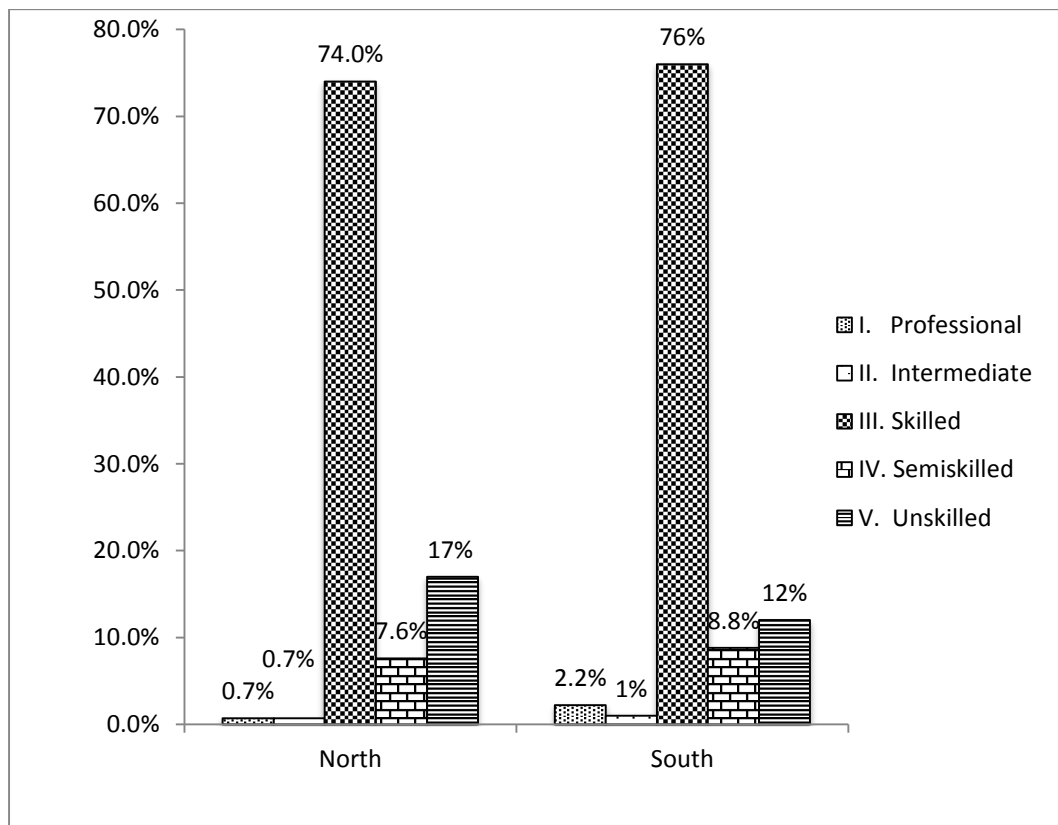
Figure 3–6 Regional Distribution of Staffordshire Mormons 1839–1870 as percentage

	I. Professional	II. Intermediate	III. Skilled	IV. Semiskilled	V. Unskilled	Totals
North	0.7%	0.7%	74%	7.6%	17%	100%
South	2.2%	1%	76%	8.8%	12%	100%

Table 3–5 Regional distributions of Staffordshire Mormons as percentage

Having contextualised Mormon class composition with Staffordshire as a whole, I now provide a comparative analysis of three Mormon class samples throughout the UK so as to illustrate both the commonalities and inconsistencies at the national level.

COMPARATIVE CLASS ANALYSIS OF THREE UK MORMON SAMPLES

Although Mormon membership invariably reflected the class and occupational status of the indigenous industries in any given region, the overwhelmingly working–class composition of the Church remained a common and dominant feature. This can be demonstrated by a brief comparison of Mormon class composition between Staffordshire and two other discrete geographical areas, Preston and Buckinghamshire. These regions represent contrasting urban and rural, industrial and agricultural features as well as being geographically located in the North, the Midlands and the South of England. A summary of each class composition can be found below in Table 3–6 and Figure 3–7. As Michael Reed has noted, due to an absence of natural resources such as iron or coal, Buckinghamshire did not experience the rapid industrialisation and urban growth that both Preston and Staffordshire witnessed and remained a largely rural region, thus a higher percentage of agricultural labourers would be expected.[33]

Area	Sample Size n=	I. Professional	II. Intermediate	III. Skilled	IV. Semiskilled	V. Unskilled
Staffordshire	285	0.7%	2%	72.1%	8.4%	16.8%
Preston	128	3.1%	1.6%	82.8%	11.7%	0.8%
Buckinghamshire	63	1.6%	8.1%	41.9%	11.3%	37.1%

Table 3–6 Three Mormon Class Samples 1839–1870 as percentages

---

[33] Michael Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire* (Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1993), p. 114.
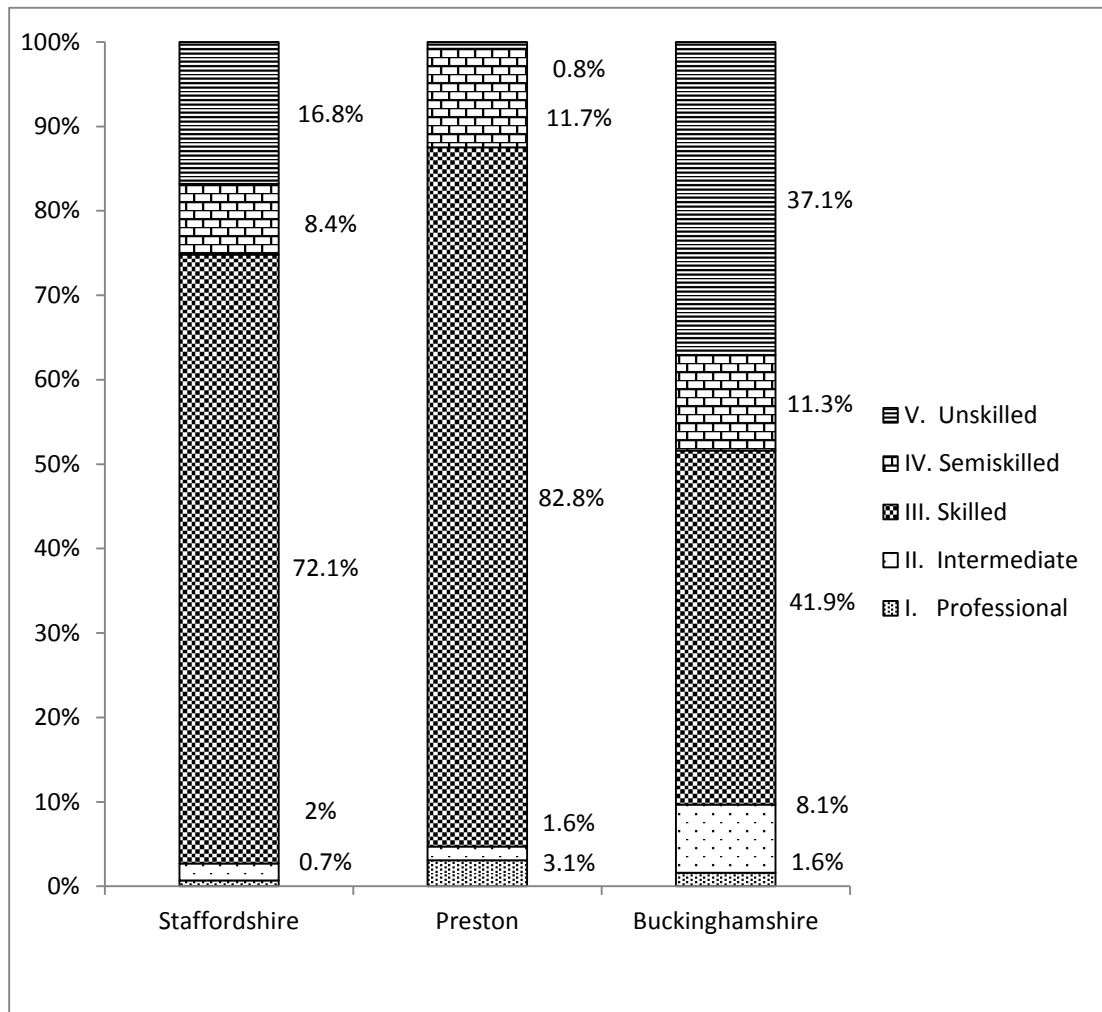
Figure 3–7 Three Mormon Class Samples 1839–1870 as percentages

As a result, the occupational status of the membership of the Church in this county had a higher than usual unskilled Mormon population (37.1% as compared to 0.8% in Preston and 16.3% in Staffordshire). Alan D. Gilbert has observed that those who were least attracted by the message of Evangelical Nonconformity were often rural and agrarian, however, he does acknowledge an exception to this in certain locations such as Buckinghamshire.[34]

---

[34] Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 67. Interestingly John Q. Smith also uses the same argument to support his findings in establishing occupational groups among the Methodists in Keighley. See John Q. Smith, 'Occupational Groups among the Early Methodists of the Keighley Circuit', *Church History*, vol. 57, no. 2 (June 1988), pp. 187–196.

As Figure 3–7 and Table 3–6 shows, not unsurprisingly for a more rural area, that a higher percentage of Intermediate Class II occupations, i.e. farming, are represented in the Mormon sample (8.1% in Buckinghamshire as opposed to 1.6% Class II in Preston and 2% Class II occupations in Staffordshire). In Bartholomew's study of Buckinghamshire Mormons he found that most converts originated from Skilled Class III occupations including shoemakers (11% of the local LDS population) and miners (6.4% of members).[35] My research and breakdown of Bartholomew's figures into occupations confirm that, at 41.9%, the majority of Mormons were drawn from Skilled Class III. Overwhelmingly the membership of the LDS Church in these three regions belonged to Classes III, IV and V, skilled, semi–skilled and unskilled workers. In the case of Staffordshire it was 97.3%, Preston 95.3% and Buckinghamshire 90.3%.

Preston resembled Staffordshire far more than Buckinghamshire in terms of its industrialised economy, although the focus was on textiles and cotton rather than heavy mining and metallurgy. Such industries attracted workers who were predominantly semi–skilled or unskilled. As demonstrated in Figure 3–7 and Table 3–6, it is clear that in all three areas Mormonism barely impacted upon those of Professional Class I or Intermediate Class II occupational status; although Buckinghamshire's rural farming and agrarian population had four times as many of the latter group. In both Staffordshire and Preston the highest portion of Mormon membership was drawn from the Skilled Class III group. By comparison, Buckinghamshire's skilled workers constituted only half the percentage of the other two regions.

Overwhelmingly then, this shows the demographic location of Mormon converts throughout these three regions as being of working class and below according to the breakdowns of the Armstrong Classification system. I now turn to comparing and contrasting Staffordshire Mormons to their nearest Nonconformist group in terms of composition, namely, Staffordshire Primitive Methodism.

COMPARATIVE CLASS ANALYSIS BETWEEN STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONISM AND PRIMITIVE METHODISM

Having compared three distinct regional Mormon groups, a further comparison between Mormonism and Primitive Methodism in Staffordshire provides us with some

---

[35] Ronald E. Bartholomew, 'The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire England', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 99–136.

fascinating insights into the wider Nonconformist culture of the Staffordshire region as well as the relationship between Mormons and other religious denominations. I have chosen to sample Primitive Methodism as it was arguably the closest group in terms of composition, social structure and religious praxis.

Using a Primitive Methodist comparison also aids our understanding of the high proportion of converts into Mormonism from this branch of Methodism. As will be seen further in Chapter Four, Mormon converts stemmed mainly from what Owen Chadwick has described as 'splinter–Methodist' and 'splinter–Baptist' groups.[36] In Thorp's analysis of 298 Mormon converts between 1837 and 1852, he likewise found that a disproportionately high number of Mormon converts originated from Primitive Methodism.[37] This feature is all the more significant considering that there were four times as many Anglicans as Methodists during this period.[38] Later studies by James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, David J. Whitaker and Grant Underwood also support the findings of Chadwick and Thorp.[39] It is not surprising therefore, that similarities between Staffordshire Mormons and Primitive Methodists' class and occupational status would follow. In his work *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750–1850,* for example, David Hempton observed that nineteenth–century Primitive Methodists were 'more likely to be semi–skilled and unskilled [and that] with the leadership and the rank–and–file Primitive Methodism was on average from a lower social constituency than their equivalents in the parent connection'.[40]

To establish commonalities and contrasts between Staffordshire Mormonism and Staffordshire Primitive Methodism, (arguably the most similar in composition to Staffordshire Mormons) the three following studies are summarised in Figure 3–8. The first is drawn from the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset* that has been used throughout this chapter focusing on the period between 1839 and 1870; Second, Clive Field's study of

---

[36] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, 1:436.

[37] Thorp, 'Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts', pp. 51–65.

[38] Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 129; Underwood cites this 1 to 4 ratio from Currie et al., *Church and Churchgoers.*

[39] James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whitaker, *Men With a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837–1841* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992), pp. 326–329; Underwood, *World of Early Mormonism*, pp. 129–131. See also Grant Underwood, 'Millenarianism and Popular Methodism in Early Nineteenth Century England and Canada', *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol. 29 (Spring/Fall 1994), pp. 81–91.

[40] David Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750–1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 14.

Black Country Primitive Methodism between 1833 and 1847, and third R. Leese's wider study of Staffordshire Primitive Methodism between 1840 and 1860.[41] Each of these studies will be dealt with in more detail below.
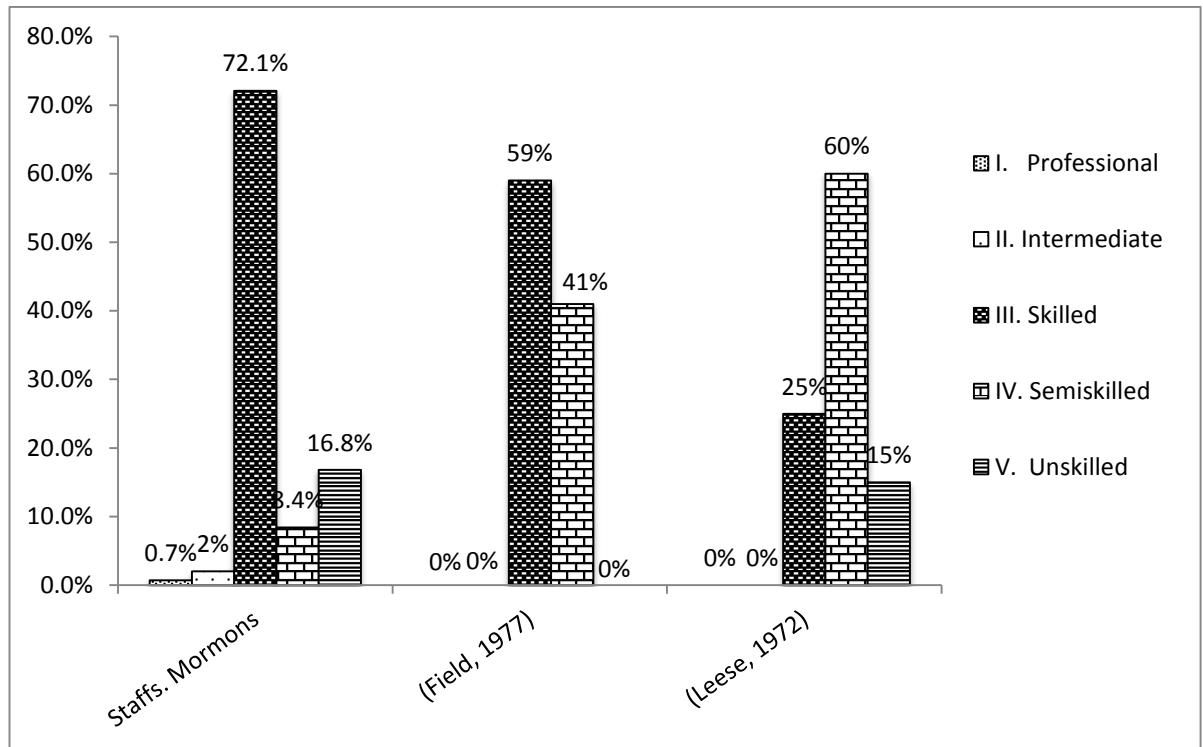
Figure 3–8 Mormon comparison with two Primitive Methodist samples in Staffordshire

In Clive Field's study of Primitive Methodism (which consisted of 63 males from Darlaston in the Black Country between 1833 and 1847) he showed a high proportion of miners, nailers, metal workers and labourers and, as with my own Mormon sample (except two), none was present from the Professional Class I and Intermediate Class II occupations. Once again the largest group consisted of Skilled Class III workers, with 59% of Primitive Methodists in Field's dataset compared to 72.1% of Mormons. Semi–skilled Class IV workers in Primitive Methodism, however, demonstrated an almost five–fold increase – 41% compared with 8.4% of Mormons. Interestingly, no unskilled workers appear in Field's study compared with 16.8% of Mormons in this category. Preliminary conclusions to be drawn, therefore, are that both groups share largely the same

---

[41] Clive D. Field, 'The Social Structure of English Methodism: Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 28, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 199–225; R. Leese, 'The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1743–1860' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1972), p. 103.

occupational statuses, although Mormons appear to have had a greater concentration of Skilled Class III and Unskilled Class V groups.

The second study of Black Country Primitive Methodists between 1840 and 1860 by R. Leese is the larger of the two studies with 529 congregants.[42] Unlike Field's study, the proportion of Semi–skilled Class IV Primitive Methodists increased from 41% to 60%, well over seven times that of the Mormon sample at 8.4%. In terms of those within the Skilled Class III group, Reese shows a decline of 25%, yet the 15% of Unskilled Class V compares well with Mormonism's 16.8% in this category. As with Staffordshire Mormonism, few Professional Class I and Intermediate Class II classes were found in Primitive Methodist congregations in the county. From this assessment, three main conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, Skilled Class III workers were most heavily represented in Mormonism, constituting 72.1% of members, while in the two Primitive Methodist studies this group formed only 25% (Leese's study) and 59% (Fields' study) of their congregations. Further study would need to be undertaken as to why there was such a decline of Class III in Leese's research but that is beyond the remit of this thesis. Secondly, far fewer Semi–skilled Class IV workers were found in Staffordshire Mormonism (8.4%) compared with 61% of Primitive Methodists in Leese's study and 41% in Field's study. Finally, whilst the majority of both Mormon and Primitive Methodist communities derived from the working and lower classes, only Mormonism had begun to marginally influence the middle classes or Skilled Class II (2%) and the upper middle class (0.7% in Class I). Having examined the class–based composition of Staffordshire Mormons, I now turn to an analysis of their age and gender.

AN AGE AND GENDER ANALYSIS OF STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONS[43]

Having established the social and occupational landscape of Staffordshire Mormons, this section examines the variables of age and gender at the point of baptism which marked the official commencement of a convert's association with Mormonism. For the purposes of this chapter the terms 'baptism' and 'conversion' both refer to the formal admission process into the Church through the ritual ordinance of immersion into water. A member's baptism date provides a fixed administrative point through which to anchor this

---

[42] Leese, 'Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1743–1860', p. 103.

[43] For the purposes of this chapter the term gender refers to male/female numerical difference only.

analysis and provide the most reliable assessment of the membership records. This is particularly pertinent in light of the fluid and dynamic nature of Mormon branches with their constantly fluctuating membership both regionally and nationally and which, for many thousands, resulted in eventual emigration to the United States – as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

There are certain limitations to branch membership records as an investigative source. When a convert migrated to a new area and was added to the records of the associated new branch as 'received', occasionally a diligent clerk of the prior branch might also insert into the records explanations such as 'removed', 'cut–off', 'died' or 'emigrated', in order to avoid issues of membership duplication. This was not fool–proof, however, and duplications of numbers often took place (although these have been carefully excised from the dataset sample used in this thesis). A further limitation of the records is the Church's policy of not including children to the membership records. Officially this continued until 1910 although it was often ignored by British clerks who added children's names following baptism. Despite these limitations, membership records provide the best indication of who the Mormons were as well as the composition of their families, conversion age and address.

In terms of the sample size, unlike the dataset used previously in the chapter, of 285 converts (144 males and 141 females) used for the class analysis, restraints on empirical data has reduced the sample size for analysis on conversion and gender to 245 (52.2% or 128 men and 47.8% or 117 women). This is shown in Table 3–7 below. While this presents a marginally smaller study, the sample remains sufficiently robust for standardised testing and has been verified by the use of statistical software SPSS 17 as a valid profiled test dataset. It should be noted that whereas the previous class and occupational analysis omitted a significant section of women who were overlooked by census enumerators, this discussion includes all those women whose date of birth and baptism were known.[44]

---

[44] This compares to 85% of the full sample data, however it retains a similar quotient dichotomy of gender. Field's and Freeman's study which each contained 178, and Bonner's study of 212. My main sample consists of 285, with this subset equalling 245. Compared to the full database the male–female ration is 52%–48% respectively.

Sex	Valid Data n=245	Invalid Data n=40	Total Dataset n=285
Male	128	16	144
Female	117	24	141
Dataset	245	40	285

Table 3–7 Summaries for valid data Gender versus Dataset

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AGE PATTERNS OF STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON BAPTISMS

Staffordshire Mormon conversions commenced in June 1839 with the baptism of Burslem residents, Alfred Cordon and William Bradbury as will be detailed in Chapter Four. Both men had responded to the evangelical work of Mary Powel[l], herself a recently baptised Mormon convert and self–appointed missionary from Manchester. In response to her message Cordon and Bradbury travelled to Manchester to be baptised into the Church by Elder David Wilding.[45] The following discussion examines, first, the quantitative results of Mormon conversion patterns between 1839 and 1870, followed by a consideration of the variables of age and then gender.

Figure 3–9 and Table 3–8 (below) show that 67% of Staffordshire Mormons baptised between 1839 and 1870 were under the age of 26. The average (mean) age of baptism was 24 years and the most frequently occurring (mode) age of baptism was 15 years. In terms of the age range of converts the youngest (min) convert from the dataset was eight years old and the eldest (max) was 71, giving an age range of 63 years. These results show that while it was a predominantly young congregation a reasonable age range existed amongst Mormon converts. As will be shown later, this demographic was similar in other Nonconformist religious groups.

---

[45] Contra Arrowsmith whose M.A. study makes claims that work commenced in Staffordshire 1837, there is no empirical basis for this nor does it became logistically plausible. One comment in the *History of the Church* suggests that there was some activity, however, having checked the primary source for this entry, no reference exists by Willard Richards in relation to earlier Staffordshire Mormon proselytising. This again underlines the limitations of relying on the use of some records that cannot be fully verified.
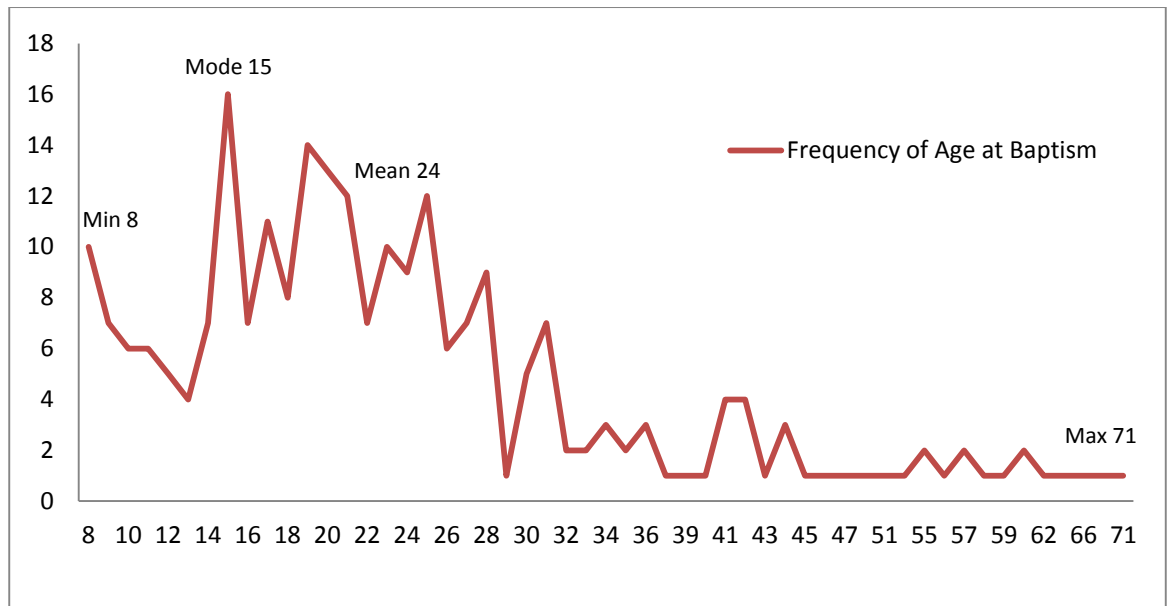
Figure 3–9 Average and Mode Statistics for Staffordshire Mormon Conversion by Age

n=245	Mean in Years	Mode in Years	Min in Years	Max in Years	Range in Years
Dataset	24	15	8	71	63

Table 3–8 Staffordshire Mormon Dataset Statistics

The data here was categorised into the following age groups – 8–15 years, 16–25 years, 36–45 years, 46–55 years, 56–65 years and the over 65s, in order to cohere with similar patterns of age analysis adopted by scholars such as Clive Field, Linda Wilson and Michael Watts, and to allow for any relevant comparisons to be made between Mormons and other religious congregations at the time.[46] As Figure 3–10 and Table 3–9 below illustrates, the largest age group of those baptised was between 16 and 25 years old, comprising 42% of the total. This age category and all those above it might best be described as experiencing a 'credo–baptism' or a personal confession of faith.[47] In contrast, however, the 8–15 year old category, still very significant at almost 25% of the total, might be more accurately described as having experienced a 'pedo–baptism' (child baptism)

---

[46] Field, 'Social Structure of English Methodism'; Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal* and Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, vol. 2, The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[47] From the Latin word *credo* meaning 'I believe'. G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

which I also refer to as 'parentally assisted baptism' and which is explained further below.[48]
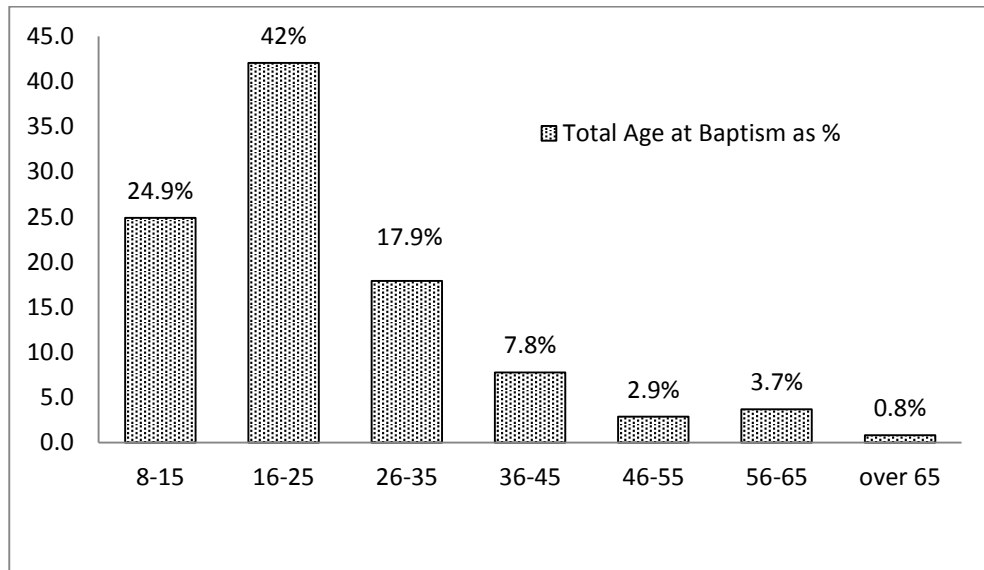
Figure 3–10 Staffordshire Mormon Conversion by Age Categories as a Percentage

n=245	Totals	Total as %	Average in Years	Min in Years	Max in Years
8–15	61	24.9	11	8	15
16–25	103	42	20	16	25
26–35	44	17.9	29	26	35
36–45	19	7.8	41	36	44
46–55	7	2.9	51	46	55
56–65	9	3.7	59	56	63
over 65	2	0.8	69	66	71

Table 3–9 Staffordshire Mormon Conversion Statistics by Age Categories

Table 3–9 above provides a statistical breakdown of the 245 converts by age group, identifying average, minimum and maximum ages for each group. What is also immediately observable from Table 3–9, is that almost 67% (164) of Staffordshire Mormon converts in the sample were baptised under the age of 26. In Table 3–10 below, when amalgamating the 8–15 years and 16–25 years age categories, it can be observed that

---

[48] The designation of 'pedo–baptism' originates from the Greek *pais* meaning 'child' rather than that of an infant. This term should not be confused with the term *paedo–baptism* which represents the broader group of churches that practise infant baptism.

the average age of a Mormon convert at baptism in Staffordshire was only 17, which
indicates a young congregation.

Age	n=	Mean in Years	Min in Years	Max in Years	Range in Years
8–25	164	17	8	25	17

Table 3–10 Staffordshire Mormon Conversions Statistics for the 8–25 categories

The largest single group of the sample, the 16–25 years (42% of all converts
between 1839 and 1870), was the foundation of the Church. This group would also have
influenced an even younger overall average membership age through factors such as
marriage, childbirth and parental influence and possibly contributing to the important
24.9% of 8–15 year olds in the sample. Youth would arguably have shaped the success and
dynamism of the Mormon community in very practical ways; through the ability to learn
quickly and to perform the more physically arduous tasks so often required by local
missions and leadership responsibilities. The energy of this age group may well have been
instrumental in the early rapid expansion of Staffordshire Mormonism.

The 8–15 year old group exhibits some unique features of conversion which might
be more properly defined as 'parentally–assisted conversions' or pedo–baptism. Paramount
in understanding this age group is the relationship between the Mormon doctrine of the
'age of accountability' and Mormon's rejection of infant baptism which, in the Established
Church, included the rites of aspersion (sprinkling) or affusion (pouring). While it
remained common for Victorian parents to baptise infants and young children so as to
announce their spiritual rebirth and entry into the Church community[49] the doctrinal
controversies between those who supported infant baptism, as found in Anglicanism,
Catholicism and Methodism, and those rejecting it such as the Baptists and
Christadelphians as well as the LDS Church, persisted throughout the century.[50] Mormon

---

[49] The debate over infant damnation and baptism was an issue throughout the nineteenth century, see for example: Arthur Reynolds, *English Sects: an Historical Handbook* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1921), pp. 5–9. Also James R. Moore, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, *III Sources* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 14–19. E. A. Wrigley, 'Births and Baptisms: The use of Anglican Baptism Registers as a Source of Information about the Numbers of Births in England before the Beginning of Civil Registration', *Population Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1977), pp. 181–312. While Wrigley's main focus was the nature of population and registration of new births, it highlights the fact that rarely did baptism information include birth data, but the baptism data is the one to which 'new life' is anchored too, and the pattern of 'universal baptism' often the child's baptism was within fourteen days of birth.

[50] Manfred Klaiber and Walter Marquardt, *Living Grace: An Outline of United Methodist Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), pp. 223–227 and 263–267.

theology taught that those under the age of eight were incapable of committing sin as they had yet to reach an understanding of the notion of sin and, consequently, repentance. Thus the 'original sin' debate in terms of Mormon theology had already been accounted for in Christ's atonement which rendered children under eight pure through Christ.[51] The Mormon imperative for pedo–baptism, therefore, was based on the belief that boys and girls who had reached the age of eight were said to have reached the 'age of accountability'.[52] It is also worth noting that while infants were not baptised in Mormonism, the ordinance of the 'blessing of children' *was* encouraged in which words of blessing, inspired by an Elder, were bestowed on the child.[53] At this point the child was added to 'Blessing of Children' records, a companion to the membership records.

Despite the underpinning theology of the child's 'age of accountability', when this particular age–group experienced baptism it was largely through the influence and encouragement of their parents' faith and rarely based on their own confessional declaration. Thus it is unsurprising that it forms such a major category of the membership. As children invariably lacked a personal spiritual epiphany or conversion as part of these pedo–baptisms, they often experienced a further, more personal conversion later on. This aspect of the conversion process is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, but many of those baptised during the 1840s and 1850s were those who as adults emigrated in the 1860s and 1870s with their own children. From this it is possible to surmise that Mormon expansion was aided through prosopographical and generational methods of conversion rather than proselytising. The third largest group of the sample at 17.9% is the 26–35 years category, less than half the size of the 16–25 years age group. Even when baptisms slowed down within this specific group, they were still the most likely category to have children of an age to be baptised, providing new members for the Church beyond missionary efforts. All of the age categories over 35 years old demonstrate a steep decline in the number of baptisms. The 36–45 year age group forms 7.8%, the 46–55 years just 2.9%, the 56–65 year old age group provides 3.7% of baptisms and the over 65s just 0.8%.

---

[51] This theological debate was one that *Millennial Star* editors regularly address the Mormon position of, for example see extracts from Elder H. Whittall's 'Treatise on Baptism', *Millennial Star*, 21:754–755; 22:44–46, 142–143, 491–493 (1859–1860).

[52] *Millennial Star*, 1 (April 1840), *D&C* 18:42; *D&C* 20:71; *D&C* 137:10; *D&C* 68:25.

[53] *Millennial Star*, 24:105–106 (15 Feb 1862); 40:243–4 (15 Apr 1878). Mission leaders also occasionally reminded branch leaders to keep separate records for births and blessing of children and for example, can be found in *Millennial Star*, 10:148 (27 Feb 1848); and that they should be kept in 'a plain and intelligible manner'. *Millennial Star*, 25:73 (14 Nov 1863).

It is perhaps not surprising that numbers declined after 35 years given the wider demographics of the county region. The area of Staffordshire was known for physical, arduous labour that in turn attracted a higher population of younger, more able people. Second, the death rate itself was far higher in industrial areas. In his 1842 Parliamentary report, Edwin Chadwick observed that life expectancy in industrial areas such as Manchester, Leeds and North and South Staffordshire was just 25 years old, due to pollution, a lack of sewerage infrastructure and clean water, all these exacerbated by sheer physical exhaustion.[54]

Chadwick further calculated that the average national life expectancy was 41 (40 years for men and 42 years for women), a figure consistent with findings in rural mid–Staffordshire.[55] These reasons along with infirmity help to account for the lower attendance of older people at religious meetings of all denominations. This was compounded for elderly Mormons by the difficulty of travel beyond their immediate neighbourhood as, from the 1850s, congregations declined in number. This decline is discussed further in Chapter Six. Thus Staffordshire Mormons represented a relatively young congregation, expanding the Church through their own offspring. This was consistent with the overall demographics of the county and the low average age of life expectancy in Staffordshire. Having analysed Staffordshire Mormons through the variable of age, I now provide a gender analysis of the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset*.

A GENDER ANALYSIS OF STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONS

Staffordshire Mormon gender ratios were similar to those of the wider county demographics as shown previously in Figure 3–3 and Table 3–2. For most of the nineteenth century the Mormon population was very evenly balanced with 51% men and 49% women. These figures were also borne out by P. A. M. Taylor's national survey sample of 11,000 emigrating Mormons.[56] Figure 3–11 and Table 3–11 illustrates the

---

[54] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain: Supplementary Report* (London: HMSO, 1842), p. 246. See also B. I. Coleman Editor, *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1973). Edwin Chadwick wrote that if his recommendations were followed 'an increase of 13 years (of life) at least, may be extended to the whole of the labouring classes...the removal of noxious physical circumstances, and the promotion of civic, household, and personal cleanliness, are necessary to the improvement of the moral condition of the population'.

[55] See, for example, Colton History Society – 'Village history in Staffordshire, England', http://www.coltonhistorysociety.org.uk (Last accessed 10 October 2009).

[56] Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 146.

frequency by age of both male and female groups, identifying the average and mode ages of baptism by gender. As can be seen from these diagrams, religious conversion was experienced slightly earlier for women than for men. Two possible reasons exist for this: first, the reoccurrence of husbands being two to three years old than their spouses and, second, the fact that men were often baptised sooner than their female counterparts. If, therefore, the time between baptisms was six months to one year later than their husbands, taking into account the initial age difference as well, then the age at baptism would show such a gendered distinction. This is just one possible explanation and other factors would require more detailed study, necessitating further empirical sources yet to be available.
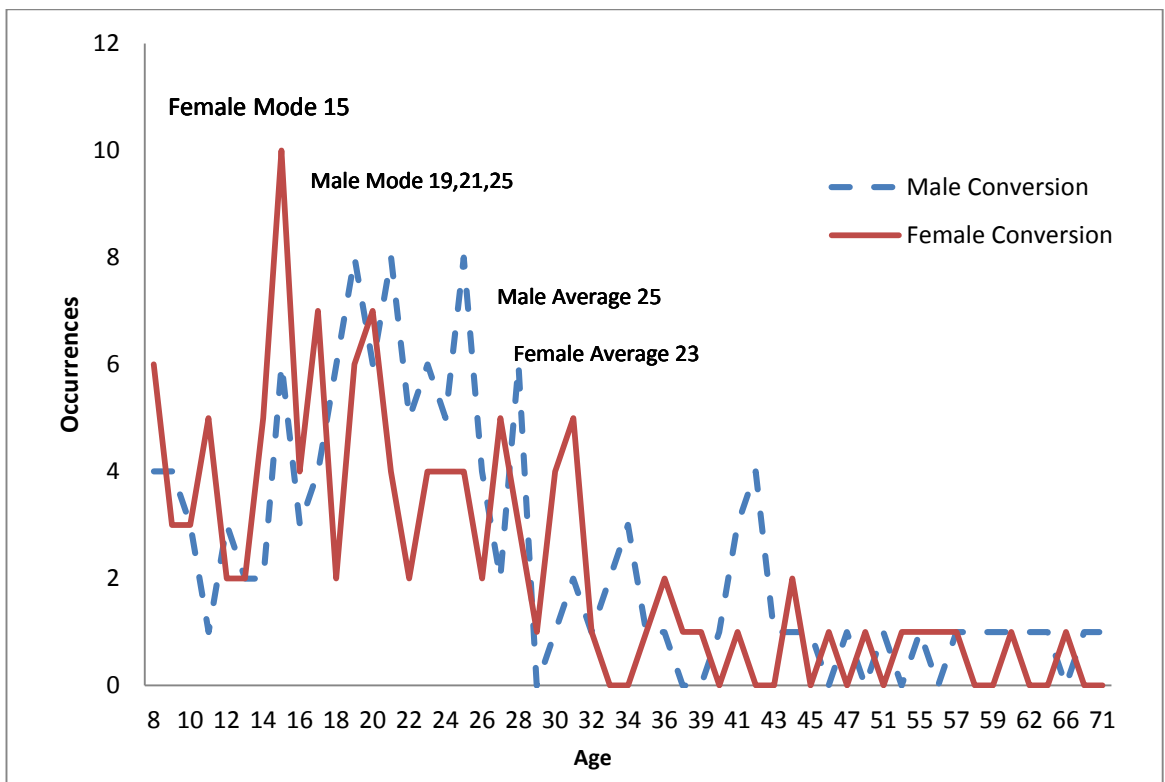
Figure 3–11 Staffordshire Mormon Converts by Age and Gender Statistics

N=245	Mean in Years	Mode in Years	Min in Years	Max in Years	Range in Years
Male	25	19,21,25	8	71	63
Female	23	15	8	66	58

Table 3–11 Staffordshire Mormon Converts by Age and Gender Statistics

When age categories are cross–analysed with gender and then expressed as a percentage, as shown in Figure 3–12 and Table 3–13, the 8–15 year old groups experienced a 4.5% differential in favour of males at 14.7% and females at 10.2%. The greatest change, however, is in the 16–25 year old category in which the proportion of females increases to 24.2% and the number of male baptisms reduces to 18%. By the 26–35 year old category this has levelled out with both men and women constituting 9% of the total. In the 46–55 year old age group men are numerically more significant by just 0.3% and women are more numerically significant in the 56–65 year old age–group. Only two individuals over the age of 65 were in the sample – William Brindley, aged 71, a former brass cutter from Bloxwich, and Hannah Ackerley, aged 66, a rope maker from Middlewich.[57] Of the 67% of converts baptised under 26 years, 34.3% were men and 32.7% were women. If the 8–25year group was taken independently, then the 164 baptisms are represented by 51.2% male (84) and 48.8% female (80). Table 3–12 below demonstrates very little variation by gender in the baptismal frequency of men and women.

---

[57] This example has been drawn from the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset*, using West Bromwich Branch records (Microfilm No. 87038, Items 9 & 10, *West Bromwich Branch Records 1841–1869*, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah) and Middlewich Branch records (Microfilm No. 87019 item 9, Middlewich Branch Records 1840–1865, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah) and using the 1861 Census for occupation.
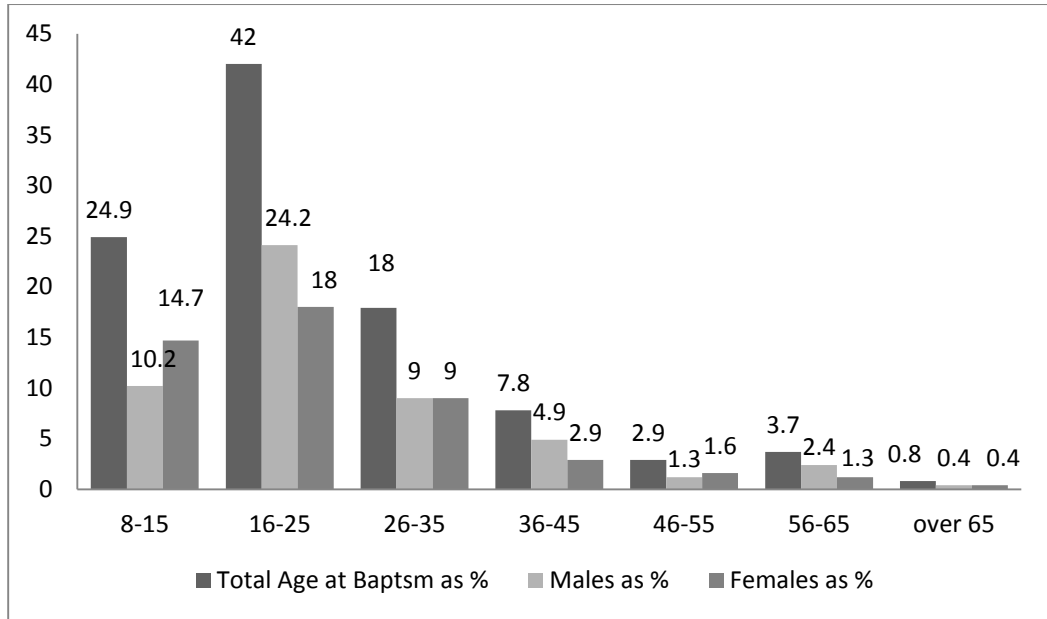
Figure 3–12 Staffordshire Mormon Conversions by Age Categories and Gender

n=245	Male Frequency	Male as %	Female Frequency	Females as %	Totals	Total as a %
8–15	25	10.2	36	14.7	61	24.9
16–25	59	24.2	44	18	103	42
26–35	22	9	22	9	44	18
36–45	12	4.9	7	2.9	19	7.8
46–55	3	1.3	4	1.6	7	2.9
56–65	6	2.4	3	1.3	9	3.7
over 65	1	.4	1	.4	2	.8

Table 3–12 Statistics for Staffordshire Conversions by Age Categories and Gender

Male n=128	Mean in Years	Min in Years	Max in Years	Males	%	Female n=117	Mean in Years	Min in Year	Max in Years	Females	%
8–15s	11	8	15	25	19.53	**8–15s**	12	8	15	36	14.7
16–25	21	16	25	59	46.09	**16–25**	20	16	25	44	18
26–35	30	26	35	22	17.19	**26–35**	29	26	35	22	9
36–45	42	36	45	12	9.38	**36–45**	40	36	44	7	2.9
46–55	51	47	55	3	2.34	**46–55**	51	46	55	4	1.6
56–65	60	57	63	6	4.69	**56–65**	57	56	60	3	1.2
over 65	71	71	71	1	.78	**over 65**	65	66	66	1	.4

Table 3–13 Staffordshire Mormon Conversions by Age Categories by Gender

Once the figures have been stratified in terms of gender very little differentiation appears. Like previous sections, the breakdown information for north and south Staffordshire are displayed below in Table 3–14:

South n=93	Mean	Male n=53	Male %	Female n=39	Female %	Totals	Total %
8–15	12	9	17	17	44	27	29
16–25	22	24	45.3	11	28	35	38
26–35	29	9	17	9	23	18	19
36–45	41	8	15.1	1	3	9	10
46–55	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
56–65	59	2	3.8	1	3	3	3
over 65	71	1	1.9	–	–	1	1
North n=153	Means	Male n=75	Male %	Female n=78	Female %	Totals	Total %
8–15	12	16	10.5	19	12.42	35	22.88
16–25	21	35	22.9	33	21.57	68	44.44
26–35	30	13	8.5	13	8.5	26	16.99
36–45	40	4	2.6	6	3.92	10	6.54
46–55	51	3	2	4	2.61	7	4.58
56–65	60	4	2.6	2	1.31	6	3.92
over 65	66	–	–	1	.65	1	.65

Table 3–14 Staffordshire Conversions by Region, Gender and Age Categories

The only noticeable difference in these figures is the absence of any males or females in the 46–55year old group in the South part of the county. But how does this picture compare with other nonconformist groups?

AGE AND GENDER COMPARISONS WITH OTHER NONCONFORMIST STUDIES.

Patterns of age and gender in Mormon congregations are not dissimilar to findings in wider Nonconformist studies. In part, this may be on account of numerous Mormon conversions originating from Nonconformist denominations, particularly Methodist splinter groups. Michael Watts' study of Dissenters between 1791 and 1859, which contains an investigation into conversion, identifies 75% of his group as experiencing conversion under 26 years and the most common age between 14 and 20 years which was approximately 50% of Watts' sample.[58] This is obviously a slightly younger age group than

---

[58] Watts, *The Dissenters, vol. 2,* p. 51.

that of the Mormons' baptismal emphasis between 16 and 25 years. Interestingly, Kenneth D. Brown's study of over 2,500 individual ministers from five denominations (Baptist, Congregational, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist and United Methodist) between 1790 and 1929, also found that most experienced conversion between 16 and 18 years with the next largest group being between 13 and 15 years old.[59] In James Obelkevich's study of 237 parishes within Lincolnshire, he argues that conversions in Primitive Methodism took place at an increasingly young age after 1834.[60] Obelkevich argues that the average baptismal age for Lincolnshire Nonconformist women was 32.5 years between 1825 and 1875, but that increasing numbers of women in their 30s and 40s were baptised throughout this period as well. Likewise in Bebbington's and Watts' studies. the patterns of conversional experience data has less to do with gender and more with patterns of evangelical recruitment.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the demographic composition of Staffordshire Mormons, applying a precise definition of class through occupational status in order to establish more firmly than previous studies the particular social strata of that Mormon origin. The chapter has drawn comparisons between the north and south of Staffordshire county and between the Mormons and the Primitive Methodists. The quantitative approach in this chapter provides a detailed basis for identifying patterns in class, occupation, age and gender, illustrated more widely through extant studies of differing Nonconformist groups. Four main conclusions may be drawn. First, Mormon evangelical efforts found greatest success among the skilled working classes, or Skilled Class III according to the Armstrong classification. Second, Mormon adherents were very similar in class composition to Primitive Methodists. For the first time Staffordshire Mormonism can now be compared to other religious groups through establishing a common methodology of class status through census data and Church membership records. Third, an analysis of age and gender variables shows that Staffordshire Mormons were a remarkably young congregation with the average male being 25 at baptism with his female counterpart on

---

[59] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Great Britain*, p. 7, cited in Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal*, p. 91. Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 49–55.

[60] James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 241–242.

average 22 years old. Finally, this chapter has also demonstrated little variance and statistical significance in terms of gender composition throughout the period under discussion. In the following chapter I address in more detail the qualitative experience of an individual's conversion and entry into the Mormon Church.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONVERSION EXPERIENCE

> Marvel not that all mankind, must be born again; yea, born of God, changed from their carnal and fallen state, to a state of righteousness, being redeemed of God, becoming his sons and daughters; and thus they become new creatures; and unless they do this, they can in nowise inherit the kingdom of God' (*Book of Mormon*, Mosiah 27:25–26).

In his classic early twentieth–century work, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), the American philosopher William James described the experience of conversion as:

> [a] process, gradual or sudden, by which a self – hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior, and unhappy – becomes unified and consciously right, superior, and happy in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.[1]

This transformative impact of conversion upon an individual, as scholars Max Heirich and Meredith B. McGuire have argued more recently, invariably 'involves a conscious shift in one's sense of grounding'[2] or a change in 'the way the individual perceives the rest of society and his or her personal place in it'.[3] Beyond the general consensus upon this point alone, the concept of conversion remains a complex and unresolved one, open to a variety of sociological, historical, psychological and theological readings. Whereas in Chapter Three I undertook a quantitative analysis of Mormonism focusing on the class, gender and age variables of Mormon converts, in this chapter I explore the qualitative dimensions of the conversion experience including the multiple tensions preceding baptism, the becoming of a Saint and the continuing activity of lay membership within the Church as part of a lifelong conversional 'career'.[4]

Issues concerning an individual's spiritual autonomy, the role of Church authority and ritual, the immediacy of God's presence in the world and the nature of sin and

---

[1] William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. The Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion, given at Edinburgh 1901–1902* (London and New York: Longman, Green & Co, 1902 (1920)), Lecture 9: 'Conversion', p. 189. Similarly Carl W. Christensen, 'Religious Conversion', *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 9 (1963), p. 207.

[2] Max Heirich, 'Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 83, no. 3 (November 1977), p. 674.

[3] Meredith B. McGuire, *Religion: The Social Context*, 4th ed., (Belmont, California: Wadworth Publishing Company, 1997), p. 71.

[4] The notion of 'conversion careers' has been advocated largely by James T. Richardson, ed., *Conversion Careers: In and Out of the New Religions* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1978); Richardson, 'Conversion Careers', *Society*, vol. 17 (1980), pp. 47–50.

atonement as well as specific personal and social motivational factors, have led to a series of lively debates around conversion by sociologists and historians alike. Between 1837 and 1900 over 110,000 British individuals were baptised into the British LDS Church,[5] yet beyond this numerical observation little has been written of the Mormon conversion experience and their subsequent retention within the community.[6] This chapter provides the first sustained account of the British Mormon conversion experience that focuses specifically upon the Staffordshire Conference members, depicting it as a dynamic process rather than an event–based occurrence. After examining the main historiographical themes and approaches to conversion presented by sociologists and historians, I examine the conversion problematic itself in three main stages: first, the 'pre–conversion' stage and the major catalysts for an individual seeking salvation; second, membership into the LDS Church as experienced through baptism, and finally a discussion of the key aspects of life in the Church.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CONVERSION: SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS

The rise of new religious movements during the 1960s stimulated considerable sociological interest in the processes of religious conversion and sect typologies.[7] David A. Snow and Richard Machalek have since argued that this genre of research can be classified into three 'waves' beginning with the early twentieth century where theological and

---

[5] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[6] Most have written of this from a more devotional perspective such as Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain; a Brief Summary of the Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the United Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Press, 1937); Susan Easton Black, 'A Profile of a British Saint 1837–1848', in Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990), p. 103; *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull: The Church of Jesus of Latter-day Saints, 1987); Cynthia Doxey, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2007).

[7] For a literature review see Steve Bruce, 'Sociology of Conversion: The Last Twenty–Five Years' in Jan N. Bremmer, Wout J. Van Bekkum and Arie L. Molendijk, eds., *Paradigms, Poetics And Politics Of Conversion* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 1–12. Thomas Robbins also observes an increase of research and reasons that it was the period or 'time of "counterculture" of flamboyant political and aesthetic protest among educated American youth', Thomas Robbins, *Cults, Converts and Charisma* (London: Sage Publications, 1988), pp. 1–2. For more recent coercive conversion research see James T. Richardson and Brock Kilbourne, 'Classical and Contemporary Brainwashing Models: A Comparison and Critique', in D. B. Bromley and J. T. Richardson, eds., *The Brainwashing/Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal, and Historical Perspectives* (Lewiston, New York: Mellen, 1983).

psychological explanations, such as the seminal work of William James, dominated.[8] A second wave, focusing on 'coercive persuasion' models of conversion, was inspired mainly by the experiences of American POW's during the Korean War and finally the period from the 1960s which examined the rise of New Religious Movements (NRM) and their methods of recruitment constituted the third wave of analysis. In the following discussion I highlight some of the key shifts and developments in this latter stage focusing on those theories most relevant to my examination of nineteenth–century Mormon experiences.

Arguably the most notable study of conversion in the 1960s was that by John Lofland and Rodney Stark, whose seven–stage typology of conversion represented a paradigm shift, outlining, as James Richardson later observed, not only the 'push' factors for conversion but also why a particular movement might become highly attractive to and draw in potential recruits.[9] Lofland and Stark's work moved analyses of conversion away from previous, more simplistic theories of 'brainwashing' or 'coercion' and attributed greater social agency to the subjects of conversion themselves.[10] Their model has subsequently been critiqued and refined by numerous scholars.[11] In 1978, for example, James A. Beckford's study of the Jehovah's Witnesses provided an alternative four–stage typology which emphasised the way in which personal narratives of conversion drawing upon available cultural resources functioned as subjective reconstructions that sought to

---

[8] David A. Snow and Richard Machalek, 'The Sociology of Conversion', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10 (1984), pp. 167–190.

[9] John Lofland and Rodney Stark, 'Becoming a World–Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 30 (1965), pp. 862–875; James T. Richardson, 'Conversion' in William H. Swatos, Jr., ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1998), pp. 119–121.

[10] For example, J. C. Moloney, 'Psychic Self–abandon and Extortion of Confessions', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 36 (1955), pp. 53–60; J. G. Miller, 'Brainwashing: Present and Future', *Journal Sociological Issues*, vol. 13 (1957), pp. 5–20; R. A. Bauer, 'Brainwashing: Psychology or Demonology?' *Journal Sociological Issues*, vol. 13 (1957), pp. 41–47; W. Sargant, *Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing*, (London: Heinemann, 1957); R. J. Lifton, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China*, (New York: Norton, 1961); E. H. Schein, *Coercive Persuasion: A Socio–Psychological Analysis of the "Brainwashing" of American Civilian Prisoners by the Chinese Communists*, (New York: Norton, 1967).

[11] Primarily, David A. Snow and Cynthia L. Phillips, 'The Lofland–Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment', *Social Problems*, vol. 27 (1980), pp. 430–447. John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, 'Conversion Motifs', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 20 (1981), pp. 373–385; William Sims Bainbridge, 'The Sociology of Conversion', pp. 178–191 in H. N. Malony and S. Southard, eds., *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992); Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993); John F. Seggar and Phillip Kunz, 'Conversion: Evaluation of a Step–like Process for Problem Solving', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 178–184.

make sense of such experiences.[12] The theories of Beckford as well as Lofland and Stark have particular relevance to historical examinations of conversion, as does Stark's later collaboration with William Sims Bainbridge on a theory of religious commitment that highlighted the use of kinship networks as a tool for recruitment.[13] Given the prosopographical influences of British Mormon expansion during the nineteenth century already outlined in this thesis, Stark and Bainbridge's work has been of obvious relevance to this thesis. Snow and Machalek's argument that real conversion went beyond testimony, behavioural change and religious attendance to a deeper change in one's 'universe of discourse',[14] has also proved influential, as has James T. Richardson and Brock Kilbourne's development of the idea that conversion should be viewed as a mode of conflict and inner tension in which the individual subject was the main actor in the conversion experience.[15] Finally, Henri Gooren's reassessment of conventional conversion models and his proposal of a new synthesis including pre–affiliation, affiliation and confession and disaffiliation as a 'conversion career', maps onto the experiences of the subjects of this chapter effectively.[16]

Despite the liveliness of sociological debates on conversion, the paucity of research into specifically Mormon experiences by comparison with other denominations

---

[12] James A. Beckford, 'Accounting for Conversion', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 29, no. 2 (June 1978), pp. 250, 255 and 257.

[13] Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, 'Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 18, no. 2 (June 1979), pp. 117–131; Stark and Bainbridge, 'Towards a Theory of Religion: Religious Commitment', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1980), pp. 114–128; Stark and Bainbridge, 'Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 85, no. 6 (May 1980), pp. 1376–1395.

[14] David A. Snow and Richard Machalek, 'The Sociology of Conversion', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10 (1984), pp. 167–190.

[15] James T. Richardson, 'The Active vs. Passive Convert: Paradigm Conflict in Conversion/Recruitment Research', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1985), pp. 163–169; Brock Kilbourne and James T. Richardson, 'Paradigm Conflict, Types of Conversion, and Conversion Theories', *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 50, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 1–21.

[16] Henri Gooren, 'Reassessing Conventional Approaches to Conversion: Toward a New Synthesis', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 46, no. 3 (2007), pp. 337–353. Gooren's most recent work is particularly relevant as one of the very few studies that have focussed on Mormon conversions, albeit in South America. Henri Gooren, 'Conversion Careers in Latin America Entering and Leaving Church among Pentecostals, Catholics, and Mormons', in Timothy J. Steigenga and Edward L. Cleary, eds., *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), pp. 52–71.

was commented upon in 1984 by the sociologist Armand L. Mauss.[17] Since then, Jan O'Bannion has argued that conversion amongst British Mormon groups or, more accurately, an individual's continued membership, was influenced more by strong bonds of social integration within their local congregations than other influences.[18] This point is supported by Max Heirich but with an important caveat: that the impact of social networks was particularly striking '*for those already oriented toward a religious quest*'.[19] This feature of the conversion process was typical in nineteenth–century Mormonism as I argue below.

Rather than engaging with the concept of conversion as a discrete typological construction, historians of nineteenth–century religion have tended to discuss conversion as part of a wider process of denominational expansion or evangelical activity. To take just a small selection of titles, in Michael Watts' study of religious dissent, James Obelkovich's study of a parish in South Lindsey, Lincolnshire and Kenneth Brown's study of Nonconformist ministers, the changing social structure of each religious group receives the greatest attention with conversion mentioned only in passing.[20] In his seminal discussion of nineteenth–century evangelical religion, David Bebbington's 'quadrilateral of priorities' that formed the basis of Victorian evangelicalism included: '*Conversion*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *Activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *Crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross'.[21] Yet conversion as a distinctive and discrete process received little attention within Bebbington's account. This neglect can be accounted for, in part, by historians' dismissal of the type and extent of evidence available. David

---

[17] Armand Mauss, 'Sociological Perspectives on the Mormon Subculture', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10 (1984), pp. 437–460. Two notable Mormon studies include Seggar & Kunz (1972), which sampled recent Mormon converts employing Lofland–Stark's model, but concluded only one out of 77 supported that model, and concluded therefore it was empirically unsuitable. See John F. Seggar, and Phillip Kunz, 'Conversion: Evaluation of a Step–like Process for Problem Solving', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 178–184.

[18] Jan O'Bannion, 'The Convert as Social Type A Critical Assessment of the Snow–Machalek Conversion Typology as Applied to British Mormon Converts' (Unpublished M.A, Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), pp. 78, 83 and 86. It should be noted that Snow and Machalek's original study focussed on conversion to a Buddhist movement, pp. 84–85.

[19] Italics retained from original. See Max Heirich, 'Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 83, no. 3 (November 1977), p. 673.

[20] See Watts, *The Dissenters, vol. 2 The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity*; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society* and Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[21] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 3.

Hempton's and Julia Werner's respective analyses of Methodist and Primitive Methodist denominations addressed the importance of the preacher's role in disseminating the evangelical message and the role of dramatic revelatory conversions to the development of these dissenting congregations. But, in his most recent work entitled *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (2005), Hempton acknowledges that:

> more attention needs to be paid to the religious conversions of the rank and file in Methodist societies. The main problem...is lack of suitable evidence beyond the sprinkling of journals, diaries and obituaries which naturally contain their own built–in distortions.[22]

Hempton is correct in his assertion concerning the lack of available historical sources. This is certainly the case within British Mormonism and, in particular, the Staffordshire experience. In this chapter, I have drawn upon the most comprehensive range possible of the journals, correspondence, memoirs and diaries of Staffordshire Mormon converts, further supported by reports from the *Millennial Star* and the *Manuscript History of the British Mission*. These primary materials are less extensive than one would ideally wish for but, *contra* Hempton's concerns over the 'built–in distortions' of such personal auto/biographical narratives (a statement which suggests, somewhat problematically, that different historical records might be less distorted and more reliable), I would argue, along with sociologist James Beckford, that there is still much to be learnt from these deeply intimate, albeit infrequent narratives, about the internal aspects of an individual's search for spiritual wellbeing and wholeness.

It could legitimately be argued that the limited literacy rates of an essentially working–class religion along with the lack of free time and writing materials associated with hard labour and poverty meant that few LDS wrote about their own conversions as testimony for others. But I would suggest this is only part of the reason for the silence. Salvation Army converts, for example, drawn from a similar social background, were exceptional in their encouraging of written testimonies so that others might be saved. These were often short, lacking in detail and highly formulaic, but they ended with a triumphant dramatic conversion scene that was an essential aspect of Salvationist spirituality. I would speculate, therefore, that a major reason for the absence of such conversion stories was actually a theological one – that the Mormon Church did not

---

[22] David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 25.

recognise conversion as simply an 'event' or that this was the key moment in the history of an individual's life of faith. Rather, they understood conversion as a lifelong experience and the moment of entry into the Church as just one aspect of a continuing 'conversional career' that demanded obedience and fidelity to the precepts of the Church and gospel. Indeed, in his pioneering study of Welsh Mormon spirituality and elsewhere, Douglas J. Davies has argued that in sociological terms Mormonism, from its very earliest stages, was not 'a Conversionist type of sect' as such but that it represented more of a 'Manipulationist' typology.[23] According to the sociologist Bryan Wilson, conversionist sects typically believe that the world and its institutions (which usually include orthodox religion) are evil and that salvation necessitates a profound cleansing of an individual's sin–ridden heart through the substitutionary atonement of Christ. In addition, the conversion event, invariably preceded by a long period of searching, is dramatic, instantaneous and 'radically set over against institutionalized procedures and rituals'.[24] This is to be contrasted with Davies's definition of the 'manipulationist' who seeks to 'gain power over evil by discovering some tool or technique for altering the faulty processes of life'.[25] Following Davies, this chapter demonstrates that although the need for repentance and faith was present in Mormon spirituality, conversion was indeed seen as a more dynamic and lifelong process of 'gaining power over evil' rather than a specific, datable event. Conversion, followed by the ritual or ordinance of baptism, was merely the precursor to a new, transformed social framework for life centred in the Restored Church structure and, for some, the priesthood, as will be seen in Chapter Five.

CATALYSTS FOR CONVERSION

Throughout the nineteenth century debates surrounding the merits of instantaneous or gradual conversion experiences took place. Gradualist conversion, the steady and almost imperceptible recognition of faith in one's life, often an intellectual assent, was relatively rare in Nonconformist circles. Instead, working–class revivalist and evangelical narratives focused on the sheer physicality of the conversion experience, or

---

[23] See Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham and Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1987), p. 21. Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace and Glory* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), p. 160.

[24] Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects* (Toronto: McGraw–Hill, 1970), pp. 37–38. See also Bryan R. Wilson, 'Migrating Sects: A Review Article', *British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 18 (1967), pp. 303–317.

[25] Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation*, p. 159.

what Pamela Walker has described as the 'cataclysmic, bodily engagement with the Holy Spirit'.[26] Classic nineteenth–century evangelical conversion narratives typically included agonising realisations of guilt and wrestling with God followed by a visceral experience of relief when the shackles were broken and the individual concerned felt overwhelmed with peace and freedom. In the Salvation Army, for example, conversion was an ecstatic religious practice with very real physical sensations. According to Walker, the Salvationist John Allen groaned and bellowed for twenty minutes before springing to his feet, shouting and crying with joy. Other Salvationist converts foamed at the mouth, believed that their flesh had changed colour and experienced feelings of bodily lightness.[27] The realisation of one's guilt and sinfulness was frequently the trigger for emotional outbursts within the Methodist tradition as well. Linda Wilson shows that when Margaret Dargue, for instance, attended a Wesleyan Church in Barnard Castle in 1825, she recalled that she 'could do little else than weep and pray, pray and weep, during the time of worship'.[28] In his book *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion, c 1750–1900,* David Hempton argued that the dramatic nature of Methodist conversions and their intense religious zeal, especially during revivalist periods, not only fuelled local suspicions but led to 'charges of madness' and 'accusations of witchcraft'.[29]

The Mormon concept and experience of conversion contrasted interestingly with their Nonconformist contemporaries who remained overwhelmingly evangelical and conversionist in their theology despite the drift towards a more gradualist understanding of conversion by the end of the century.[30] Conversion was undoubtedly bound up with major theological convictions concerning whether or not salvation could be achieved by human effort or simply as a gift from God. In 1861, the *Millennial Star* identified true converts as those who had 'experienced a change of heart and mind – after they have believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and truly repented of their sins....turned from sin and Satan to serve the Living God, accepting in all sincerity, with full purpose of heart, the truths of the Gospel and its blood–bought blessings'. [31] This greater emphasis on the agency of the individual

---

[26] Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 88.

[27] Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, pp. 88–89.

[28] Wilson, *Constrained by Zeal*, p. 73.

[29] Hempton*, Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, p. 187.

[30] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 46.

[31] *Millennial Star*, 20:202–203 (27 March 1858).

reinforced the notion that no single event constituted the entirety of conversion in Mormonism, rather an individual's conversional career consisted of a lifelong pattern of behaviour.

Both sociologists and historians alike generally agree that prior to conversional experiences some form of inner tension or personal trauma precipitated the event.[32] Even amongst more gradualist–type Mormon conversion narratives an individual's conviction of their own sinfulness and the need for repentance were present. These were often provoked by particular recurring themes. In the following section I summarise some of the main catalysts described by Staffordshire Mormons when relating the reasons for their own conversion.

In his detailed diaries (which consisted of some eight volumes written between 1839 and 1868) Alfred Cordon, the first president of the Staffordshire Conference, made frequent references to his sense of personal guilt and sinfulness prior to conversion.[33] During this period, he recalled, 'the Spirit of God sorely troubled me, but I rejected the stirrings of the Spirit. I made many a resolution to serve God, but the[y] failed as fast as I made them'.[34] Cordon struggled with serious bouts of drunkenness which led to him being dismissed several times from his employment as a potter and he returned repeatedly to his former dissolute lifestyle, whereupon his spiritual agitations recommenced. 'I was troubled again and again on account of my sins, but I would not begin to serve God'. His anxieties were further compounded by being 'brought to the gates of death once more with the Small Pox'.[35] As Julia Werner argues, a serious illness or the death of a loved one was a frequent impetus for religious conversions in an age of high mortality rates caused in part by regular typhus or cholera epidemics.[36] The *Millennial Star* was not above exploiting such occurrences for missionary purposes, reminding its readers that faith was the only antidote for cholera. In an 1866 editorial, the Apostle and European Mission President, Orson Pratt, advised that the remedy for cholera was:

---

[32] William James ((1902) 1958); Lofland/Stark (1965); Heirich 1977:664; this is supported by Julia Werner, who observes that religious conversion was particularly common when 'individuals felt despair or were in straitened circumstances'. Julia Stewart Werner, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 154.

[33] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, p. 9.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, p. 10. This is a reflection and forms an introduction with page numbering.

[36] Julia Stewart Werner, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 154.

faith in God, earnest prayer, and the laying on of the hands by authorized servants of God, and the anointing of the sick or afflicted with oil in the name of Jesus Christ. This is an unfailing remedy, and one in which every Latter–day Saint can trust with the most perfect reliance. This prescription is of divine origin, and is, therefore, as much superior to the prescriptions of the physicians as God is superior to man.[37]

Such promises of recovery or protection as here indicated led to numerous conversions and reconversions. As Douglas J. Davies has observed, this was a particularly influential factor in Welsh Mormon conversions during the 1850s and 1860s.[38] Given that many parents would witness the loss of a child or relative, it is not surprising that death or illness was also a catalyst for conversion in several Staffordshire accounts. Joseph Argyle (1818–1905), an early convert from South Staffordshire in 1851, records in his journal that it was the deep sense of pain and heartache after the loss of his third child, William, that led him to ponder religion and the prospect of an afterlife, thus precipitating his conversion.[39] For local Staffordshire/Cheshire convert George Morris (1816–1897), it was not only the death of Jane, his 20 year old wife in April 1841, after just one year of marriage, but also the loss of his nine month old daughter Jane (died October 1841) which caused him 'to feel sorrowful [and] to reflect much about religion.'[40] For the somewhat spiritually indecisive Cordon, the death of his eight month old daughter Elizabeth in 1838 at Burslem, after becoming ill with convulsions, triggered an 'immediate deep loss and heartfelt sorrow':[41] 'I was aroused again in my mind and I began to pray to the Lord to direct me and to have mercy upon me', writes Cordon, and at this point he finally decided that 'I was quite willing to give up my sins and to do anything to find Salvation'.[42]

---

[37] *Millennial Star*, 16:767 (26 October 1854); *Millennial Star*, 28:505–506 (11 August 1866); This was not only for converts but the *Millennial Star* highlighted on–going healings under such articles as 'Healing of the cholera by the power of the Lord' and 'Cholera healed', *Millennial Star*, 11:189 (30 May 1849); 11:268–269. The *Millennial Star* reports that Cholera came to London and Hull in 1848 and between September and December there were 72,180 deaths in the United Kingdom. 'The cholera', *Millennial Star*, 16:567.

[38] Davies, *Mormon Spirituality Latter–day Saints in Wales and Zion*, p. 9.

[39] Joseph Argyle, *Reminiscences and Journal of Joseph Argyle* (MS 340) LDS Church Archives, p. 63, (Hereafter Joseph Argyle, *Reminiscences and Journal*) *History of Joseph Argyle – Handcart Pioneer*, Argyle Family Association (original source unknown), n.p.

[40] *George Morris Autobiography 1816–1849*, typescript (M270.1) [L. Tom Perry Special Collections] Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, p. 12; Morris also lost his mother in October 1839 following a two week sickness, thus within a two year period he had lost three generations of immediate female relatives.

[41] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, p. 10. While Cordon does not identify the name of his daughter, through examination of local registration records, two girls under one year of age died, both with the surname of Cordon between 1837 and 1839, both in the March 1838 Quarter of registration for Stoke and Wolstanton, helpfully both girls were named Elizabeth.

[42] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, p. 11.

As has been shown already in this thesis, many Mormon converts came from other Nonconformist denominations. Not surprisingly, therefore, a study of Staffordshire conversion accounts indicates that spiritual and theological dissatisfaction with an existing denomination was a common issue for many prospective converts. The Longport potter Richard Steele (1818–1881) recorded in his diary in 1840 that he had attended Methodist School and Chapel for twelve years before hearing the Latter–day Saints and deciding 'I should like them'. His father's letter of 25 March 1842, warning him not to emigrate and become one of Joseph Smith's 'slaves', was received by him too late to make any difference.[43] The button maker and Mormon convert Thomas Day (1814–1893) came from a family which rejected orthodox religion. He recalled one occasion in his journal as a young child when his blacksmith father pointed to a nearby Wolverhampton churchyard and declared 'I will never enter that building before I am carried thither. I do not believe in the creeds taught there, nor, indeed in any other church [but] the true gospel of Jesus will be given to the world in the future'.[44] But on the death of his father, needing now to support his three sisters, Day recorded that he seriously 'contemplated religion' and soon joined the Arminian Methodists becoming a preacher. It was not long before he came into contact with Mormons at Earls Common, near Kidderminster, and was finally baptised into the LDS on 4 September 1842.[45]

Similarly, Thomas Crowther (1823–1898), recording his spiritual search prior to embracing Mormonism, commented in 1849: 'I went from one sect to another, but I still feel an aken [aching] void. I seemed to be hunting something that none of the religious sects had got'.[46] Around the same time, the 26 years old Crowther married Sarah

---

[43] Richard Steele, *Richard Steele Diary*. Unfortunately Steele does not actually recall which doctrine that he was attracted to; Sarah Anne Steel Shelley, *Sketch of the Life of Richard Steele*, n.d., Letter from Thomas Steele to Richard Steele, dated 25 March 1842, photocopy of original.

[44] Thomas Day, *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day, 1814–1894*, comp. and ed. Clifford L. Stott and Ronald D. Dennis, BX 8670.1 .D333s [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, (n.p.). See also *Thomas Day Journal*, (MS d 1182) LDS Archives. John F. C. Harrison identified several occupations of Day such as a 'machine blacksmith', 'button maker', 'carpet maker' and a worker in a needle factory, see John F. C. Harrison, 'Popular History of Early Victorian Britain' in Malcolm Thorp and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989), p. 11; For a more full account of Day's life see, 'Elder Thomas Day', *Deseret Weekly News*, 21 January 1893, Utah.

[45] Thomas Day, *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day, 1814–1894*, (n.p.). See also John Cotterill, 'Midland Saints: The Mormon Mission in the West Midlands, 1837–1877' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Keele University, 1985). Cotterill observes that at that same time he was also living 'a wayward life' which also contributed to his need for organised religion, 'Midland Saints', p. 285.

[46] William O. Crowther, 'Sketch of the Life of Thomas Crowther', *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah* (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing & Publishing Co., 1944), pp. 12–13.

Thompson and was introduced to the Mormons through his new in–laws who had recently been baptised themselves.[47] On a family visit he met with, and was particularly influenced by, the preaching of Elder Thomas Shelly and the presentation of the *Book of Mormon*.[48] This text and the personal attention of Shelley appeared to greatly influence Crowther, as he reflected around 1896:

> I read the Book of Mormon through and was very much interested in the little light that I had gained.... It caused me to long for more. I was not long in hunting up the place where the Latter–day Saints held their meetings, and the first or second time I went to see them, one elder spoke in Tongues and another interpreted the Tongue....I shall never forget the sensation that came over me at that time, for I was satisfied that these men spoke by the power of God....In the next three months there were forty–four added to that branch, myself and wife included among them.[49]

As a result, Crowther was baptised a member of the Tipton Branch on 13 October 1850.[50] The writings of these three men demonstrate that, as sociologists Richardson and Kilbourne have argued, the convert was invariably an active agent in his or her own revelatory experiences, seeking out that denomination whose theology best suited their individual spiritual needs. One particular doctrine mentioned frequently as a major catalyst for favouring the LDS over other Nonconformist congregations was the terrifying prospect of hell for the non–believer or backslider. John Needham's (1819–1901) daily journal which summarised his spiritual life during the two years prior to his eventual emigration to the United States provides a stirring and traumatic account of his quest 'to know what I must do to find a remission of my sins'.[51] Needham had attended Methodist meetings for nearly two years but found himself 'almost in despair on account of the preaching which taught so much hell and damnation to me'.[52] At times Methodist teachings tempted him 'to destroy himself' as 'the name of Jesus used to strike me with terror. I durst not take the name of Jesus in my life'.[53] When returning to see his parents Needham recalls that 'I was so tempted to destroy myself that [I] used to shut my eyes and walked the middle of the

---

[47] *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah*, p. 12.

[48] *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah*, pp. 12–13.

[49] *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah*, pp. 12–13.

[50] *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah*, p. 12.

[51] *Journal of John Needham*, p. 13.

[52] *Journal of John Needham*, p. 1.

[53] Ibid.

bridge afraid I should jump in the river'.[54] In 1838 he first heard 'an American gentleman' (Elder Orson Hyde, one of the initial missionaries to England as discussed in Chapter One) 'being affronted by a Kenite preacher' in the Market place at Preston. Needham was obviously impressed: 'though Elder Hyde had but said a few words in my hearing', he recorded, 'yet I could not forget them'.[55]

In Birmingham, Joseph Argyle's grief at the death of his son William was further compounded by the local clergyman at New Church to whom he had turned to for comfort, promptly declaring that the child had gone to hell on account of not being baptised.[56] Argyle, a gas meter maker by trade, wrote after that 'it was my son's death [that] brought me to reflection and was the means of my joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints'.[57]

Argyle's refusal to accept the notion of infant damnation prompted him and his wife Rebecca (1824–1890) to investigate other denominations.[58] Following a brief study of local denominations and the doctrine of child salvation Argyle invited Mormon missionaries to his house.[59] Having questioned them on this issue he welcomed their theology that children under eight did not require baptism, for not only were they not damned, they were saved through the same God that gave them life. Argyle was baptised into the Mormon Church on 21 May 1851, recounting his greatly increased peace of mind.[60]

The doctrinal controversies between those who supported infant baptism, as found in Anglicanism, Catholicism and Methodism, and those rejecting it (such as the Baptists and Christadelphians as well as the LDS Church) persisted throughout the century.[61]As discussed in Chapter Three, infant baptism was regarded as unnecessary by the Mormons since Joseph Smith had taught that in order to be baptised one must be fully accountable

---

[54] Ibid.

[55] *Journal of John Needham*, p. 2.

[56] Joseph Argyle*, Reminiscences and Journal*, p. 63. According to City of Birmingham's vital records, the local register office shows William was born 21 February 1849 in Birmingham and died in 1851.

[57] Joseph Argyle*, Reminiscences and Journal*, p. 63. Occupation has been drawn from *British Mission Records*, p. 75, at the time of Joseph and Jane's emigration with their six children in 1856 on–board the *Enoch Train*.

[58] *History of Joseph Argyle–Handcart Pioneer*, n.p.

[59] *Joseph Argyle, Reminiscences and Journal*, p. 63.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Manfred Klaiber and Walter Marquardt, *Living Grace: An Outline of United Methodist Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), pp. 223–227 and 263–267.

for the decision to choose a new life. According to Smith, those under the age of eight were incapable of committing sin as they had yet to reach an understanding of what it, and repentance, meant. The atonement of Christ rendered children under eight spiritually pure.[62]

On 8 June 1840, the Mormon evangelist Theodore Turley preached at Greets Green in South Staffordshire at the house of John and Mary Robinson just three days after the Robinsons, along with Mary's sister Jane Wood (1818–1849), had been baptised.[63] That evening the brother, George Wood (1822–1908), visited.[64] Wood had previously attended the Primitive Methodist Church to which he was grateful for saving him 'from many evils and snares'.[65] But Wood entered into 'an interview' with Turley and what began as an intellectual conversation ended with him requesting baptism into Mormonism that same night having been convinced of the news of a restored church and a renewed priestly authority.[66]

As already noted in Chapter One (and as the above example of the Woods family illustrates) LDS missionaries frequently exploited kinship networks to provide a ready–made pool of contacts. Perhaps in such a situation the nature of conversion itself was experienced differently. David Smilde has argued, for example, that these forms of conversion processes were frequently not so much a desire to resolve a tension, a 'push' factor, but the influence of social contacts and/or family influences, a 'pull' factor.[67] As sociologist Rodney Stark has argued with reference to the rise of Christianity more generally, 'conversion is not about seeking or embracing an ideology; it is about bringing one's religious behaviour into alignment with that of one's friends and family members'.[68]

---

[62] This theological debate was one that *Millennial Star* editors regularly address the Mormon position of, for example see extracts from Elder H. Whittall's 'Treatise on Baptism', *Millennial Star*, 21:754–755; 22:44–46, 142–143, 491–493. (1859–1860).

[63] *Theodore Turley Journal*, 5 June 1840, copy of transcribed version by Richard Turley and in author's possession.

[64] They were first cousins on account of family history group sheets as detailed on new.familysearch.org. Mary's father was Nicholas whose brother was John, the father of George.

[65] George Wood, *Autobiographical Sketch*, LDS Church Archives, n.p., n.d.

[66] *Theodore Turley Journal 1839–1840*, 5 June 1840.

[67] David Smilde, 'A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Conversion to Venezuelan Evangelicalism: How Networks Matter', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 111, no. 3 (November 2005), p. 758.

[68] Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 16–17.

The Rushton family who lived in Leek, Staffordshire until 1842, serve as an even more powerful example of the familial conversion experience. Silk manufacturers by trade, Richard Rushton (1780–1843) and his wife, Lettice (1784–1846) had three sons and four daughters. Their youngest son Edwin recorded in his journal that on hearing of the Mormons' arrival in Leek in 1840 his father commented: 'A new religious sect is holding a meeting tonight. I wish you would go and hear what they have to say'. 'Why don't you go yourself?' answered Edwin. 'Because, son', replied his father Richard, 'they are a very unpopular people and it might hurt my business.'[69] At the behest of his father Edwin Rushton attended the LDS meeting and returned full of conviction, announcing, 'These men have the truth'.[70]

Although Edwin says little in his journal about who the missionaries were or the precise date of the meeting, a journal entry by the local Mormon leader Alfred Cordon, dated 29 March 1840, provides further insight into, and confirmation of, this event:

> I went to Leek in company with Bro William Bradbury...I preached in the Evening to a Crowded house, and a many were Believing the Works. Several staid [sic] after the Service was over in the house, but there was none baptised. We conversed with a Young man named Rushton. He was full of faith. He promised that he would be baptised.[71]

As a result of Edwin's reaction, Richard and Lettice embarked upon conversion and baptism for themselves and their other children.[72] In a journal entry dated 12 April 1840, Cordon further records, 'I baptised Rushton', although he fails to say which Rushton it was or if it was the family en–masse. In a later entry dated 7 October 1840, Cordon reports that *Elders* Rushton had embarked on a local missionary endeavour.[73] Richard Rushton had indeed begun an outreach programme through his extensive familial and social networks beginning with his three other daughters, Harriet and her husband Stephen Nixon, Henrietta and her husband Thomas Bullock, and Fanny and her soon–to–be husband

[69] Edwin Rushton, *Edwin Rushton Journal*, typescript, [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, p. 1.

[70] Edwin Rushton, in 'Journal Selections: Edwin Rushton: Bridge Builder and Faithful Pioneer', [L. Tom Perry Special Collections] Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, p. 2, Author unknown.

[71] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 29 March 1840.

[72] Edwin Rushton, 'Journal Selections', p. 2.

[73] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 7 October 1840. Italics added for emphasis of plurality of 'Elders'.

George Wardle (1820–1901). Unfortunately, Rushton's service to the Church was cut short when he died of dysentery at Nauvoo, Illinois, following his emigration in October 1843.[74]

Another Staffordshire convert, Thomas Day, on hearing of a 'restoration' of the very Church that Christ had established, recorded that when 'its first sound penetrated [his] heart...[he] immediately desired baptism'. His wife, however, fearful of the potential 'persecution and proscription disarmed him and he faltered'.[75] Day subsequently recalled that:

> one evening the Spirit's voice became too strong for resistance, and I quietly slipped through the back door lest wee wifie [sic] should take notice, and lest her gentle persuasions and sad tears should again unman me.[76]

Day was baptised without her knowledge. Ten days later, however, following 'long conversations and prayerful forethought', his wife Ann was also baptised.

Others such as Thomas Crowther from Tipton in Staffordshire were brought into contact with the Church in 1849 through his wife's family. On one visit Crowther recalls:

> There happened to be a Mormon Elder at my mother–in–law's, by the name of Thomas Shelly, [who] presented me with a copy of the Book of Mormon which I took home and read it through, and truly I thought I had found the pearl of great price. My father–in–law and mother–in–law had already been baptised into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, and had two of their children healed in a miraculous manner.[77]

Heirich's argument that prosopographical networks of conversion were most effective amongst those already embarked upon a religious quest is certainly borne out by Alfred Cordon and his neighbours. Within one month of baptism (June 1839) through ceaseless outreach work within his local community of Burslem, Cordon managed to convince his wife, Emma, and friends from their former Aitkenite affiliation, namely Henry Glover and his wife Emily, as well as Elizabeth Ravenscroft to be baptised.[78] Emma Cordon's support of her husband's religion seems to have come after his conversion, for he records on the day of his baptism that despite Emma having 'whished (sic) she had me

[74] Fred E. Woods, 'Cemetery Record of William D. Huntington, Nauvoo Sexton', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 1 (Spring 2000), p. 142.

[75] 'Elder Thomas Day', *Deseret Weekly News*, 21 January 1893, Utah.

[76] Thomas Day, *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day*, (n.p.).

[77] Thomas Crowther, *Autobiography* (1820s–1896), typescript, (MS d 2050 bx 1 fd 5, #6) LDS Church Archives, n.p.

[78] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 26 July 1839.

asleep. She would cut my throat', that 'this did not daunt me at all'.[79] The Rev. Robert Aitken (1799–1873) is believed to have been one of the earliest clergymen to oppose Mormonism on a national level.[80] John Jones, an Aitkenite priest, had informed his congregation that Alfred and his friend William Bradbury 'were deluded' and that when they returned from Manchester they must be treated 'as enemies of the Cross of Christ'.[81] This threat of persecution may well have accounted for Emma's initial antagonism, but a month after her husband Emma herself was baptised.[82] We do not know what caused her change of heart.

All of these early Staffordshire Mormons were either relatives of Cordon or shared a former religious affiliation with him. Cordon further exploited his intra–social and religious networks and saw the successful conversion to Mormonism of the majority of the Aitkenite congregation in Doncaster, Yorkshire.[83] Cordon's personal network of converts was further expanded through his wife's family where his siblings–in–law Elizabeth Parker, Edwin Parker and Harriet Parker were also recruited.[84] Interestingly, Cordon was less successful with his own parents, but nevertheless continued with his pattern of familial and kinship–based referrals including that of a domestic servant, Mary Smallman, who then introduced Cordon to her employers, William and Ann Benbow. On 2 January 1840, Cordon visited the Benbows in Hanley after they had closed their shop. According to Cordon, they 'received the truth joyfully' and were baptised a few weeks later at midnight in order to avoid any disturbances.[85]

The conversion and baptism of William Benbow proved to be especially significant for outreach work in the nineteenth–century LDS Church, even more so than

---

[79] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 29 June 1839.

[80] Robert Aitken had developed several congregations prior to his leaving them when he returned on 20 December 1840 to the Church of England. For a more complete biographical account see: 'Robert Aitken 1799–1973', *Dictionary of National Biography*, D. A. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions: The origins of Free Methodism in three Lancashire Towns* (Manchester: Chetham Society, CS26, 1979) and E. V. Chapman, *Rev. Robert Aitken* (Manx Methodist Historical Society, 1982).

[81] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 2 July 1839.

[82] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 26 July 1839.

[83] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 18 August 1841. As early as August 1841 Cordon visited for three days as well as several subsequent visits in the remaining 1841. On 26 February 1842, Cordon left for Doncaster and spent three weeks in missionary labours and then again from 18 May 1842 for a further month. The society was around twenty persons according to the Cordon diaries.

[84] Edward Parker was baptised on 18 November 1839; Elizabeth Parker on 19 January 1840; and Harriet Parker 20 February 1840. Each baptism is listed under Cordon's diary entry for the relevant day.

[85] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, See 2 and 18 January 1840.

Joseph Fielding's prolific efforts in Lancashire and Bedfordshire. The American Apostle Wilford Woodruff occasionally stayed with the Benbows in the Potteries during his six week stay in early 1840, and was introduced through them to William's brother John, a wealthy Herefordshire farmer and a leader of the United Brethren.[86] Having successfully converted and baptised John Benbow in April 1840, Woodruff gained extensive access to United Brethren congregations, resulting in over 1,000 baptisms into Mormonism in less than four months, totalling 1,800 by January 1841.[87] No wonder that Cordon saw it as 'a most precious season'.[88]

These examples illustrate not just the importance of intimate social networks to Mormon expansion but also the power of influential Mormon preachers. The role of missionaries is the final theme or impetus to conversion that appears regularly in the records of Staffordshire Mormons. In most Dissenting denominations, preaching was the chief method of winning converts, thus great emphasis was laid upon the art of a good sermon. According to David Bebbington, the Scottish evangelical Thomas Chalmers 'was reputed to have visited 1,000 homes in his Glasgow parish during a single year'.[89] Like the Evangelicals, LDS missionaries preached a simple gospel message readily understandable by the working classes. Unlike the Anglican clergy most Mormon preachers hailed from this social stratum themselves. Thus what Joseph Smith described as the 'First Principles' of the gospel (first, faith in Jesus Christ, second, repentance, third, baptism and fourth the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost),[90] was the primary message of LDS missionaries rather than any complex mysteries of the kingdom.[91] Mormons taught of

---

[86] In the mid–1830s, a group of approximately 600 Primitive Methodists led by Thomas Kington established an independent religious organization which they called the United Brethren in 1834; see David J. Whittaker, 'Harvest in Herefordshire', *Ensign*, vol. 17 (January 1987), p. 46.

[87] *Millennial Star*, 1:165 (October 1840); Wilford Woodruff, 'Elder Woodruff's Letter', *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), vol. 2, no. 9 (1 March 1841), pp. 327–334; Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, 'The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 119–135; James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Mission of the Twelve To England, 1840–1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Summer 1975), pp. 1–23.

[88] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 18 January 1840.

[89] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 11.

[90] In 1842, Smith encapsulated the most important teachings in a letter to John Wentworth, the editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, and promptly published it in *Times and Seasons* (1 March 1842), 'Church History' (Wentworth Letter), vol. 3, pp. 706–710. The Wentworth letter has more commonly become known as the *Articles of Faith* and remains the basis of Mormon history and teachings today.

[91] 'First Principles of the Gospel' *Millennial Star*, 1:25 (June 1840).

modern–day prophets, open heavens and modern revelation, the salvation of children and the rejection of infant baptism. Such optimistic doctrines preached in halls, market places and homes, combined with the youth and the 'novelty value' of the American preachers themselves, gave religion and Mormonism a fresh appeal to the ordinary person.

BAPTISM AND A NEW BIRTH

As noted in Chapter Three, baptism marked the official commencement of a convert's association with Mormonism whereupon their name was formally entered into the membership records. As the *Millennial Star* directed of new members:

> After they have turned from sin and converted it is necessary that they should be baptised in water in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, as a sign, seal, and token of the remission of their sins, their adoption of the new covenant, and their initiation into the Church and Kingdom of God.[92]

Baptism represented the death and burial of the old life and the new birth or resurrection of a new life, in other words, being spiritually reborn and being made 'clean' before God. This was explained by Joseph Smith in April 1830:

> All those who humble themselves before God, and desire to be baptized, and come forth with broken hearts and contrite spirits, and witness before the Church that they have truly repented of all their sins, and are willing to take upon them the name of Jesus Christ, having a determination to serve him to the end, and truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto the remission of their sins, shall be received by baptism into his Church.[93]

Baptism, argues David Bebbington, was 'the chief theological controversy of the early and mid–nineteenth century'[94] in terms of relationship to the experience of conversion itself and the age or specific point at which a child or adult became spiritually regenerate. The corollary of the centrality of conversion in Evangelical Nonconformity was a certain difficulty with the purpose of baptism. But in Mormonism the function of baptism was made clear by Smith and his preachers: it was intended for (i) the remission of sins; (ii) a gateway to the straight and narrow path leading to salvation and (iii) was essential for complete salvation. Thus, while a convert may have been baptised numerous times in other

---

[92] *Millennial Star*, 20:202–203 (27 March 1858).

[93] *D&C* 20:37.

[94] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* p. 9. See also Moore, *Religion in Victorian Britain*, *III Sources*, pp. 14–19.

denominations this had no validity; only baptism by a Mormon holding the priestly authority to do so was religiously authentic.

Two aspects of Mormon baptism were specifically prescribed – that of total immersion in water to symbolise the convert's rebirth and that of the ceremonial procedure itself – these following the instructions given by Joseph Smith in April 1830:

> The person who is called of God and has authority from Jesus Christ to baptize, shall go down into the water with the person who has presented himself or herself for baptism, and shall say, calling him or her by name: Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Then shall he immerse him or her in the water, and come forth again out of the water.[95]

As a public sign of commitment to the Mormon religion, a convert was thus baptised by total immersion to complete their conversion experience. The procedure was officiated by a Priest from the lower Aaronic Priesthood (as will be discussed in Chapter Five), raising his right hand to the square as a sign of authority and repeating the words of the set prayer which called the person by name at which point the candidate was lowered into the water.[96]

Baptism not only marked a convert's formal entry into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints but also represented an essential sacrament of salvation. In this latter aspect the Church differed with other Dissenting denominations that recognised baptism simply as a sign of conversion. In Chapter Three I demonstrated that Staffordshire Mormons were a young congregation with 67% of those baptised between 1839 and 1870 under the age of 26. The venue for baptism was not in dedicated buildings with fonts (Mormons had none of these as Chapter Five will show), but was any open place with a body of water sufficient for full immersion, including rivers, lakes and pools. In Staffordshire it was the canals that were mainly used to baptise converts, often in freezing temperatures. Thomas Bullock, employed as one of Her Majesty's Excise Officers in Stourbridge after serving an apprenticeship at a solicitor in Leek, wrote a spiritual journal that was then reprinted in the *Millennial Star* in 1852. Bullock remembered his baptism taking place 'on a cold November night, when ice was on the canal and the keen frosty air was blown in all its severity'.[97] More importantly he writes it was the moment when he

---

[95] *D&C* 20:73–74.

[96] The practice of raising ones hand to the square remains an act performed by those acting in authority or by one undertaking an oath, or making legal covenants particularly in courts of justice.

[97] 'Letter from Thomas Bullock to Elder John O. Angus', *Millennial Star*, 14:299 (3 July 1852).

'received...remission of [his] sins, and beheld a sign in the heavens, that self–same hour confirming [his] belief'.[98]

It was when the Staffordshire cobbler George Morris heard about the 'dippers', a local slang reference to Mormon baptism by full immersion, that he was introduced to the church. He recalls in his autobiography:

> I was sitting in my shop making shoes. The door was open, and some little children stopped before the door to play. My attention was arrested by hearing them talking about people they called 'dippers'. They said that they dipped people over head in water and talked gibberish in their meetings, and the children tried to imitate speaking in tongues. I asked them where they held their meetings, and they said, in an old room up town and pointed it out to me. So I made them [a] visit the next week. I heard something at the first meeting that suited me better than anything that I had ever heard from any of the sectarians.[99]

A week before his baptism Morris retired to a riverside to meditate on the meaning of salvation which, he writes, 'had occupied my mind very forcibly for some time'. As a result of this typical period of retreat, he reported that 'my sins were made manifest to my mind; my ignorance and imperfections were shown to me...so keenly that I wept again and again over my condition...asking forgiveness from the Lord...and that I would forsake all of my sins and begin from that very hour a new life'.[100] In a dramatic account of his conversion experience he described the way in which God had

> heard my prayers and poured out his Holy Spirit upon me mightily which caused me to weep for joy and rejoice....My heart was made as light as a feather that very hour for a change had taken place which caused me to feel like I was in a new world; the rippling in the river was like sweet music in my ear, and the birds sang sweeter than I had ever heard them before. I looked forward with joy to the time when I should be baptized and enter in through the door into the kingdom of God, for I had seen it and had a foretaste of its joys, which to me were sweeter than honey from the honeycomb.[101]

As shown above then, the progression from religious seeker to Mormon conversion was approached through very different experiences although all had to undergo admission into the Church through baptism by total immersion. This marked not the end of the conversion experience but the beginning, as the final discussion in this chapter will demonstrate.

---

[98] Ibid.

[99] *George Morris Autobiography (1816–1849)*, typescript (M270.1) [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, p. 14.

[100] Ibid, p.15.

[101] Ibid, p. 16.

NEW LIFE IN THE CHURCH – THE CONVERSION CAREER FULFILLED

After baptism a host of new rituals, theologies and responsibilities lay waiting for the new convert. Those who were burdened with an overwhelming sense of guilt and sinfulness prior to conversion were now released into participation in a wider plan of salvation and the development of their own spiritual and conversional trajectory. As sociologist James Craig argues, while conversions could be abrupt and immediate the development of an individual's spirituality was only achieved over time.[102] The increase in religious activism, godly attributes and doctrinal knowledge was what led a Saint to become more active in the faith.

Thus, for the Mormon, conversion marked the new beginning of a life of anticipated obedience which went beyond simple church attendance. In many conversion narratives, however, within the first few weeks of baptism not all new converts recorded feelings of joy but of despair or struggle. Both Alfred Cordon and William Bradbury, the first Mormons in Staffordshire in 1839 recalled that soon after their baptism 'we had a dreadful Struggle with the Devil. We felt as though God had forsaken us'.[103] It became fundamental, therefore, for the church to employ various methods to help retain a convert's commitment, attendance and, just as importantly, their financial contributions. The key to ensuring members' loyalty, as argued earlier, came through the formation of strong community bonds through shared practices and disciplines. This embedded converts into their new community whilst weakening older, unhelpful ties and relationships. The most obvious of these was the weekly sacrament of bread and wine (later water, due to cost) which functioned as a regular point of renewal of the vows made by the convert at baptism. The bread would be passed around on a tray whereupon each member who considered himself or herself 'worthy' took a piece and ate it, reminding them of Christ's sacrifice. The water, however, was simply blessed and passed around in a large cup but the sharing of this sacrament was a powerful means of promoting group cohesion.

Other practices were also regarded as progressing a member's faith such as the public declaration of one's belief in God or trust in the leaders of the church and Mormon religious writings. Public prayer, attendance at religious meetings, financial support for

---

[102] James Craig Holte, *The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. x. This is also supported by Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transition of Faith* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), p. 5.

[103] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 15 July 1839.

local missionaries, subscriptions to the *Millennial Star*, Temple (a holy edifice in Nauvoo, Illinois) and Tithing donations were also indicators of a person's status and preparedness to take on a Saintly life. At times these practices prompted considerable controversy and social hostility both within and outside the Mormon Church. Frequently, for example, the newly baptised member might experience the 'gifts of the spirit' in meetings, as outlined in the *Doctrine and Covenants*: 'And again, it is given to some to speak with tongues; and to another is given the interpretation of tongues'.[104] Speaking in tongues was often described as witchcraft as having satanic origins. Writing to Conference leaders on 6 November 1840, Elder Rushton reported that

> Brother Uxley, from Burslem, came...last Sunday to Leek and caused some little dispute in our church by saying that some of the sisters spoke in tongues by the power of the devil and calling them hypocrites. But we have nearly got over these difficulties now, thanks be to God.[105]

But despite being ridiculed by local Staffordshire children as speaking 'gibberish', the gift of tongues was regarded within the Mormon community as an early sign of profound spiritual growth. Elder Rushton, now branch president of the Leek branch, reported to conference leaders on 25 September 1840, for example, that:

> We have had many blessings in our church at Leek since last Sunday. Sister Mary Wych came over from the Potteries, and at the meeting the gift of tongues fell upon many of our sisters. Sister May and Fanny had the gift of tongues, Sister Plant and her two daughters, Sister Wardle and Sister Harriet Wardle, Sister Alouck, Sister Mary Ann Patton and Sister Mycock have all got the gift of tongues. These things, of course, cause great opposition from the sectarians. Our room is crowded every meeting.[106]

And, while on a missionary visit to West Bromwich in December 1840, Alfred Cordon recorded that 'the brethren have baptized several. Six have received the gift of tongues and one interpretation, which have caused them to rejoice abundantly'.[107]

As noted earlier, while some cross–disciplinary research has been undertaken on adult conversion, few scholars have addressed the conversion process of children. We know from the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset* – constructed for the purposes of this thesis – that most children who became associated with Mormonism did so through the

---

[104] *D&C* 46:24–25.

[105] *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, 6 November 1840.

[106] *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, 25 September 1840.

[107] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 7 December 1840.

experience of their parents or other family members. Although Sunday schools began to appear from the mid–1840s in places like Stratford, Barford and Birmingham, Mormon teaching focused almost exclusively on adult converts with little provision made for children until 1853[108] when the *Catechism for Children* was written by John Jaques (1827–1900), an 1845 English convert and onetime Mormon missionary in Staffordshire.[109] Jaques, a cabinetmaker by trade, announced in the November 1853 edition of the *Millennial Star* his intention to publish this work serially.[110] The *Millennial Star* editorial highlights the scarcity of teaching aids for children: 'Those Saints who have many times wished for a catechical work suitable for the instruction of their children, may now realize their wishes'.[111] *Catechism for Children*, written by a Staffordshire missionary, became the first theological text specifically aimed at children and their own conversion 'careers' in the Mormon Church worldwide. After 1853 many more local Sunday schools appeared in Staffordshire at places like Willenhall, Hockley, and Smethwick, with a brand new curriculum stimulated by Jaques' work.[112] While men acted as the Sunday school superintendents, local Mormon women such as Sister Olivia Stokes from Smethwick normally taught in them.[113] The size of each class varied dramatically from region to region; for example in 1848 the class in Sheffield consisted of over sixty children, whilst in

---

[108] Perhaps an exception to this was an 1848 editorial in the *Millennial Star* submitted by Thomas Smith, a convert writing to the editor providing a two page question and answers styled lesson for LDS children, resembling a traditional catechism, *Millennial Star* 10:183–184 (15 June 1848).

[109] *Manuscript History of the British Mission* reports that on 29 March 1846 Sunday schools had been organised at Stratford and Barford, from 1846 at Birmingham, 29 December 1850 at Willenhall. (Each detail is listed under the relevant branch history.)

[110] *Millennial Star*, 15:756 (19 November 1853).

[111] *Millennial Star*, 15:762–763 (19 November 1853). Fourteen chapters by Jaques were published in the *Millennial Star* between November 1853 and February 1854, at which point he stopped intending to publish it as a complete book. See Peter Crawley and Chad J. Flake, *A Mormon Fifty: an exhibition in the Harold B. Lee Library in conjunction with the annual conference of the Mormon History Association* (Provo, Utah, Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1984), Item 44, p. 32. Before the close of the nineteenth century, *Catechism for Children* went through ten editions in English, totalling 35,000 copies. It was also translated into Danish, Dutch, German, Hawaiian, and Swedish.

[112] 'Willenhall'; 'Hockley'; 'Smethwick', *Manuscript History of the British Mission*. According to the branch histories, Willenhall established a Sunday School on 2 February 1851 with a full set of officers, namely, Charles Prince was appointed president of the Sunday School with Joseph King as superintendent and John Clark as secretary. Nearby Hockley's Sunday School was established 5 October 1852 with Priest John Williams appointed to superintend, while Smethwick branch organised a Sunday School on 10 August 1853 supported by a public collection to buy books.

[113] 'Smethwick Branch', *Manuscript History of the British Mission*. It is noted within the branch history that Sister Olivia Stokes was assigned with a room on 30 May 1853 to teach a Sunday School although it was formally established on 10 August 1853. Stokes was released from that assignment on 23 January 1859, having served in this capacity for six years. Interestingly the branch history records 'Alice Stokes' assuming the position between January 1853 and March 1853.

1854 the local Mormon Sunday school in Camden Town was attended by those numbering in the twenties.[114] More typically, however, Sunday schools in Staffordshire had perhaps a dozen or so children in attendance and when membership numbers declined further during the 1860s, Mormon children such as 11 year old David Coombs, son of Staffordshire converts George and Eliza Coombs, simply attended a local Methodist school instead.[115] Evidence from records held in the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* suggests that not only were British Mormon Sunday schools an important precursor to those of the wider church in Utah, but that the heartland of the Sunday school programme was indeed strongest in the Midlands in the early decades. Providing spiritual and pastoral education for the children of Mormon families was an important way of retaining Church loyalty and adherence.

HYMNODY

The singing of hymns formed an important part of Mormon worship not only at Sabbath services but also on a more regular basis within the home. They also had a sacred, because revelatory, status within Mormon spirituality. Soon after the Church's organisation in 1830, Joseph Smith had received a revelation directing his wife, Emma Hale, to compile 'a selection of sacred hymns…to be had in my [God's] church. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart' wrote Smith, and 'the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me'.[116] With Emma's Methodist upbringing it was no coincidence that 50 of the 90 hymns she produced were either borrowed or rewritten from existing Protestant hymnody and music became an institutionally and theologically significant part of Mormon worship. Thus, when Apostle Brigham Young first arrived in the British Isles in 1840 he reported:

> Concerning the hymnbook, when we arrived here we found the brethren had laid
> by their old [Protestant] hymn books, and they wanted new ones; for the Bible
> religion, and all [Mormonism], is new to them.[117]

This type of editing or production, as indicated above, was not uncommon. As Owen Chadwick has observed, hymns were often altered in order fit with the doctrinal

---

[114] *Millennial Star*, 6:108 (24 August 1845); Letter from Robert Aveson dated to *Juvenile Instructor* (1 May 1899).

[115] *Journal of David Coombs*, pp. 2–5, 8. Microfilm copy in author's private possession.

[116] *D&C* 25:11–12.

[117] *History of the Church*, 4:120; Letter to Editor, *Evening and Morning Star* (Kirtland Ohio), 1:222.

message of a particular group.[118] New hymns therefore needed to be written and Apostle Parley P. Pratt was responsible for adapting the older hymns in order to create a more usable collection for Mormon worship. '[A]s to hymns' he declared in 1840, 'I am writing several new ones every day, and hope to contribute one hundred new ones to the volume we now print. There is indeed a great call for hymn books, suited to our worship'.[119] Following the arrival of other Mormon Apostles to Britain in April 1840, the decision to publish a new collection of 241 hymns was made and thus the 'Manchester' hymnal was approved and published in July 1840.[120] Its preface highlighted the need of British Saints for a suitable hymnal and underlined the importance of this activity as a means to sustain faith amongst communities of worship.[121] Compiled under the direction of Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor and Brigham Young, it also reflected a greater communal sense of Mormon theology and thought.[122] Once again Staffordshire Mormons were indirectly seminal contributors – John Benbow brother of William at Hanley, ex–leader of the United Brethren and convert of Wilford Woodruff, bore the majority of the £58 publishing costs for the 3,000 copies of this enormously influential hymnal having only been a Mormon himself for several weeks at the time.[123] The 'Manchester' hymnal would also serve as a book of instruction on a par with sermons, lectures and publications. Its influence extended beyond Mormon Europe and even influenced the format of later hymnals, being republished nine times in ten years with 54,000 copies being printed.[124] Whether focused upon doctrinal themes such as the atonement or the resurrection or the human experience

---

[118] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, vol. 1, p. 397; The American based Mormon Church itself was compiling tailored hymns, one notice appeared in the *Times and Seasons* advising Saints that "Persons having hymns adapted to the worship of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints are requested to hand them, or send them to Emma Smith, immediately." *Times and Seasons*, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1 February, 1843.

[119] *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, 4 May 1840, as cited in Helen Hanks Macare, 'The Singing Saints: A Study of The Mormon Hymnal 1835–1950' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of California, Los Angeles, 1961), p. 182.

[120] Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana & Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989), pp. 26–29.

[121] Preface, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns*, Manchester, 1840.

[122] Macare, 'The Singing Saints' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of California, Los Angeles, 1961), p. 181.

[123] Don B. Castleton, 'The Concept of Zion as Reflected in Mormon Song' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis: Brigham Young University, 1967), p. 14. The *History of the Church* states that the contribution £250 which also supported to the printing of the *Book of Mormon* in England, *History of the Church*, 4:188.

[124] Howard S. Swan, 'The Music of the Mormons, 1830–1865', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3 (May 1949), p. 226.

of mob persecution and martyrdom, the hymnal remained a centre of theological teaching largely supported by Saints of the Midlands.

Communal singing was, of course, a very powerful way to strengthen social cohesion, not least because many British converts found familiar aspects of their old religion in the new one which appeared to help retain individual commitment for longer. The British Mormon convert, Fanny Stenhouse, recalled in 1875 that the 'congregation sang with an energy and enthusiasm which made the room shake…and an ecstasy of rapture seemed to possess the souls of all present'.[125] Often the presiding Elder would commence by humming the tune unaccompanied and those congregants that recognised it would then join in.[126] Meetings always commenced with hymn–singing followed by prayer; this remained the pattern of all Church meetings, whether held in a house, hall, or even in the street. In his journal entry dated Sunday 9 August 1840, John Needham records that at a meeting held for the breaking of the bread 'Elder Cordon opened the meeting by singing and a prayer'.[127] Once the tune had been completed the Elder gave a line or two to which the congregation loudly sang, followed by another couple of lines and so forth.[128] This approach had practical applications. First, it assisted those who were new to Mormonism or unfamiliar with the text to join in, and second it provided a mechanism for illiterate worshippers who were unable to read the text of a hymnal to take part or perhaps when too few hymnals were available for a larger congregation. Hymn–singing thus strengthened the unity of the branch. Moreover, as branch composition was mainly drawn from working and labouring classes (see Chapter Three), the use of hymnody also successfully crossed literacy, cultural and class boundaries.

Hymns were not only used for worship. Missionaries also used them as an effective means of announcing their street meetings in order to gather listeners. Frequently, of course, they also acted as a magnet for opponents, as in the case of a public meeting held at the 'Bull Ring' in the centre of Birmingham. The Hockley Branch records show that on this occasion the Elders had commenced in the usual way with singing and prayer

---

[125] Fanny Stenhouse, *'Tell It All' the Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, Connecticut: Worthington & Co, 1875), p. 45.

[126] Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History*, p. 18.

[127] *Journal of John Needham*, 9 August 1840, transcribed copy of original, (MS d 4221) LDS Church Archives, p. 11.

[128] Michael Hicks, 'What Hymns Early Mormons Sang and How They Sang Them', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2008), pp. 95–118.

and had gathered quite a large crowd including some antagonists who created a 'great deal of excitement' among the audience, such that a police officer arrived and ordered the Elders to move on.[129] But the medium of music and song maintained morale even when Mormons had left their local Staffordshire congregations and were on board ready for the Atlantic crossing to Utah (see Chapter Six for a fuller discussion of this migration). Staffordshire convert, William Bramwell, the appointed president of the *Amazon*'s emigration company, recalled that 'the music from the brass band, songs and hymns succeed each other to cheer the hearts of the Saints'.[130]

It was thus appear that the career of a Mormon convert was strengthened as much by spiritual or physical challenges as by devotional activity. This chapter has sought to illustrate the qualitative aspects of the conversion experience drawing upon the primary accounts of over a dozen leading Mormons. That there are limited individual accounts of conversion is a frustration, but need not be a complete hindrance to analysis. Only in the specificity of such biographical accounts can we recapture the tensions, drama and the depths of anguish that an individual convert encountered; only in these accounts can we recover the neglected authentic voices of the Staffordshire Mormons. That there are not numerous sources available means simply that any extrapolations to be made and any scope of conclusions that can be drawn are necessarily more limited.

Nevertheless, this chapter has still been able to show that catalysts such as the personal traumas of death, illness or individual guilt, religious apostasy, the influence of family and friends and the persuasiveness of preachers, were fundamental to the conversion process which was then formalised in the ritual of baptism. After this, as new members of the Church and participants in a life of transformed values and activity (including a not insignificant amount of wider cultural scepticism and hostility), their conversion careers had really begun.

---

[129] *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, 2 Jun 1867, 'Hockley Branch Records'.

[130] Letter from William Bramall to George Q. Cannon, dated 8 June 1863, as reproduced in the *Mormon Immigration Index CDROM* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000). (Hereafter MIICD).

CHAPTER 5

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH ISLES

> And after they had been received unto baptism, and were wrought upon and cleansed by the power of the Holy Ghost, they were numbered among the people of the church of Christ; and their names were taken, that they might be remembered and nourished by the good word of God, to keep them in the right way, to keep them continually watchful unto prayer, relying alone upon the merits of Christ, who was the author and the finisher of their faith. And the church did meet together oft, to fast and to pray, and to speak one with another concerning the welfare of their souls. (*The Book of Mormon, Moroni 6:4–5*).

As the Mormon historian D. Michael Quinn has observed, 'structure is a central issue of Mormonism',[1] as is the nature of theocratic authority. Having accepted the tenets of Mormonism and commenced a new, lifelong pursuit of purity and salvation, the institutional organisation of the Church provided an important physical and symbolic incubator of the convert's spiritual journey. This chapter examines the formal and informal leadership and institutional structure of the LDS in order to illuminate a number of key questions: What was the nature of religious authority in the Mormon faith? In what ways did the formal Church administration develop and respond to the shifting contexts it found itself in?[2] And why did membership of the Staffordshire Conference decline so rapidly by 1870?

PRIESTHOOD AND AUTHORITY WITHIN THE LDS CHURCH

Before commencing a detailed analysis of the leadership and structural organisation of the British Mission itself, it is first necessary to examine Mormonism's unique twofold understanding of priesthood in order to establish the nature of religious authority within the nascent LDS Church. One of the distinctive characteristics of Mormon leadership was that the Priesthood, unlike other denominations, was not dependent upon academic superiority or social class but on a simple willingness to serve. Leaders were drawn from the laity and leadership based on an individual's commitment and willingness

---

[1] D. Michael Quinn, 'From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer 1984), p. 11.

[2] For a thorough analysis of structural organisation within the LDS Church and its evolution, see D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994) and D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extension of Power* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1997).

to act on behalf of the well–being of the membership and to preside over the organisational structure of the Church in a manner consistent with the agency and devotion of others.

Within the nineteenth–century Church (as now) there were two priesthoods, namely the Higher or Melchizedek Priesthood, responsible for spiritual administrations, and the Lesser, Aaronic, Priesthood, responsible for temporal and practical matters.[3] This dual structure was received by Joseph Smith in a series of revelations in 1830 which he then laid down in the Church's *Doctrines and Covenants*.[4] Most Mormon men considered worthy following baptism were ordained to the relatively restricted offices of the Aaronic Priesthood which included the roles of Deacon, Teacher and Priest. These functioned in a strictly ascending order with each office preparing the individual for the next level of responsibility.[5]
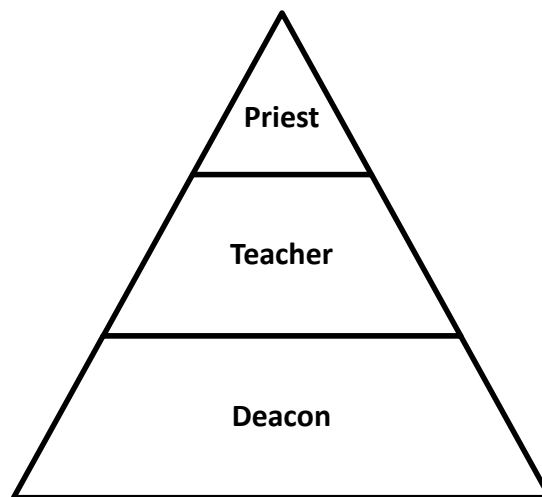
Figure 5–1 Organisation of the Aaronic or Lesser Priesthood

Thus the Deacon assisted the Teacher in giving the sacrament to the members but did not have the authority to prepare or bless it. In addition to the duties of the Deacon and

---

[3] Noted in the *Millennial Star Supplement* 1844:7 (December 1844).

[4] *D&C* 1; *History of the Church*, 1:39–42. While this reflects the traditional LDS narrative, prominent scholars of Mormonism such as Richard L. Bushman, Dan Vogel, and D. Michael Quinn have each called into question the nature of this evolution of the Priesthood and its offices. Quinn observes: 'The distance between traditional accounts of LDS priesthood beginnings and the differing story of early documents points to retrospective changes made in the public record to create a story of logical and progressive development'. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, p. 15. See also Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1998), p. 400; Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988), pp. 101–106 and Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), pp. 74–75 for useful accounts.

[5] The office of Bishop is also an office of the Aaronic Priesthood, however, in the context of British Mormonism this did not apply until later in the twentieth century and for this reason I have omitted it here.

Teacher, the Priest had the authority not only to bless and pass the sacrament but also to baptise new converts. Baptismal authority featured regularly in Mormon confrontations with other denominations and ministers; the *Staffordshire Mercury*, a weekly regional newspaper, reported on several heated debates, for example, between local Mormons and local Staffordshire Baptists as to who had the ultimate authority to baptise converts.[6] As discussed in Chapter One, when James Fielding's flock began to leave the Vauxhall Chapel in Preston in 1837, Fielding, who did not have baptismal authority, called on the Baptist Rev. Giles to undertake this role instead.[7]

Just as the Deacon and Teacher were prepared for the office of Priest, so the faithful Aaronic Priest could be recommended at a quarterly conference by local leaders to be prepared for ordination, normally to the office of Elder, within the Melchizedek Priesthood. (The Aaronic Priesthood was often referred to as the Preparatory Priesthood). While the Aaronic Priesthood represented the workforce of the 'outer' ordinances such as baptism, administering and blessing of the sacrament and visiting members, the Melchizedek Priesthood was responsible for the higher ordinances of the church such as the blessing of the sick, the bestowal of the gift of the Holy Ghost and later, for those who emigrated to the US, participation in more sacred ordinances in the temple. Wilford Woodruff had to encourage members of the Lower Aaronic Priesthood not to become despondent with their calling, declaring that:

> A man should not be ashamed of any portion of the priesthood. … It does not make any difference whether a man is a priest or an apostle, if he magnifies his calling. A priest holds the key of the ministering of angels. Never in my life, as an apostle, as a seventy, or as an elder, have I ever had more of the protection of the Lord than while holding the office as a priest.[8]

Normally, there was no progression through the offices of the Melchizedek Priesthood and most British men remained as Elders. Rarely did UK converts become members of the Quorum of the Seventy or High Priests as outlined in Figure 5–2 below.

---

[6] As reprinted in full in *Millennial Star*, 1:296–299 (May 1841).

[7] In the end Giles baptised only one person because the congregation itself rejected his authority to do this. Most of Fielding's congregation was, in fact, baptised by later Mormon missionaries who claimed their line of authority through the restored Church. See *Millennial Star*, 1:291 (May 1841).

[8] *Millennial Star*, 1:12 (May 1841). Quoted in Homer Durham, ed., *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946), pp. 298 and 300.
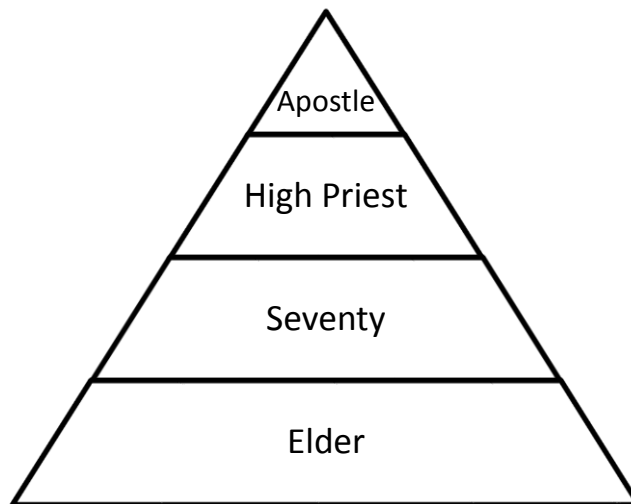
Figure 5–2 Organisation of the Melchizedek or Higher Priesthood

Generally, those called to the Quorum of the Twelve as an Apostle were personally connected with the early history of Mormonism, those who had known Joseph Smith personally, for example, or were related to those who knew him. The Seventy *were* drawn more widely from the membership of the Church, although only a handful of British converts were ordained to this office and tended to be returning missionaries who had emigrated to America and were then re–assigned to the UK after demonstrating their faithfulness. Very few were ordained to the office of High Priest. Elder Alfred Cordon was exceptional in that he was ordained a Priest, an Elder and a High Priest within less than a year. His 'leadership career' was rare; as first branch president and conference president he was probably the most successful of all Staffordshire Mormons within the institutional hierarchy.

Despite the more radical lay origins of Mormon authority, the LDS Church *did* conform to other denominational practices in the sense that priesthood was male–specific. Unlike Salvationist women who could offer Holy Communion and exercise religious authority through preaching, Mormon women did not hold such roles.[9] Yet, as Rebecca Bartholomew and others have begun to indicate, many LDS women made a significant contribution outside of the priesthood, formally and informally, to the Church.[10] The example of Mary Powell, discussed in Chapter Four, is a good illustration. Powell came to

---

[9] Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down,* p. 129.

[10] Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995); Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1982).

Staffordshire from Manchester as a self–appointed preacher and began teaching Alfred Cordon in Burslem. She seems to have attracted wider attention as a result of her preaching and challenging of male religious authority, particularly that of the Aitkenites. Little is known of Powell's missionary successes other than Cordon, but her influence on him alone, as a future British Conference President, suggests that her influence upon embryonic Mormonism in Staffordshire was significant.

THE LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH MISSION

The pyramidical structure of the Mormon priesthood was reflected throughout the wider structure of the Church's governance. Arguably the strictly hierarchical and authoritarian form of administration within the LDS Church was what enabled it to expand so quickly. This type of power structure offered clearly delineated roles of leadership and office, while maintaining tight control over the dissemination of the Mormon message.[11] As Thomas O'Dea has explained, the relationship between spiritual charisma and an efficient power hierarchy was regarded as vital within the Mormon Church:

> The recognition of prophetic leadership implies the development of a hierarchical church structure, with authority flowing from top to bottom. The process of binding charisma within organizational forms was one aspect of the evolution of such a hierarchical structure, and the original relationship between the prophet and his disciples evolved into a relationship between the prophet and an oligarchy of leading elders, which merged into and exercised ascendancy over the rank and file of the membership.[12]

In 1832, after a period of early expansion in the US Mormon Church and several internal challenges to his position as leader as indicated in Chapter One, Joseph Smith established the First Presidency as head of the LDS Church government, consisting of himself as President and two counsellors.[13] A series of visions established Smith as the

---

[11] Jill Mulvay Derr and C. Brooklyn Derr, 'Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Winter 1982), p. 22.

[12] Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 160.

[13] D. Michael Quinn, 'The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 1 (1974), pp. 23–25. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter–day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1983), pp. 240 and 423n11. The President of the Church is also considered as the 'Presiding High Priest over the High priesthood of the Church', *D&C* 107:65–67, 91–92. Between 1837 and 1870, two men held this position of President of the Church, namely, Joseph Smith (1830–1844) and Brigham Young (1845–1877).

only Mormon able to speak authoritatively on behalf of God and to declare His will to the Church as a whole.[14]

First Presidency

Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Quorum of the Seventy
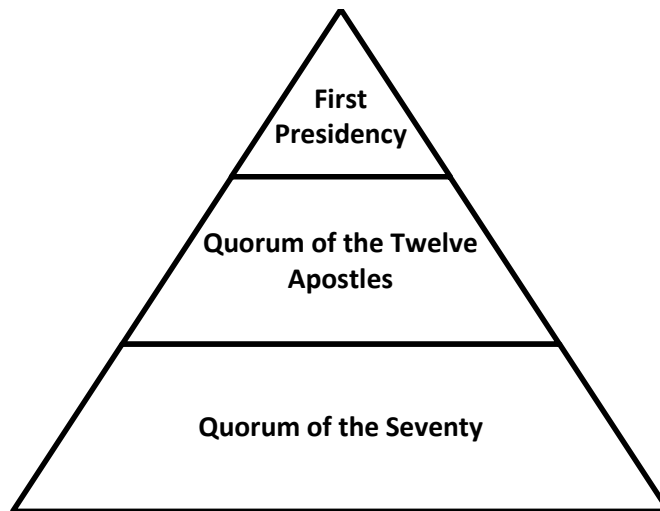
Figure 5–3 Hierarchical Leadership of the LDS Church as it related to the British Isles 1837–1870

In 1835, Smith organised further developments to the leadership structure including a Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a Quorum of the Seventy, as shown above.[15] The former group was equal in authority and power to the First Presidency but remained subordinate while Smith was alive. [16] Smith instructed Brigham Young that the Quorum of the Twelve were chosen to be 'twelve special witnesses [and] to open the door of the Gospel to foreign nations'.[17] It was the Twelve who oversaw all missionary programmes not only to the UK but also to Canada and Europe, assisted by the Quorum of

---

[14] *D&C* 28:2–3.

[15] In 1835, Mormons had no idea of what a seventy was or how an organisation of them was to be effected. They apparently only knew the references in the Bible where God sent out 'other seventy' who had returned rejoicing (see Luke 10:1–17), and where an organisation of seventy men was organised under Moses (see Ex. 24:1, 9; Num. 11:16, see S. Dilworth Young, 'The Seventies: A Historical Perspective', *Ensign*, vol. 6 (July 1976), pp. 14–17.

[16] *D&C* 107:23–24. The First Presidency is dissolved upon the death of the President of the Church and immediately the Quorum of the Twelve assume the presiding role with the most senior Apostle, or President of the Twelve presiding. Customarily the senior Apostle will become sustained as President of the Church and calls two counsellors to assist him, thus forming a new First Presidency, and sustained by a show of hands at the following general conference by the church membership. This is almost always unanimous. The exception to this was in the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, the Quorum of the Twelve presided with Brigham Young at its head until December 1847,when he became the successor as President of the Church.

[17] *History of the Church*, 2:181; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, pp. 9–14. Several people were given titles of 'apostle' and 'prophet', but the terms carried little of the connotations that they carried post 1835. Those, who had seen visions, and those who were especially charismatic were all called apostles as late as 1833.

the Seventy.[18] With the exception of Joseph Fielding, Thomas Ward and Reuben Hedlock, all British Mission Presidents were members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. The Seventy had also been instructed by Smith 'to act in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Twelve or the travelling high council, in building up the Church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations'.[19] Thus, as discussed in Chapter One, Apostles Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde and others instigated the first Apostolic Mission to Britain in 1837 which was then renewed in 1840 as part of the Second Apostolic Mission. This latter mission was more successful, expanding Mormonism from Lancashire and Bedfordshire into the Midlands and throughout the British Isles. Compelling American orators and theologians drawn from the Quorum of the Twelve such as George A. Smith, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards focussed their efforts in Staffordshire along with members of the Seventy such as Theodore Turley and Lorenzo Snow. They worked throughout the county supporting locally converted leaders such as Cordon.

This organisation of manpower produced the basic administrative structure through which to oversee the British Mission. The internal organisation of the Mission itself can be observed diagrammatically in Figure 5–4 with its hierarchical operation across national, regional, county and local levels. Each stratum was complete with its own Presidency utilising delegated authority from above.

---

[18] See Reed E. Nelson, 'Authority, Organization, and Societal Context in Multinational Churches', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 4 (December 1993), pp. 653–682; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979) and Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, p. 60.

[19] *D&C* 107:34.
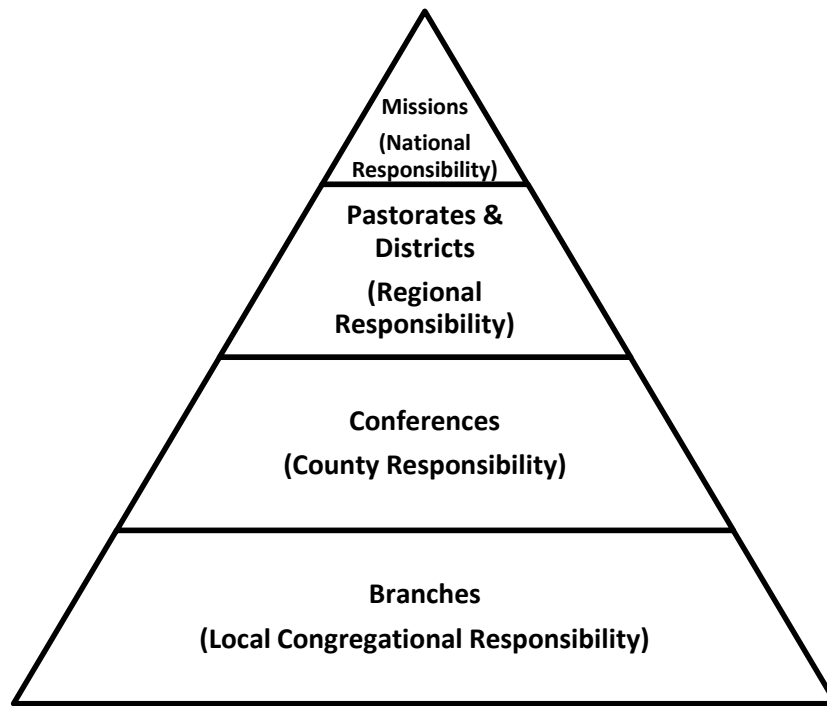
Figure 5–4 Hierarchical Organisational of the LDS Church within the British Isles 1837–1870

The largest unit was the British national mission itself, but scholars have often failed to recognise that mid nineteenth–century missionary activity in the UK was vital to LDS Church growth worldwide. Figure 5–5 below illustrates the rapid increase and decline of British Mormon membership. The numerical annotations represent in order the year, the total number of Mormons within the British Isles for that particular year, British Mormons as a percentage of worldwide membership, and finally, the worldwide membership as a total figure.[20]

---

[20] Three sources have been compiled to produce these figures, first *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, which tables have been compiled, extracted and presented as Appendix C. Second, the half–yearly and annual membership reports as published in *Millennial Star*, 12:15 (1 January 1850) and finally the *2008 Church Almanac*.
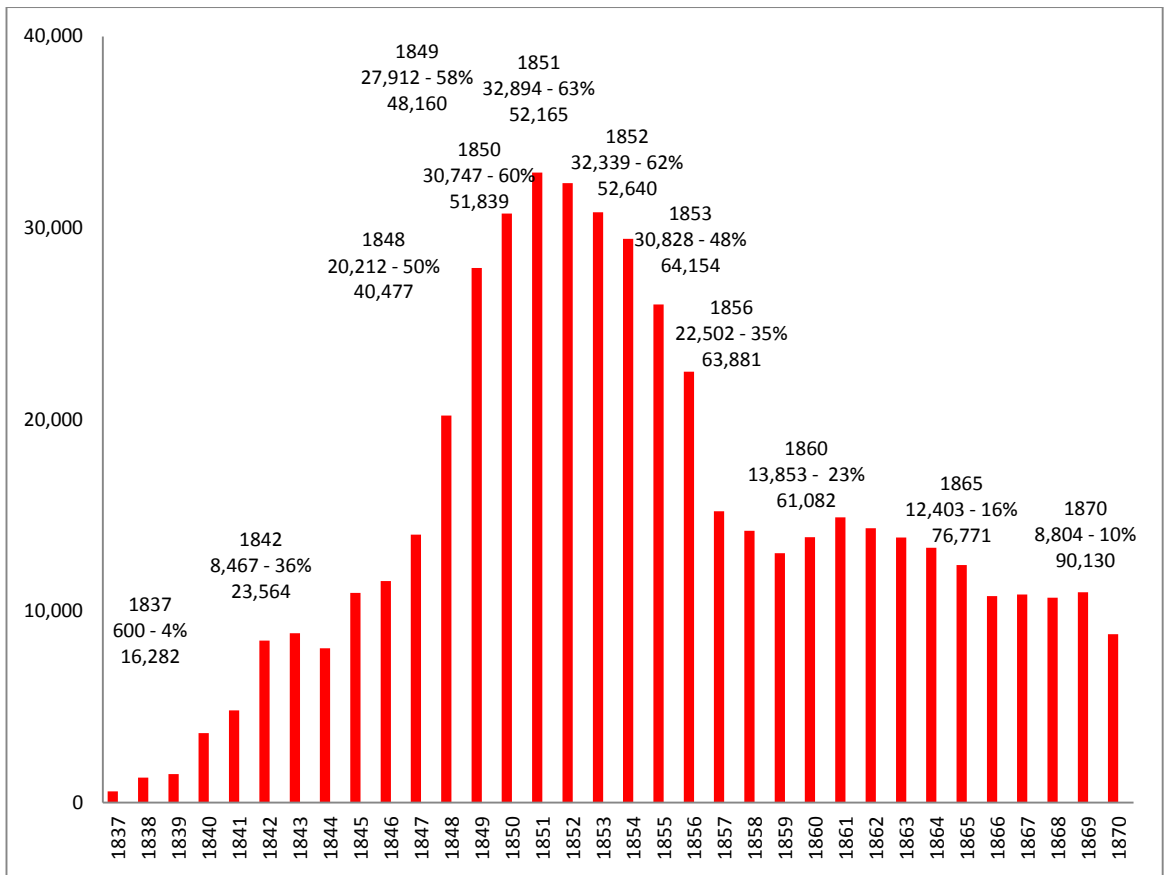
Figure 5–5 British Isles LDS membership and percentage of worldwide LDS membership, 1837–1870

As the graph indicates, between 1848 and 1853, UK Mormons represented between 48% and 63% of the worldwide membership: a remarkable testimony to the successful conversion rate within Britain. Nevertheless, by 1860 the decline in membership was well entrenched at 23% of the Church globally and in 1870, the end point of this study, just 10% of the worldwide LDS Church could be found in Britain.[21] I will discuss the overall decline of the British Mission and Staffordshire Conference later on in this chapter but first it is necessary to discuss the administrative and institutional ramifications of the early phase of rapid growth in membership.

---

[21]*Manuscript History of the British Mission*, membership figures have been collated from the different charts and reports that deal with national statistics.

ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSIVENESS IN THE BRITISH MISSION: THE FORMATION OF CONFERENCES, PASTORATES AND DISTRICTS

Between 1837 and 1839, with less than 680 members as shown below in Table 5–1, the First Apostolic Mission Presidency was able to exercise direct authority over all LDS branches (or congregations) and their members.

Year	Branches	Membership
1837	10	479
1838	30	602
1839	32	679

Table 5–1 Branches and Membership in the British Isles 1837–1839

After 1840 and the onset of the Second Apostolic Mission, however, new organisational forms were introduced in order to manage the increasing numbers more effectively.[22] The first of these was the development of the Conference structure, an important institutional feature of the Mormon Church which has been badly neglected by historians to date. In the following discussion I have drawn heavily upon a detailed scrutiny of contemporary *Millennial Star* reports and further statistical information provided by Andrew Jenson's *Manuscript History of the British Mission* in order to construct the first comprehensive narrative of the shifting patterns of British and Staffordshire Mormon Conference history.

Between 1837 and early 1840, any mention of conferences in LDS literature appears to have referred just informal meetings of local branches such as the 'churches at Manchester…Potteries…Preston'.[23] On 6 July 1840, at a general conference of the Church in the British Isles 'Elder Alfred Cordon read the minutes of the conference held at Hanley, Staffordshire representing seven branches of the Church'. This appears to be the period of transition for many areas as they became more formally structured; hence the *Millennial Star* does not appear to refer to the word 'conference' in the context of a formal organisational unit until August 1840.[24]

---

[22] Richard O. Cowan has observed that three–fifths of the English saints in 1850 had been baptised within the past three years. Cowan, 'Church Growth 1814–1914', in *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 204–205.

[23] *Millennial Star*, 1:20 (15 April 1840).

[24] *Millennial Star*, 1:84 (August 1840).

The first use of this term that I have identified was with reference to the Herefordshire Conference. Following the missionary activity of Wilford Woodruff in converting the United Brethren (a splinter group from the Primitive Methodists) its leader, Elder Thomas Kington, organised a meeting on 14 June 1840. Under the authority of Willard Richards, an Apostle and member of the British Mission presidency, the 'Bran Green and Gadfield Elm branch of the Froome Hill Circuit of the United Brethren' was renamed as 'Bran Green and Gadfield Elm *Conference* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints'.[25] At the same meeting Thomas Kington was established as the 'presiding Elder over all the Churches composing this Conference'.[26] The minutes of Bran Green and Gadfield Elm Conference show twelve branches represented which were further divided as 'the North side of the river Severn, and 'the South side of the river Severn'.[27] Members agreed to a weekly Council meeting of the officers to be held alternately on the south and north sides of the River Severn.

A further conference was called on 21 June 1840 to similarly rename the 'Froome Hill Circuit of the United Brethren' as the 'Froome Hill *Conference* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints' which, together with the Gadfield Elm Conference, comprised 33 Churches (or branches), 534 members and 75 officers (10 Elders, 52 Priests, and 13 Teachers).[28]

An alternative use of the term 'conference' by the *Millennial Star* was that of 'general conferences', where leaders and members from all British branches would congregate, presided over by the national mission presidency. On 6 Oct 1840, a General Conference was held at the Carpenter's Hall in Manchester. According to the *Millennial Star* the following Conferences were by then in existence:

> a 'Conference at Preston' with 665 members, 18 Elders, 23 Priests, 11 Teachers and 2 Deacons;
>
> a 'Conference at the Potteries' with 248 members, 9 Elders, 32, Priests, 9 Teachers and 9 Deacons;

---

[25] Ibid. Italics mine.

[26] Ibid.

[27] *Millennial Star*, 1:84–85 (14 June 1840). Some of the named branches were: Dymock, Kilcott, Twigworth, Bran Green, Ryton, Lime Street, Deerhurst, Apperly, Norton, Leigh, Little Garway and Gadfield Elm.

[28] *Millennial Star*, 1:86–87 (21 June 1840). Some of the branches were: Bishop Frome, Old Starridge, Ashfield, Crowcutt, Froome's Hill, Stanley Hill, Ridgeway Cross, Moorend Cross, Colwall, Pale House, Malvern Hill, Ledbury, Keysend Street, Shucknell Hill, Lugwardine, Marden, Hope Rough, Stokes Lane, Wind Point, Woferwood Common, , and the following branches were combined into one branch called Dunsclose (Rough Leasowe, Birchwood, Tunbridge, and Dunsclose).

a 'Conference at Clitheroe' with 295 member, 10 Elders, 11, Priests, 9 Teachers and 3 Deacons;

a 'Conference at Herefordshire with 1007 members, 19 Elders, 78 Priests, 15, Teachers, and 1 Deacon;

a 'Conference at Glasgow' with 193 members, 8 Elders, 7 Priests, 5 Teachers, and 1 Deacon;

a 'Conference at Liverpool' with 100 members, 3 Elders, 4 Priests, 2 Teachers, and 1 Deacon;

a 'Conference at Altringham' with 82 members, 1 Elder, 3 Priests, 3 teachers, and 3 Deacons;

a 'Conference at Edinburgh' with 43 members, 0 Elders, 2 Priests, 0 Teachers, and 0 Deacons.[29]

Jenson's *Manuscript History of the British Mission* provides the following statistics which concur with the *Millennial Star* report and therefore supports my thesis as to the emergence of the formal UK Conference structure from the beginnings of the Second Apostolic Mission and the period of greater expansion.

Year	Branches	Members	Conferences
1837	10	600	0
1838	30	1,310	0
1839	32	1,500	0
1840	30[30]	3,626	8

Table 5–2 Organisational Growth of the Church in the British Isles, 1837–1840.

At the General Conference many more branches of varying sizes not yet attached to a conference were also represented. These included Manchester itself with a membership of 364 (including 4 Elders, 27 Priests, 6 Teachers, and 1 Deacon). Importantly, Brigham Young suggested at this meeting that in future regional quarterly conference meetings should replace the General Conference due to their unnecessary expense. An epistle from the Twelve to all Saints within the British Isles and Ireland before their return to the US was accordingly published in the *Millennial Star* in April 1841 confirming that 'each conference is now organised under the care of respective presidents...under the general superintendents of Elders Pratt, Richards, and Snow'. It is reasonable to speculate therefore that by 1841 regional Conference had become the

---

[29] *Millennial Star*, 1:165–166 (October 1840).

[30] This figure is questionable as the discussion of Herefordshire highlights 33 branches there, and at least another 30–40 elsewhere, as shown in the October 1840 General Conference in Manchester. Several of them may have been subsumed by other branches but the figure of 30 has been regularly cited by scholars.

Church's formal points of administration and organisation while still recognising the authority of the Mission Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve.

As the Table 5–3 below illustrates, between 1841 and 1852 the numbers of Conferences grew steadily with a particularly strong growth of 11% in conferences between 1849 and 1850.

Year	Membership	Baptisms	Conferences
1846	11,573	2354	27
1847	13,993	2918	28
1848	20,212	6520	26
1849	27,912	8620	27
1850	30,747	8017	42
1851	32,894	8064	44

Table 5–3 British Mormon Growth in membership and Conferences

Year	Conferences	Branches	Totals
1849	27	479	27,912
1850	42	602	30,747
1851	44	679	32,894
1852	51	742	32,339
1853	52	726	30,828

Table 5–4 Mormon Unit Statistics 1849–1853

As Table 5–4 above indicates, by 1852 there were 51 British Conferences in existence comprising 742 branches and a total membership of 32,339. Conferences would often realign their boundaries according to the numbers of members within a given area. The impact of migration to the US (to be further discussed in Chapter Six) combined with Church excommunications and spiritual apathy led some Conferences to decline and sometimes close down. This and the on–going readjustment of boundaries caused a measure of administrative confusion, until a communiqué from the Mission President and Apostle Francis M. Lyman, entitled *The Boundaries of the British Conferences*, established written guidance on the boundaries of existing Conferences, resolving all but that of the Midlands:

The conferences have been made to correspond with counties, the boundaries of which are well known. In the Midlands, however, the county lines cannot always be observed, as the conferences are established independent of them, and it must be decided arbitrarily what the boundaries are.[31]

By the early 1850s and a period of consistent growth, the three–tier model of Mission, Conference and Branch became increasingly cumbersome to administer. Both regional Conference and national leaders found it increasingly difficult to fulfil their ecclesiastical duties. As a result, in 1852 under the Presidency of Franklin D. Richards, the British Mission hierarchy was expanded to include an additional administrative layer positioned between the National Mission and Conference levels, namely that of the 'Pastorate' under the authority of a pastor. Unlike the traditional Nonconformist pastor with just one or two congregations, each Pastorate consisted of multiple conferences.[32] Between 1853 and 1860 the British Mission operated between twelve and fifteen pastorates at a time.[33]

Year	Conferences	Branches	Members
1850	42	602	30,747
1855	52	677	26,001
1860	46	408	13,853
1865	42	303	12,403
1870	21	211	8,804
1871	14	185	8,246

Table 5–5 Mormon Unit Statistics 1850–1871

The significant decline in Church membership and Conferences (just 14 left in 1871) meant that the role of Pastor eventually became unnecessary and by 1868 had been phased out.[34] Indeed, within two years the role of Pastor and the Pastorate were obsolete and by later on in the century had become known as a District with its own President which took on responsibility for the oversight of multiple Conferences, albeit on a far smaller scale than during the 1850s and 1860s.

---

[31] Francis M. Lyman, 'The Boundaries of the British Conferences', in *Record of Members British Mission*, (MS 3137) LDS Church Archives, n.d.

[32] Minutes of the Special General Council held at London, 22–23 June 1854, as reported in *Millennial Star*, 16:513 (16 August 1854).

[33] William G. Hartley, 'LDS Pastors and Pastorate, 1852–55', in Richard Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989), p. 196.

[34] Ibid.

The Staffordshire Conference was formed on 29 June 1840 with 107 members. By 31 December 1840 it comprised 500 members and constituted the early concentration of Midlands Mormon activity. Initially it extended as far as Birmingham to the south, Doncaster and Sheffield to the North, Shropshire to the West and Derbyshire to the East; within one year its boundaries were centred more on the county of Staffordshire itself. Table 5–6 below, compiled from original entries in the *Millennial Star,* illustrates patterns of membership over the first 15 years (the greatest period for which detailed information was available) and these are discussed in more detail later on in the chapter. Most interestingly in terms of early structures of leadership and authority, the table shows that despite the fact that much of Mormon scholarship focuses on the presiding spiritual authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood, more often than not in British Mormonism there were many more Aaronic priesthood holders (deacons, teachers and priests) carrying out the day–to–day work of the church. While in 1840 the Staffordshire Conference was recorded as having ten Elders of the Melchizedek priesthood, for example, there were 40 priests, 16 teachers and 11 deacons from the Aaronic Priesthood totalling 85. This pattern of Aaronic predominance remained consistent for the first fifteen years of the Conference's existence. By 1850, for example, there were two High Priests and 48 Elders, but 102 members of the Aaronic priesthood officiating. This pattern was one that continued until the closure of the conference in 1870.

Year	Members	HP	Elders	Priests	Teachers	Deacons	Branches	Source	President
1840	502	0	10	40	16	11	18	MS 1:302	Alfred Cordon
1841	600	0	20	50	25	12	14	MS 2:62	Alfred Cordon
1842	507	0	25	54	25	14	14	MS 4:34	Unknown
1843	377	0	38	59	14	10	12	MS 4:34	Unknown
1844	370	1	29	48	20	11	13	MS 6:155	George Simpson
1845	329	0	35	37	20	10	13	MS 7:3	Hiram Clark
1846	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	John Mason
1847	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	George D. Watt
1848	347	0	40	33	13	13	12	MS 10:252	J D Ross
1849	347	0	38	33	14	12	12	MS 12:15	J D Ross
1850	587	2	48	47	26	15	14	MS 13:15	James Bell
1851	561	2	52	46	27	17	16	MS 13:207	James Bell
1852	571	2	57	44	28	17	15	MS 14:318	Joseph Westwood
1853	475	1	66	46	21	20	13	MS 15:510	Osman M Deuel
1854	414	1	65	38	22	12	12	MS 16:478	Osman M Deuel

Table 5–6 Statistical Report of the Staffordshire Conference 1840–1870

Although the branch was the lowermost tier of the Mormon organisational hierarchy, it formed the most fundamental unit of the Church, dealing as it did with the daily realities of members' lives through teaching, discipline and administering of the rituals. Unlike the other tiers of responsibility within the Mission structure, where leaders of one level were accountable to, and maintained contact with others, within branch life the president was normally the sole figure of authority with whom local Mormons met regularly. Perhaps the first thing to observe about the characteristic features of Staffordshire branch life is that most groups never reached more than fifty members, with the exception of the more densely populated areas of Birmingham, West Bromwich and Burslem branches. Jenson records the Birmingham branch at its peak in 1848 as having over 450 members, the West Bromwich branch in the same year with 177 members and the Burslem branch recording over 100 members in 1847.[35] The creation of a new branch would be dependent on the presence of just a few Mormon converts gathered in a local area.

> In the early history of the British Mission it was the custom to organize branches with less than half a dozen members. Later when more missionary Elders were labouring in the field, cottage meetings were held at various homes [and] in charge [were] missionaries appointed to do so by their district and conference presidents.[36]

The life cycle of most Staffordshire branches began with tiny numbers, surviving perhaps just a few years before being incorporated into larger branches. The following discussion of the Baddeley Edge branch (a small district six miles southwest of Leek and six mile northeast of Newcastle–under–Lyme) which is referred to at some length in the *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, serves as a typical example of the genesis from independent new branch to its final amalgamation within the Staffordshire Conference.[37]

The formal process of creating a new branch was initiated by a local leader, normally another branch president approaching the Conference President, who held the authority to establish a branch, at a scheduled council meeting. Once it had been agreed

---

[35] 'West Bromwich' (2 July 1848) and 'Burslem Branch' (1 September 1847), in *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[36] 'Introduction to Branches', *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[37] For example a very similar circumstance was experienced by many Staffordshire branches such as: Audlem (1840–1842); Bradley Green (1841–1844); Cox Bank (1841–1858); Cranage (1853–1855); Hassal Green (1844–1848); Knutton Heath (1841–1848); Longport (1840–1844); Market Drayton (1848–1849); Newcastle under Lyme (1840–1842); Newport (1848–1854); Plumbley (1844–1853); Tittensor Heath (1841–1844); Tunstall (1840–1844).

that a branch should be established, a local man, normally an ordained Elder was 'called' or 'set apart' to serve the new branch in that capacity. At the quarterly meeting of the Staffordshire Conference, held at Hanley on 28 September 1840, therefore, William Bradbury, a local Potteries convert and priest, reported six Mormon converts living at Baddeley Edge including a Teacher and two priests (one of which was Hugh Booth ordained by Cordon).[38]

It was reported the following December at the quarterly Conference that the Baddeley Edge branch had grown to twelve members and, by 1847, through local missionary success and 'child of record' (simply meaning a Mormon child already listed on Church records through family) baptisms had increased further to twenty–six members.[39] Cordon's personal diary records that Elder Hugh Booth was rapidly promoted to become branch President by 1841; branch records and entries in the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* show that three members were subsequently excommunicated, others had left, some had moved to other areas and two families emigrated to Utah.[40] The final mention of the Baddeley Edge branch in the Staffordshire Conference records was in 1848, when Elder Adams, then branch president, reported seventeen members none of whom were 'in very good standing'.[41] Within the eight years of its short existence it is relatively safe to assume therefore that there were never more than thirty members of the Baddeley Edge LDS branch and that these consisted of family groups rather than individuals. When the branch was closed those remaining active would have been assigned to branches elsewhere.

Despite the fact that most Mormon branches were, like Baddeley Edge, considerably smaller than their Established or Nonconformist church counterparts, the level of expected participation by members was the same, if not greater. Spiritual life and conversional career development within the branch followed a complex weekly schedule including several worship meetings, instructional lessons and social activities as well as regular council meetings. Disciplined and firm leadership of the branch was integral to its success. Branch leaders became increasingly local in origin from the earliest American–

---

[38] 'Staffordshire Potteries Conference', 28 September 1840, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[39] 'Staffordshire Potteries Conference', 25 December 1840 and 16 May 1847, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[40] 'Baddeley Edge Branch', 16 May 1847, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[41] 'Staffordshire Potteries Conference', 17 Staffordshire 1848, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

dominated missionary efforts (including members of the Twelve such as Apostles Heber Kimball, Orson Young, Parley P. Pratt and George A. Smith) to British converts such as Alfred Cordon and William Clayton) who increasingly represented the Church at the rank–and–file level. Branch presidents were normally ordained Elders and were expected to follow the Pauline admonition to Timothy that leaders should be 'sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality [and] apt to teach'.[42]

Many leaders had very little experience of pastoral or religious training to draw upon when they started. Cordon was ordained a Priest in July 1839 just a few weeks after his own baptism, and was given immediate responsibility for the new Potteries branch. Similarly, William Vernon, called to replace Cordon after he became President of the Staffordshire Conference, had only been a Church member for five months. Such assignments were frequently made at the quarterly Conference meeting of local branches under the spiritual authority of the Conference President. At the Staffordshire conference in Burslem on 17 September 1848, for example, it was resolved that Elder Gibson be appointed as president of the Leek branch which contained 6 members, including two other elders.[43]

With the lack of any formal seminary, local branch leaders depended heavily on their Conference Presidents for training and took guidance from publications such as the *Millennial Star*. Regional leaders would visit and assist local leaders to strengthen fledgling branches, as in the example of West Bromwich where branch president William Broomhead organised the membership successfully enough to attract the attention of the Birmingham Conference presidency. Two American missionaries were sent to assist Broomhead further in the proselytising of the area. Such missionaries often called 'Travelling Elders' journeyed from area to area precisely for this purpose. Thus when Elders Lorenzo D. Barnes and George D. Adams arrived in West Bromwich they convened a conference in Butcher Joseph Neal's yard in Spon Lane to encourage Broomhead and urge more new members in. Barnes appears to have been a very successful branch leader not only in terms of converts gained but also in the affectionate standing in which he was held by the branch.[44]

---

[42] 1 Timothy 2:16, *King James Bible*.

[43] 'Staffordshire Conference', 17 September 1848, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[44] Following his death on 20 December 1842, an obituary and a poem was published in the *Millennial Star* in his honour.

The relative inexperience of branch presidents could well have been regarded as prohibitive of effective leadership in other denominations but in the LDS Church a simple willingness to serve and to proselytise within the community was paramount. As Mormon scripture attested:

> Therefore, if ye have desires to serve God ye are called to the work; For behold the field is white already to harvest; and lo, he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might, the same layeth up in store that he perisheth not, but bringeth salvation to his soul; And faith, hope, charity and love, with an eye single to the glory of God, qualify him for the work.[45]

This emphasis upon service rather than qualifications for leadership reinforced Mormon theology in the importance of individual action for salvation. Branch leaders may not have been professionally trained but their similarity in class background to that of branch members resulted in high levels of personal compassion and social care. As part of their pastoral duties leaders often visited local families for fellowship who then opened their homes for public 'cottage' meetings. Branch leaders were greatly impressed with the self–sacrifice of their congregants while on these visits. As Cordon recorded in his journal of one such meeting:

> February 24, 1840 – We called at bro John Rowley. He had a verry large family. The[y] were verry badly of[f], but bro William Bradbury was worse of[f] than them so they would force him to take a loaf of Bredd with him home to his wife and family, for they had nothing to eat.[46]

Local communities of Mormons, small and precarious social groups as they often were, were tightly bound together not only religiously therefore but in terms of physical and practical support as well. In terms of lay participation leaders did not serve alone but expected branch members to undertake a range of duties within the Church. One of Mormon women's pastoral activities, for example, was the practice of home–visiting to provide support for other women who were sick or undergoing childbirth. On 31 December 1839, Emma Cordon was close to term of her second child and had fallen ill. Her health worsened throughout the day and she was joined by the 'sisters' in an attempt to support her. When her husband Alfred returned from preaching and baptising in Burslem he declared to the Mormon sisters Elizabeth Ravenscroft, Emily Glover and Fanny Bradbury that Emma 'was possessed of a devil which was writhing and twisting her body in many

---

[45] *D&C* 4:3–5.

[46] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 24 February 1840.

dreadful ways'.[47] Unlike Cordon, the women remained steadfast in their faith and prayed in order to rebuke the devil. According to Cordon's diary, the devil departed, Emma's pain left and she delivered a 'man child', born dead.

For former British Mission President Francis M. Lyman, such activities were a spiritual necessity for members. As he explained during the general conference of the Church on 6 October 1916, 'The fact is, there should be no inactive Latter–day Saints, for inactivity tends to death and darkness, whereas activity tends to life and animation and salvation'.[48] Lay participation not only encouraged new membership therefore, for Lyman it also increased a convert's own religious standing and development in their conversion career.

The social and physical condition of many Staffordshire Mormons was particularly destitute but this did not prevent the regular call for donations not only for the local branch and conference but also for the building of the American Church. In response to a direct request from Apostle Wilford Woodruff in 1845, the Staffordshire Conference President Elder Hiram Clark replied that he had:

> Organized the sisters in Hanley, Burslem and Lane End, so that they are contributing their penny a week towards the [Nauvoo, IL] Temple, and [that] the brethren seem very willing to pay their tithing and that it should be applied for procuring a bell for the Temple.[49]

Not all of the money collected under the auspices of tithing was used wisely, however, and on occasion branch presidents needed to be reminded of their financial responsibilities. This was particularly the case in hiring halls for worship or council meetings. In 1857, the *Millennial Star* urged branch presidents to refrain from hiring expensive halls for small groups where 'tithing collected within the branch' was invariably inadequate.[50] From numerous references in the *Millennial Star*, the provision of meeting spaces for worship seems to have been a constant concern. As noted in Chapter One, unlike many Nonconformist sects Mormons rarely, if ever, constructed their own purpose–built chapels and halls. Instead, much of early LDS preaching was conducted in local market squares, town centres and even parks. The open air provided little protection from

---

[47] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 1 January 1840.

[48] Francis M. Lyman, *Conference Report*, October 1916, p. 26; See also Francis M. Lyman, *Millennial Star*, 79:150 (1917); Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter–day Saints in Wales and Zion*, pp. 88–89.

[49] *Millennial Star*, 6:75 (15 August 1845).

[50] *Millennial Star*, 19:745 (21 November 1857), italics retained from the original.

hecklers and mischief–makers. There were always those who followed the Mormon missionaries, attempting to disrupt their preaching.

In Leek market place in 1840, for example, a meeting opened by Elder Richard Rushton and Brother Hawthorn was quickly concluded as 'the people turned three dogs on us'.[51] Yet not long after, Leek market–place received Cordon with respect and listened quietly and with 'great attention to what he said'.[52] On the few occasions that Mormon ministers preached at 'opposing' ministers' venues, a form of verbal combat could quickly ensue. When Theodore Turley, a member of the Seventy who originated from Birmingham was invited by a Methodist Preacher to preach in his house in 1840 he did so willingly. But it was not uncommon that once the missionary had completed his oration the hosting minister would reply with equal vigour to show the error of the LDS message. Such diverse reactions were all part and parcel of the early LDS landscape.

It seemed that when the requirement for accommodation became necessary, any available building would suffice. One early missionary, Joseph White had to 'lodge in fields' before he found a house to stay in.[53] In the small village of Stone, eight miles south of Stoke, where Wilford Woodruff visited in February 1840, widow Gilbert of Church Street offered her house for worship. On another occasion in South Staffordshire a local butcher's premises was used for sacrament meetings.[54] Apostle George A. Smith, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, described one building used by Staffordshire Mormons with capacity for 200 members as a 'chicken house infested with fleas'.[55] Little could be done though he reflected as 'only a third of the 450 Saints...were fully employed, others worked only two or three days per week, and some worked not at all'.[56] When the missionaries travelled to Leek, a silk shed in Compton Street was located and used. (Silk manufacture was one of the main forms of employment in Leek and a number of local Mormons were silk–weavers). Apostles and missionaries like Smith stayed in the homes of

---

[51] 'Staffordshire Conference', *Manuscript History of the British Mission*. Report from Richard Rushton, dated 9 September 1840.

[52] Ibid.

[53] 'British Mission Diary', *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, Letter from Joseph White to Parley P. Pratt, 9 November 1840.

[54] Henry Stokes, *Reminiscences*, (MS 1587) LDS Church Archives.

[55] George A. Smith, 'My Journal', *The Instructor*, (March 1947), p. 322.

[56] James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992), p. 227.

local Mormons often to their physical detriment. The silk weaver Job Tatton's home in Leek, where Smith lodged, was infested with insects causing Smith bleeding of the lungs.

If a building was required longer term, Staffordshire branch leaders often resorted to civic halls such as the 150–seat capacity Mechanics Institute Hall at Drewry Street in Longton, or the premises of the local Temperance or Teetotal Society. (As a result of their similar convictions regarding alcohol and particularly after the conversion of the Methodist preacher and Temperance Society president William Player, Temperance halls were successfully procured on behalf of the Mormons throughout Staffordshire as well as in many other places in Britain.

The meaning of church for Mormons then was not located in an ornate physical building or space but in the common beliefs, fellowship and responsibilities of the membership. In addition, the powerful influence of the doctrine of the 'gathering' or the return to Zion in Utah which forms the subject of Chapter Six gave British Mormonism a peculiarly transitory character in the nineteenth century. Not until 1903 did the LDS Church commence a worldwide building programme for houses of worship and Joseph F. Smith made it clear that Mormonism was to be a permanent feature of the British religious landscape:

> Our mission in Great Britain…has continued for the last 60 years or more, and yet we have never attempted to build houses of worship there, and many of the people have supposed that our work there was only temporary. But we desire it distinctly understood that "Mormonism", has come to stay.[57]

THE DECLINE OF THE STAFFORDSHIRE CONFERENCE

The numerical decrease of Mormon branches and membership in the British Isles was as steep as its growth was rapid. As can be seen in Figure 5–6, Mormon congregations peaked in 1852 with 742 branches but by the end of the nineteenth century only 61 remained.[58]

---

[57] President Joseph F. Smith, *Conference Report October 1903* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1903), p. 4.

[58] James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992), p. 227.
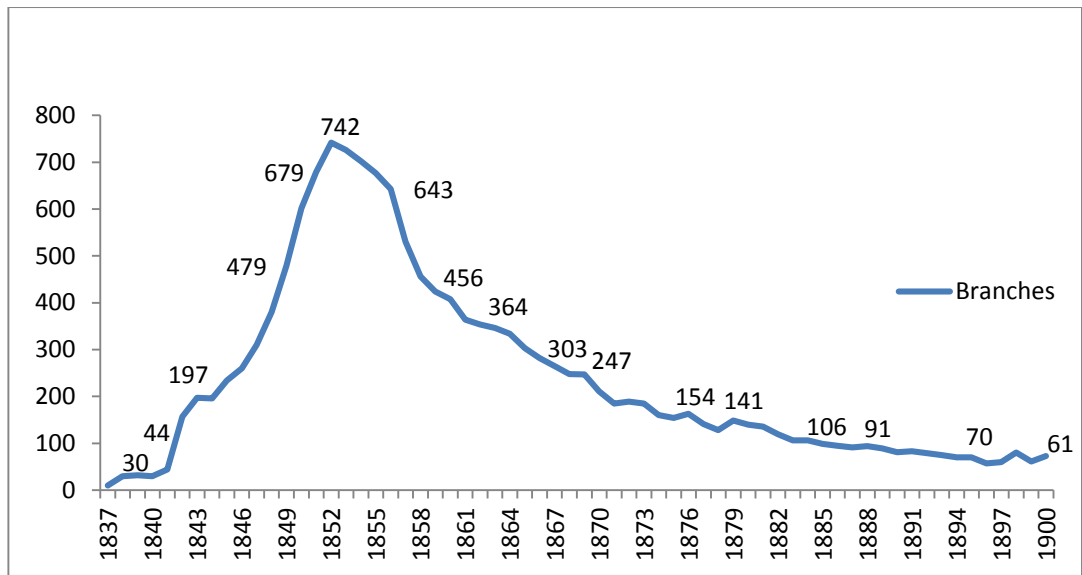
Figure 5–6 Rise and Decline of Mormon Branches in the British Isles 1837–1900

Figure 5–7 below illustrates the parallel rise and decline between baptisms and membership during 1837 and 1900. Thus in 1852, the highpoint of 742 branches was sustained by 6,665 baptisms and a total membership of 32,339. The peak in baptisms was in 1849 where 8,620 baptisms strengthened 479 branches and a total membership of 27,912 British Mormons.[59] By the end of 1899 the remaining 61 branches were supported by just 416 baptisms totalling 3,812 British members.
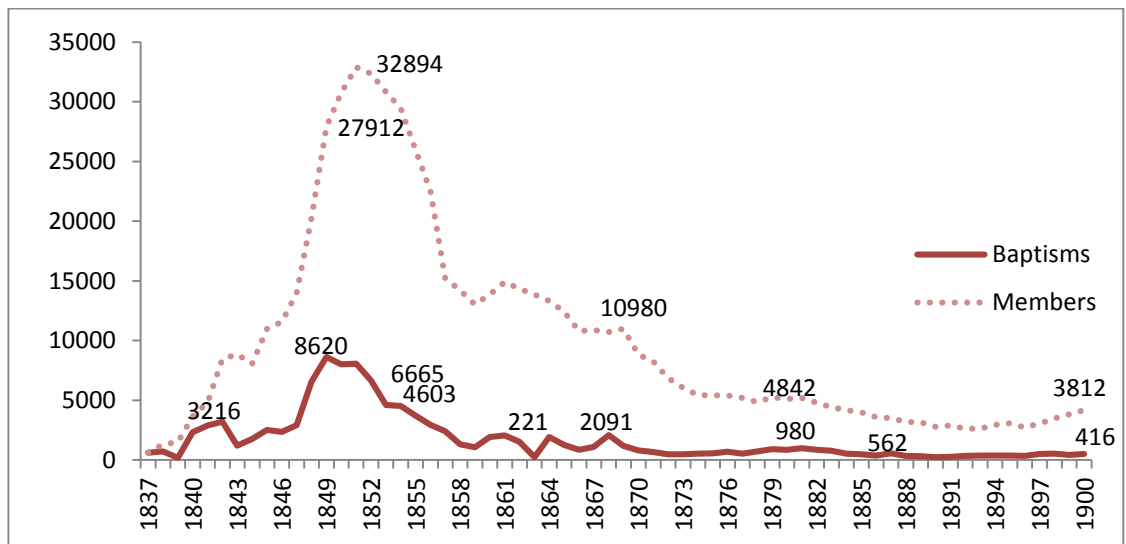
Figure 5–7 Pattern of Baptisms and Membership in the British Isles 1837–1900

---

[59] Ibid.
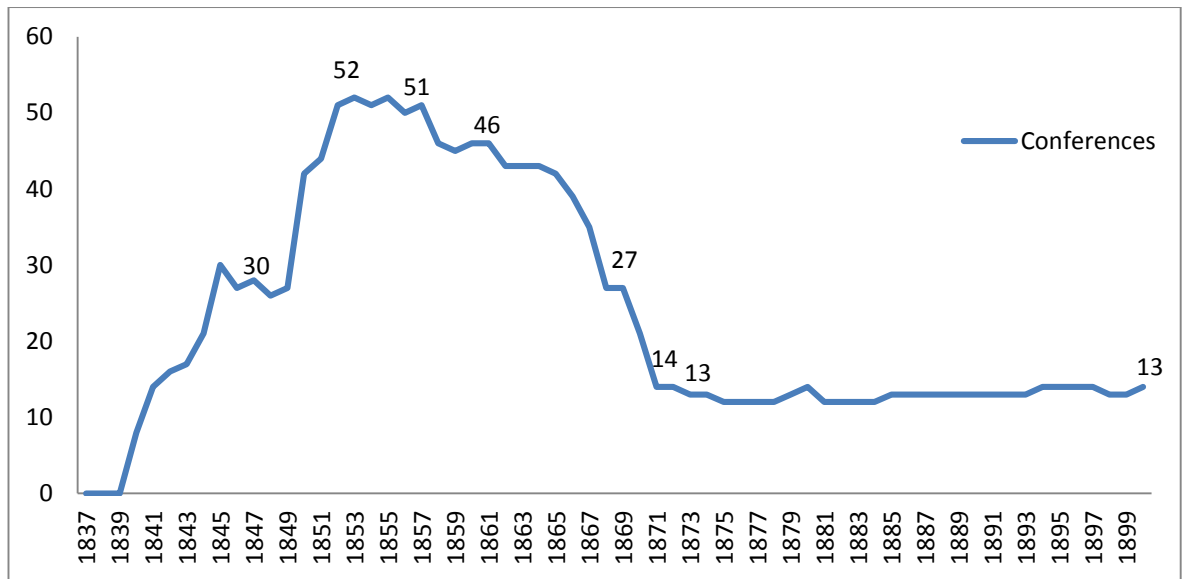
Figure 5–8 Rise and Decline of Mormon Conferences in the British Isles 1839–1871

The structural and organisational implications of this meant the complete disappearance of some Conferences and the amalgamation of others. As Figure 5–8 indicates, at the height of British Mormonism in 1853 there were 52 conferences – this had fallen by 1871 to just fourteen.[60]

Nor was the Staffordshire Conference immune to these developments. Until 1842, it had remained the main regional focus of Midlands Mormonism, but in 1841 South Staffordshire was amalgamated into the Birmingham Conference given its proximity to this larger city to make administration easier. Decreasing membership meant that Staffordshire was finally subsumed under the Birmingham Conference in 1870. But the decline of Staffordshire as a conference stronghold in its own right was a highly complex issue involving a multiplicity of factors. The overall pattern of growth and decline of the conference membership is indicated below in Figure 5–9 which shows two rapid growth points of membership between 1839–1841 and 1851–1853. The first of these was attributable to the intense missionary activity undertaken during the origins of the Staffordshire conference. The second was in part attributable to the arrival in Britain of dynamic US orators such as Orson Pratt.

---

[60] Ibid.
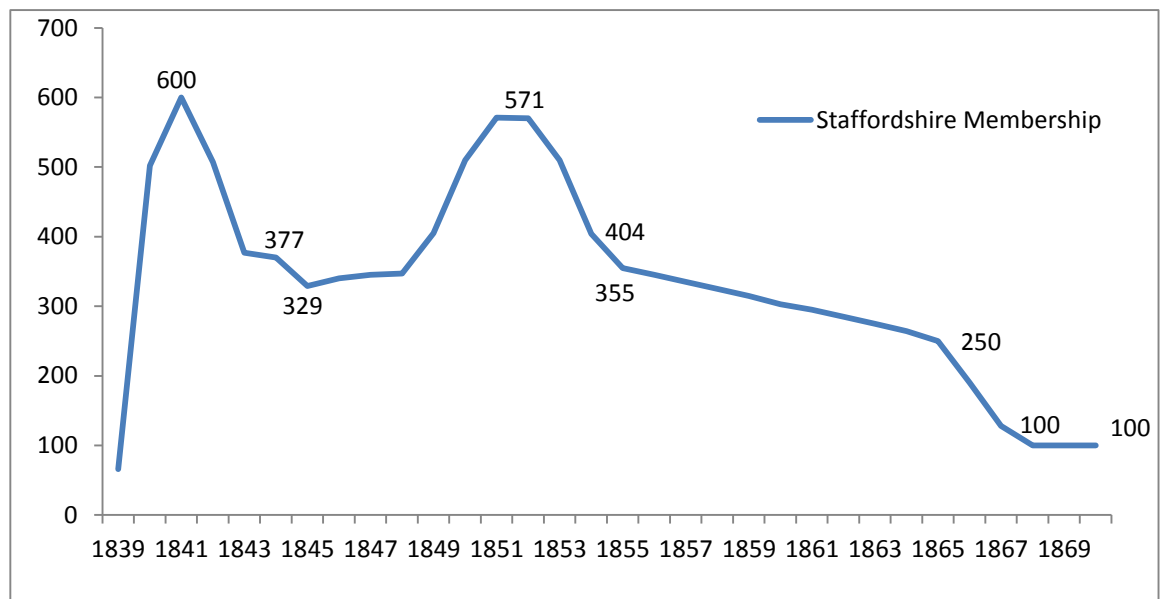
Figure 5–9 Rise and Decline of Staffordshire Conference Membership 1839–1870

Year	Staffs Mormon	Year	Staffs Mormon	Year	Staffs Mormon
1839	66	1850	510	1860	303
1840	502	1851	571	1861	295
1841	600	1852	570	1862	285
1842	507	1853	510	1863	275
1843	377	1854	404	1864	264
1844	370	1855	355	1865	250
1845	329	1856	345	1866	190
1846	340	1857	335	1867	128
1847	321	1858	325	1868	100
1848	347	1859	315	1869	100
1849	405	–	–	1870	100

Table 5–7 Staffordshire Mormon Membership Figures 1840–1870

As Table 5–7 above demonstrates, within twelve months of its organisation the Staffordshire conference had increased from 66 converts to 502. Membership peaked in 1841 at 600 members and it would never again exceed this level. Between 1841 and 1847 membership fell to 321 (of which 67 were excommunicated or reported as of doubtful standing) across 11 branches. Burslem branch was the largest of these with 101 members.[61]

---

[61] *Millennial Star*, 9:229 (1 August 1847).

At this time George D. Watt was assigned as Conference President.[62] In 1847 he described Staffordshire Mormons as being in a 'languid and drooping condition' comparing them with over–ripe fruit almost ready for rotting and finding the conference 'something like the gathering of the grapes after the vintage is over'.[63] Something had to be done to arrest the spiritual decline – that something was the Mormon Reformation.

MORMON REFORMATION IN THE STAFFORDSHIRE CONFERENCE

The decline and apparent apathy of British Mormons after the mid–1850s did not go unnoticed in the Church's headquarters in Salt Lake City. In January 1857, Orson Pratt, then British Mission President, received an edict from Brigham Young to commence a 'reformation' in the British Isles.[64] The purpose, as Young stated, was to 'stir up the saints in England to reform and awake' as the 'saints are dead and do not drink at the living fountain'.[65] What became known as the British Mormon Reformation was, as Richard O. Cowan has observed, more an exercise in pruning than reforming.[66] Pratt and his assistant Ezra T. Benson were told to rejuvenate themselves first, then go throughout the entire mission and arouse the people. Benson was ideal for the task as he was already known as 'a free–wheeling, outspoken individual'.[67] Young had Benson in mind when he spoke of the need to 'trim off the dead branches, so that the tree may thrive, grow, and expand'[68] and he charged Benson in the letter to 'kick the scales' from the eyes of the British Saints.[69] On 4 February 1857, Pratt convened a meeting of the Liverpool mission office and read them the letter, whereupon all declared their intention to participate fully.[70]

---

[62] Watt had been transferred from Edinburgh following a disagreement with a Brother Gibson and transferred with President Orson Hyde's approval as British Mission President. See Ronald D. Watt, *The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt: First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* (Logan: Utah State University, 2009), pp. 67–69.

[63] *Millennial Star*, 9:228 (1 August 1847).

[64] *Millennial Star*, 19:129–34 (28 February 1857). For a lengthy discussion of Mormon Reformation throughout the church see Paul H. Peterson, 'The Mormon Reformation' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980).

[65] Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 30 October 1856, (CR 1234 1) LDS Church Archives.

[66] Richard O. Cowan, 'Church Growth in England, 1841–1914', in *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 215.

[67] Paul H. Peterson, 'The Mormon Reformation', p. 141.

[68] Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 30 October 1856, (CR 1234 1) LDS Church Archives.

[69] Ibid.

[70] *Millennial Star*, 19:129–134 (28 February 1857).

The aim was to first reform the mission and branch leaders after which the lay members would be re–covenanted to keep the commandments and be re–baptised as a sign of reform. Those who were unwilling or unable to comply were, for the first time, to be 'cut off', in other words to have their names removed as members of the Church and, as a consequence, be faced with the prospect of eternal damnation; the leadership were perfectly prepared for this. [71] 'I believe a work of great magnitude is about to be accomplished in this country', exclaimed Pratt, even 'if one third should be cut off'.[72] From Liverpool, the challenge was taken out to the Pastorates, Conferences and Branches and for approximately ten months in 1857 normal missionary work was suspended until the process was completed.[73] Ezra T. Benson, Pratt's fiery counsellor, was the main articulator of Reformation principles and the need to 'cleanse the British Mission from every kind of rubbish'.[74] Benson was nothing if not enthusiastic; Matthias Cowley, a missionary from Utah, observed that he went about 'like a two–edged sword, cutting on all sides everything that is impure'.[75] However, it remained the responsibility of local Elders to methodically call on individual members and urge them to confess their sins, renew their covenants, and agree to baptism. They were not always successful. Many Saints were reluctant to recommit themselves, seeing little need for reformation.

In the Staffordshire Conference, in what was often a difficult and struggling experience of branch life for members, religious discipline could be surprisingly strict. And the regularity and severity of Church discipline in terms of conversion career ensured that only the most obedient were retained. Even before the formal Reformation had commenced, Staffordshire Elder George W. Thurston had begun a process of 'sifting' in the region. In a report to Orson Pratt, Thurston explained that 'by our statistical report you will see many have been cut off, but it was necessary, and I am satisfied that more pruning will yet have to be done'.[76] During 1856 only 41 members were baptised, mainly through

---

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Peterson states that 'I have reached this conclusion that (the bulk of it was completed by June) after reading several journals. See for example, William Jefferies Journal, entries from February through July 1857; Jesse Hobson Diary, entries from February through October 1857; Elijah Larkin Diary, entries from February through September, 1857. See Peterson p. 144, fn. 23.

[74] Letter from Ezra Taft Benson to John Taylor, 29 January 1857, reprinted in *The Mormon*, 21 February 1857.

[75] Letter from Matthias Cowley to James McKnight, *Deseret News* 7:26 (4 April 1857).

[76] *Millennial Star*, 19:175 (10 February 1857).

the medium of lectures and the distribution of tracts.[77] In nearby Shrewsbury, leaders reported that they had begun as early as 1856 the 'trimming off dry branches' to rid the Conference of its more lax and disobedient members. Elder Tyler reported to Pratt that the pruning had 'done much good for there has been an increase of diligence in the performance of duties with the faithful'.[78]

Charges were brought ranging from adultery, thievery and drunkenness to apostasy and religious disobedience. Nor were branch leaders exempted from such procedures. Brother Martin, a Teacher of the Aaronic priesthood at the Newcastle under Lyme branch, for example was accused 'of an enormous crime', siring his sixteen–year–old stepdaughter's child. Martin expressed great regret, but Council officers unanimously carried that both father and stepdaughter be disfellowshipped from the Church until appropriate evidence was available of their repentance and reconciliation with the Church. In his short autobiography Henry Stokes who became Branch President of West Bromwich in 1858 (and previously president of Smethwick Branch in 1852),[79] recounts the experience of an Elder Edward Southwick. According to the West Bromwich branch minutes in November 1858, it states that Southwick had been:

> disfellowshipped for a fortnight for neglect of duty and non–payment of tithing and if he does not come up and pay his tithing and attend to his duty as an officer in the Kingdom of God [he'll] be cut off. Carried.[80]

Southwick did not comply and was excommunicated in December 1858 for 'non–payment of tithing and neglect of duty and falsely accusing his brethren'.[81] Not until five years later was he re–baptised into the Church and re–ordained to the office of Elder.[82]

By May 1857 so many had severed their relationships with the Church that in a letter to Brigham Young, Orson Pratt predicted that 'when the branches are all trimmed and set in order, the Saints in these lands will not number more than about one half as

---

[77] Ibid.

[78] *Millennial Star*, 18:108 (18 January 1856).

[79] 'Smethwick', 11 April 1852 and 'West Bromwich', 27 November 1858, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[80] 'West Bromwich', 27 November 1858, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[81] 'West Bromwich', 9 December 1858, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[82] The 'West Bromwich' entry in the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* for '4 Jan 1863' records that a 'council meeting, Elder Edward Southwick Sr. appeared before the council and stated his desire to again renew his covenant and re–enter the church. After some very lengthy remarks by Pres. Charles Napper and many of the brethren it was moved and seconded to receive Bro. Southwick into the church again by baptism.'

many as in 1850 (30,747 members)'.[83] Pratt's prophecy was accurate – total British membership at the end of 1857 was just 15,220, with only 2,405 conversions and 1,208 emigrations.[84] It must have certainly brought dismay to Staffordshire Conference leaders when reviewing the half–year reports for June 1852 which showed that the number of those excommunicated was 48, with only 58 conversions. In addition, two members had died and six members had emigrated.[85] Six months later, only 55 Staffordshire women and men had been converted but 76 excommunicated, taking the Staffordshire total to 529 members.[86] By December 1854 the situation had worsened with 26 converts, one death, ten emigrations, 18 excommunications and only 404 members left. Not even an optimistic letter from William G. Young, then President of the Staffordshire conference, commenting on the regular weekly baptisms, could allay the reality of the decline.[87]

A Reformation supposed to strengthen membership therefore had ironically contributed to a steep decline in membership with serious practical and organisational consequences. As branches in the Staffordshire conference became amalgamated or closed, for example, the travelling distance between them increased. Isaac Pool, a member of the Middlewich District Presidency, had to resign from his position due to the distance between the branches and the relocation of his employment.[88] By March 1861 the Staffordshire Conference had declined to just nine branches and, as Elder Cliff informed the Presidency, 'some of them [were] far apart, which requires a great deal of leg–service to keep things moving along'.[89] By 1863 several Mormons attending the quarterly meeting of the Staffordshire Conference had to travel over twenty miles.[90] It was the older converts who suffered most; in the end, they did not leave the Church, rather the Church left them. In his report of 16 August 1864, William H. Sherman, who held responsibilities for several conferences including Staffordshire, identified the scattered condition of the Church in the

---

[83] Letter from Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 1 May 1857, LDS Church Archives.

[84] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[85] *Millennial Star*, 14:318 (10 July 1852).

[86] *Millennial Star*, 15:78 (29 January 1853).

[87] *Millennial Star*, 18:413–414 (30 June 1855).

[88] 'Middlewich Branch', minutes for Middlewich District Conference, *Manuscript History of the British Mission* (23 October, 1853).

[89] Letter from Elder Cliff to the British Mission Presidency, *Millennial Star*, 23:201 (18 March 1861).

[90] Report from Elder William Hopwood to the British Mission Presidency, *Millennial Star*, 25:238 (11 April 1863).

area as a key reason for its decline and the fact that 'not a great many were present'.[91] President Charles Taylor's report also identified its scattered condition over a wide area of the country (including the former Shropshire Conference areas) as a problem. Taylor had once worked the area with eight missionaries but eventually he was the sole missionary visiting from house to house to 'tract'. Fewer missionaries inevitably meant fewer converts.[92] By 1867, the Staffordshire Conference had approximately 128 members and six branches. Only 100 Mormons were left in 1870; the Conference was amalgamated into the Birmingham administrative district and Staffordshire lost its status and significance as an independent unit.

Membership decline in Staffordshire and the UK had no single cause. A diversity of organisational, national, regional and domestic reasons such as the increasing age of members, local opposition, religious apathy and excommunications contributed as did organisational changes through branch and conference closures. Small wonder that the remaining Staffordshire Saints were, wherever possible, desirous to leave for 'Zion', they must have believed that God was already approaching with his judgements upon the nations given the turbulent situation they lived in.[93] The doctrine of the 'gathering' and emigration was a further significant factor in the loss of vitality of the Staffordshire conference and it is to this influential Mormon concept that we turn in the final chapter of this thesis.

---

[91] Letter from William H. Sherman to British Mission Presidency, *Millennial Star*, 26:573 (16 August 1864).

[92] Release Report of Charles B. Taylor to President Wells, *Millennial Star*, 27:254 (3 April 1865).

[93] 'Latter–day Saints Conference', *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 25 February 1867.

CHAPTER 6

EMIGRATION AND THE DECLINE OF STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONISM

> Nobody is in an ill–temper, nobody is the worse for drink, nobody swears an oath or uses a coarse word, nobody appears depressed, nobody is weeping…I should have said they were in their degree the pick and flower of England.[1]
>
> Gather yourselves together, come home; and more especially to the Saints in the British Isles; *come home! come home*!![2]

As suggested *inter alia* throughout this thesis, arguably the most significant doctrine of nineteenth–century Mormon orthodoxy was not the practice of polygamy (although this was probably the most controversial), but that of the 'gathering'.[3] This teaching alone resulted in over 90,000 European Mormon converts (including over 55,000 from Britain) relocating to America between 1837 and 1900, giving up their employment, social networks and, in some cases, their own families. As noted in Chapter Two, the doctrine of the gathering has only received sustained attention from scholars of US Mormonism. This final chapter, instead, examines the impact of this central LDS tenet upon the *British* Mormon experience and, in particular, what we now know to be from Chapter Five, the rapidly declining Mormon presence in Staffordshire by 1870, the end–point of the thesis. What inspired Staffordshire Mormons to undertake such a hazardous journey and what practical support and encouragement did they receive from the Church

---

[1] Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop and the Uncommercial Traveller* (New York: F. M. Lupton, 1896), pp. 200–211. This was written on Dickens visit to the London Docks in order to review the Mormon emigrant party on–board the *Amazon*.

[2] 'Sixth Epistle of the Presidency of the Church', *Millennial Star*, 14:23 (15 January 1852).

[3] It has often been espoused by apologists that only 2 to 3 per cent of Mormons practised polygamy, however, it has been argued more recently, that the rate was closer to 20 to 30 per cent. As a detailed examination of this doctrine is beyond the scope of this thesis see: Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1997); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1989); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); B. Carmon Hardy, *The Works of Abraham: A Documentary History of Mormon Polygamy* (Spokane: Arthur H Clark Company, 2007). For more specific Utah experiences see Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth–Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough? The Story of Mormon Polygamy* (New York: Henry Holt, 1954); Jesse Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987); Kathryn Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

leadership? To what extent was the diminishing membership of the Staffordshire Conference a cause for celebration rather than concern, given the distinctive nature of Mormon theology whereby all would ideally return to Zion? This chapter begins with an examination of the influential doctrine of the 'gathering' which underpinned the whole missiological programme in the UK and asks to what extent spiritual or socio– economic considerations motivated British and Staffordshire emigrants? It then explores the organisational aspects of emigration along with the financial risks and physical dangers confronting those who undertook the perilous trip across the Atlantic in order to demonstrate the often brutal realities of what was often a heavily romanticised spiritual concept. Fluctuations in emigration patterns throughout the period are analysed and, finally, I discuss the impact of the gathering upon the British LDS Church and, specifically, upon Staffordshire Mormon life.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE GATHERING

This doctrine originated in New York State in 1830 when Joseph Smith taught that the 'gathering' was intended to ensure that the Saints might return to a central place to prepare for an approaching time of tribulation.[4] As the doctrine evolved the purpose of the gathering became not only that of providing a place of 'refuge, a place of safety for the saints', but also the genesis of a modern day communal Zion.[5] For historians such as Robert Flanders and Carl Guarneri, the Mormon concept of a communal Zion represented an evangelical adaptation of other US utopian experiments such as the Amana Church Society, the Harmonists, the Shakers and the Oneida Community, albeit greater in scale.[6] But it was not an easily achievable ideal. Alexander L. Baugh, for example, has described

---

[4] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:112. Smith wrote in 1842 in a letter to John Wentworth, Editor of the *Chicago Democrat*: 'We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this (the American) continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.' Letter from Joseph Smith to John Wentworth, Editor of the *Chicago Democrat* reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 3:706 (March 1842); *History of the Church*, 4:54; James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1965), 1:142.

[5] *History of the Church*, 1:163.

[6] Robert Bruce Flanders, 'The Kingdom of God In Illinois: Politics In Utopia', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 26–36; Carl J. Guarneri, 'Reconstructing the Antebellum Communitarian Movement: Oneida and Fourierism', *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 463–488; Matthew Cooper, 'Relations of Modes of Production in Nineteenth Century America: The Shakers and Oneida'. *Ethnology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (January 1987), pp. 1–16; W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560–1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1961), pp. 272–286. Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, 18:222–223 (26 August 1876).

the difficulties of the Missouri Mormons in establishing their own Zion, which all too often brought with it misunderstandings, jealousies, mob action, the confiscation and destruction of property, killings and civil conflict', as discussed in Chapter One.[7] Between 1830 and 1844 several places of gathering were identified in the US. These included Kirtland, Ohio; Independence, Missouri; Far West, Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois.[8] But anti–Mormon persecution and mob violence prevented any of these locations from successfully becoming long–term places of refuge.

Smith had always conceived of the Mormon Zion as far more than just an internal, spiritual state of contemplation. Instead, Zion was a precise, physical city space:

> a regular grid pattern with square blocks, streets 132 feet wide, alternating half–acre lots so that houses face alternate streets on each block, uniform brick or stone construction, homes set back 25 feet from the street, front yard landscaping, gardens in the backyard, the location of farms outside of town, and the designation of central blocks as a site for temples, schools, and other public buildings.[9]

The central designation of the temple (a building dedicated to higher esoteric worship) in the middle of the city was deliberate. '[I]n any age of the world, the object of gathering the people of God was the same', wrote Smith, 'to build unto the Lord an house whereby he could reveal unto his people the ordinances of his temple'.[10] The importance of the relationship between the temple and the gathering became firmly established in Mormon teaching right through to the twentieth century. The resultant doctrine demanded that all converts, regardless of location, employment or circumstances, leave 'Babylon' and the 'Gentiles' and emigrate to the church's headquarters in Zion to take part in the ordinances of the temple. In turn, this endowed participants with the information and

---

[7] Alexander Baugh, 'Introduction, Missouri Mormonism: Past and Present', *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1989), p. 1.

[8] Kirtland, *History of the Church*, 1:139; Independence, *History of the Church*, 1:346; Far West, *History of the Church*, 1:189; *History of the Church*, 3:24, Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion', in *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 165.

[9] 'City Planning', in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:283–285.

[10] Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1990), p. 212.

opportunity to attain the highest heavenly state.[11] Thus, the consequence of spreading the Mormon gospel throughout the world was, paradoxically, to return its converts to a designated location, ultimately weakening its wider global influence.

The doctrine of the gathering became a fundamental aspect of British missionaries' teachings stimulated by the renewed missionary effort of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1840. At the Manchester inaugural meeting on 16 April, Elder Brigham Young moved, and Parley P. Pratt seconded, that 'we recommend no one to go to America that has money: without assisting the poor according to our counsel from time to time'.[12] Those who had sufficient money were encouraged to support those who did not to make plans to emigrate. This timing coincided with the establishment of a new Mormon city in Illinois; thus new waves of not only Mormon devotees but also loyal citizens strengthened Mormon civil power in Nauvoo, as previously described in Chapter One. Yet the missionary Joseph Fielding also expressed a more humanitarian aspect of the gathering in his diary:

> The [English] people are poor; to take them out from this country will be much like taking the Children of Israel out of Egypt, and will require the same power and wisdom. Perhaps the fate of who shall be left will be little better than that of the Egyptians.[13]

Fielding's comments suggest that British Mormon branches might be regarded as a precursor to the gathering, while accepting that others would be left behind. Ultimately nearly half (42%) of the British Church would emigrate between 1840 and 1900.[14] For some, as Fielding predicted, emigration provided an escape from social and economic deprivation. Others went anticipating a more millennialist form of deliverance – namely that they would be taken from their poverty–stricken status to a world of peace, with no illness and no hardship. Indeed, from its beginnings the *Millennial Star* had taught, following Smith, the imminence of the millennium within sixty years.[15] This would be a

---

[11] James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1976), p. 91; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1951), pp. 177–78; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 271; Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: the Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1977), pp. 82–84.

[12] *History of the Church*, 4:119.

[13] *Joseph Fielding Diary*, p. 31. (Transcribed copy in possession of author).

[14] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[15] *Millennial Star*, 1:1 (17 April 1841).

time, according to Smith, when 'the Lord called his people Zion because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them'.[16] For the majority, however, emigration was probably simply an obedient response to the call of Church leaders, a sign of faithfulness despite personal difficulties and the lack of any real understanding of its theological meaning.

Although the doctrine of the gathering consistently underpinned British missionaries' preaching, for practical reasons it became known in many periodicals as simply 'emigration' with regard to the physical aspect, and 'the gathering' when referring to its spiritual context. The *Millennial Star* actively promoted the doctrine, printing news of frequent disasters, wars, droughts and famines around the world in order to reinforce the Mormon eschatological position that in Zion only 'all was well'. Articles appearing under titles such as 'News from around the World', or 'Reader Reflect', highlighted global crises so as to dissuade Mormons from staying in 'Babylon' and, encouraging them to remove to Zion where the Saints resided.[17] Not surprisingly the editor of the *Millennial Star*, who was normally a member of the British Mission Presidency, would draw graphic comparisons between the urban poverty and desperate working conditions of Victorian Britain and the fresh, clean, land–owning, free–holding life of Utah.

> For the Saints to get themselves to the [Salt Lake] Valley [it] is a good thing. Few of them can be worse off there than they are here. Many of them here have not the necessaries, to say nothing of the comforts, of life. There, all would have the necessaries and most would obtain many of the comforts. As a whole, the Saints of Utah are far better fed and clothed than their brethren and sisters in this country. Then how unwise it is for anyone to delay gathering till he gain sufficient means here to make himself what he things comfortable on the journey to, and after he arrives at, the Mountains.[18]

This representation of Utah as an idyllic paradise was relatively short–lived, however, as the doctrine of the gathering developed along with the changing physical and economic conditions of the state. By 1900, for example, the policy was for converts to remain in their own country, build local churches and not feel obliged to travel to any of

---

[16] Moses 7:18–21, *Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1981); Dean L. May, 'Body and Soul: The Record of Mormon Religious Philanthropy', *Church History*, vol. 57, no. 3 (September 1988), pp. 323–324; Grant Underwood, 'Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), pp. 41–51.

[17] For example: *Millennial Star*, 8:66 (1 September 1846), 8:100 (1 November 1846) and 9:289 (15 September 1858).

[18] *Millennial Star*, 16:763 (2 December 1854).

the multiple gathering places now identified in the US had begun to emerge.[19] Despite this, between 1840 and 1870 the British Saints were instructed in and readily embraced the doctrine of the gathering. The following discussion examines their emigration experiences through an analysis of the main British ports of departure and the operational aspects of the programme used to send as many Mormon converts to America as possible.

ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS OF EMIGRATION

According to maritime historian Conway Sonne, of the 228 recorded Mormon voyages leaving Britain, only eight departed from ports other than Liverpool between 1840 and 1870.[20] As one of the busiest international ports of the nineteenth century with good connections to an established railway network, Liverpool proved an excellent location in which to establish the Mormon Church headquarters and shipping agents, although this meant moving the mission office from Manchester in 1842 where it had been established for two years.[21] Although ideally situated, Liverpool was a hazardous place where many were ready to take advantage of a naive emigrant. As Terry Coleman has explained, emigrants were subjected to a confusing and exploitative series of encounters with agents, recruiters and boarding housekeepers.[22]

The Church leadership quickly recognised the potential vulnerability of their converts and established procedures to protect and facilitate the safe shipping of thousands of Mormons across the Atlantic.[23] In 1841 the Quorum of the Twelve appointed Amos

---

[19] President Joseph F. Smith, *Conference Report October 1903* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1903), p. 97. With the message of Mormons remaining in their own country becoming common rhetoric, it also introduced the concept of 'Multiple Zions'. For an in depth discussion see David M. Morris, 'The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency through Change, 1831–1920', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 167–169.

[20] Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press), pp. 148–159.

[21] The British Mission office had first been established in Preston, Lancashire in 1837 and moved to Manchester in 1840 in response to the second mission of the 'Twelve.'

[22] Terry Coleman, *Passage to America: A History of Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the Mid–Nineteenth Century* (London: Hutchinson, 1972), pp. 67–68, as cited in Fred E. Woods, 'From Liverpool to Keokuk', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Fall 2003), p. 5. See also Wilbur S. Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America: Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 135 and 141–144.

[23] The *Millennial Star* emphasised the problem at Liverpool by reprinting an extract from the *Preston Guardian*, 'What a drunken place is Liverpool. During the last twelve months 13,914 drunkards were brought before the magistrate, of whom 5,930 were females. The numbers who were not sufficiently riotous to get into the hands of the police is not reported.' *Millennial Star*, 26:16 (2 January 1864).

Fielding to oversee this enterprise. He worked under the direction of the British Mission President commencing with Heber C. Kimball.

> We have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of the Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations for a voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding, at Liverpool, as their first movement, when they arrive there as emigrants. There are some brethren who have felt themselves competent to do their own business in these matters, and rather despising the counsel of their friends, have been robbed and cheated out of nearly all they had.[24]

Fielding used the *Millennial Star* to help centralise the organisation of emigrant voyages so as to minimise any financial risks associated with such a major journey. As the main source of information for the local leadership, the regular and prominent discussion of the gathering in the *Millennial Star* exerted a major influence upon the successful dissemination of the doctrine and established its prominence among many local branches. Through it, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles issued an epistle to the British Saints providing practical advice on a number of emigration matters and the benefits of emigrant companies:

> It is a great saving to go in companies, instead of going individually. First, a company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise. Secondly, provisions can be purchased at wholesale for a company much cheaper than otherwise. Thirdly, this will avoid bad company on the passage. Fourthly, when a company arrives in New Orleans they can charter a steam–boat so as to reduce the passage near one–half. This measure will save some hundreds of pounds on each ship load. Fifthly, a man of experience can go as leader of each company, who will know how to avoid rogues and knaves.[25]

Consequently, British Mormons quickly saw great benefits in chartering their own ships and travelling with larger companies, not only for financial advantage but also for safety. Travelling in larger groups also reinforced and stimulated a sense of community with fellow Saints. Under the company system emigrants arriving in Liverpool were directed to immediately board the ship or stay at a locally approved hotel, such as the Temperance Hotel in Manchester Street.[26] Unlike thousands of 'regular' emigrants, Mormons did not have to concern themselves regarding the exact details of transfers, onward ticketing or planning of a route, as this had all been co–ordinated by Amos

---

[24] *Millennial Star*, 1:311 (April 1841).

[25] Ibid.

[26] Fred E. Woods, 'From Liverpool to Keokuk', p. 8.

Fielding and his successors from Liverpool.[27] On board ship, the church arranged for and appointed a leader, often a returning missionary, to oversee the entire company including, often, the following overland journey. As with all Mormon leadership structures, leaders were normally assisted by two counsellors who oversaw smaller units or 'wards' during the voyage. In this way a reasonable level of reassurance and safety was provided for each emigrant.

THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUND

Financial hardship was a major obstacle for the many working–class British Mormons wishing to emigrate. During the first ten years of emigration between 1840 and 1850 no formal financial support was available from the church. Instead, emigrants had to save or rely on gifts from more prosperous Mormons to make the journey which, as time went on, became increasingly difficult with fewer people remaining behind. Even after the introduction of limited aid converts were still encouraged to be self–funding. George Wood from West Bromwich, Staffordshire, was a relatively wealthy Mormon who travelled to the US on board the *Ashland* in 1849 with his entire family, including siblings and their families, all funded by his own resources.[28] For Wood it was not the talk of new land and opportunity that motivated him to emigrate 'but the light of the Gospel and the spirit of gathering [that] led us onwards'.[29]

George Wood was an earnest and well–educated man, but for those more easily led, romanticised notions of Utah quickly became part of common folklore in Staffordshire. False exaggerations and inaccurate descriptions of Zion proliferated, not just from the rank and file of the church but, as Jedediah M. Grant (a member of the First Presidency) illustrates, from the leaders themselves as well:

> I am aware that some Elders who go forth and preach long and pious sermons,
> frequently represent Zion as one of the most delight–some places in the world, as
> if the people in Salt Lake City were so pure and holy that the flame of sanctity
> would almost singe the hair off a common man's head. Others suppose when

---

[27] The Potters Emigration Society published a periodical that offered advice to emigrants on travelling but in the main had to plan the journey themselves. The *Potters Examiner and Emigrants Advocate*, was a Staffordshire published periodical but was distributed throughout Britain and would regularly receive emigration advice from America.

[28] This was due to having 'means and good business in our homeland.' 'George Wood Autobiographical Sketch', *MIICD*.

[29] George Wood, *MIICD*.

they come here, that they are to be fed, clothed, and housed independent of their own exertions. Some of the Elders have told the Saints in England that the first two weeks after they landed here all they would have to do would be to contemplate the beauties of Zion, and be furnished two weeks' provisions...that they suppose that all our pigs come ready cooked, with knives and forks in them, and are running round squealing to be eaten; that every tray is filled with bread, every manger with potatoes, and every man's wagon with the choice fruits of the earth. On the contrary, when the Saints from abroad come to Zion, they will find the people so busy that they can scarcely find time to speak to them, and if they have lost some of their friends on the way, the people in Zion have not time even to help them mourn.[30]

By 1857 over 20,000 British converts had made the journey to America without any financial aid from the Church.[31] Faced with a declining number of emigrants due to financial hardships and increasing numbers of excommunications Brigham Young orchestrated the Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF).[32] This provided the prospect of emigration for those without the immediate financial means to do so on the basis of either repaying the debt at the earliest opportunity in Utah or by meeting various skill shortages in Utah and working the debt off. The PEF was formally organised by the Church in September 1850 and continued until its disincorporation under the provisions of the Edmunds Tucker Act (1887).[33]

Different levels of PEF assistance existed, ranging from the total cost of the voyage and overland journey to partial support, such as that offered by the '£13 companies', established for those who paid the first £13 and borrowed the remainder.[34] In 1852, 250 British converts were assisted by the PEF, in 1853 a further 400. By May 1854, 1073 Mormons emigrants had received financial assistance. Despite most emigrants contributing in some way to their fare the Church's financial layout in 1854 alone was between £40,000 and £50,000.[35] But diminishing funds in the PEF meant that not all Staffordshire converts were assisted immediately. From 1849, the call to emigration from the First Presidency (Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards) focused on

---

[30] Jedediah M. Grant, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:65–66 (24 September 1854).

[31] Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 126.

[32] The abbreviation PEF refers to both Perpetual 'Emigrating' and 'Emigration' Fund and appears to have been used synonymously by historians.

[33] Gustive O. Larsen, 'The Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (September 1931), p. 186.

[34] Initially participants were regarded as the '£10 emigrants', however, as increasing prices were realised among Mormon emigrants, a higher contribution was thus required and so the '£13 emigrant' became the norm.

[35] *Millennial Star*, 16:297–298 (13 May 1854).

the recruitment of skilled mechanics including 'blowers, moulders and all kinds of furnace operators to immediately immigrate to the valley without delay'.[36] Those men who met the criteria had the added advantage of not only being guaranteed work upon arrival but also receiving financial assistance by British Saints who had the means to spare 'to emigrate [them] in preference to anyone else...for this is the will of the Lord that such should be helped to the Valley first'.[37] By 1856, the PEF was still focussed towards assisting skilled emigrants along with those who had been members of the church for over ten years.[38] Such methods of selective funding helped ensure that money was loaned to those emigrants most able to repay the loan quickly. Labour needs were regularly posted in the *Millennial Star* which encouraged Staffordshire potters, miners, and others with industrial skills to come forward.[39] Many skilled labourers received subsidised travel costs which did not require repayment. In 1850, for example, the need for potters became so urgent that Brigham Young wrote to Orson Pratt, British Mission President, asking for an immediate supply.[40] It is unsurprising, therefore, that other Mormons became embittered, having been left out or overlooked as worthy of funding. To these the counsel from the church was to be 'patient in their disappointment and still trust in God'.[41] Even with its limited funds, Mormon historian Leonard Arrington has estimated that the church's Perpetual Emigration Fund supported 38,000 British emigrants to Utah and a further 13,000 from Europe.[42]

As funds became increasingly stretched, leaders of the church encouraged emigrants who were fully provisioned or had savings to regard their own fare as a donation to the PEF and then repay anew their own transport costs.[43] As an alternative attempt to raise further local capital, promissory drafts were signed to those who were willing to loan rather than donate their own savings to the PEF, which might be drawn on Brigham Young

---

[36] *Millennial Star*, 11:248–249 (15 August 1849).

[37] *Millennial Star*, 11:248–249 (15 August 1849).

[38] *Millennial Star*, 18:234 (12 April 1856).

[39] *Millennial Star*, 21:592 (10 September 1859); 21:608 (17 September 1859) and 21:617–618 (24 September 1859).

[40] Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Pratt (14 October 1849) – reprinted as 'Letter to the Editor', *Millennial Star*, 12:141 (1 May 1850).

[41] *Millennial Star*, 30:490 (1 August 1868).

[42] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 99.

[43] *Millennial Star*, 15:778–779 (26 November 1853).

on arrival in Utah.[44] This scheme appears to have been encouraged institutionally, at least locally, and it was advertised in the *Millennial Star*.[45] However, it seems that Brigham Young was not as keen to honour the promissory notes as suggested, as demonstrated by a public lecture of 1855:

> When Brother Erastus Snow arrived, on the 1st of this month, he came in the morning and informed me that he had run me in debt nearly fifty thousand dollars; he said, "President Young's name is as good as the bank". My name has been used without my consent, or without my knowing anything about it, and our agents have run us in debt almost fifty thousand dollars to strangers, merchants, cattle dealers, and our brethren who are coming here.[46]

Daniel H. Wells, a counsellor to Brigham Young, was even more emphatic that Young had no legal requirement to repay. Instead, he argued that it was those who had borrowed from the PEF that were obligated to repay the loan so that others might receive their entitlement.[47] In fact, many emigrants failed to repay the amounts loaned to them from the PEF. By 1854 $56,000 was owed, with a further $49,000 added in 1855.[48] As a result, Brigham Young sent out details of accounts to all the Bishops, requiring them to recover the monies from debtors who lived within their respective wards.[49] By 1877, however, the Mormon Church's burgeoning debt stood at $1,000,000.[50] Brigham Young made clear the obligations of those that owed money in a public chastisement:

> I want to have you understand fully that I intend to put the screws upon you, and you who have owed for years, if you do not pay up now and help us, we will levy on your property and take every farthing you have on the earth. I want to see if I can make some of you apostatize…I am tired of men who are eternally gouging their brethren and taking the advantage of them, and at the same time pretending to be…I give you this word of caution, prepare to pay the debt you owe to the Church.[51]

---

[44] *Millennial Star*, 18:27 (12 January 1856).

[45] Ibid.

[46] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:4 (16 September 1855).

[47] Daniel H. Wells, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:93 (9 March 1856); Also see Heber C. Kimball warning the Church of placing debt upon President Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:250 (9 March 1856).

[48] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:6 (16 September 1855).

[49] James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints 1833–1964*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 2:174–177.

[50] *Salt Lake Herald*, 6 January 1878, as cited in Richard L. Jenson and Maxine C. Ward, 'Names of Persons and Sureties indebted to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company 1850 to 1877', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1989), p. 142.

[51] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:6–7 (16 September 1855).

Repayments were often rendered through service in terms of donated labour in the public works soon after arrival in Utah.[52] William Mulder's work on Scandinavian emigration, notes that this arrangement has led historians such as William A. Linn to believe that PEF emigrants became 'practically indentured servants' in 'the church clutches, from which they could not escape'.[53]

A multi–staged emigration was often seen as an alternative means of assistance to the poor convert, unable to complete the journey in one attempt due to lack of funds. For many of the Staffordshire emigrants who left the British Isles, it was, therefore, not a single voyage to Great Salt Lake but a series of journeys. Although not ideal, travelling to the Eastern States and remaining there for a season or two enabled many Staffordshire emigrants to find work in mines and factories, build up capital and then continue on with their journey. This meant that the men often preceeded their wives in order to prepare and 'save up' for the journey. Although a relatively infrequent occurrence, the counsel from mission leaders was always to remove as a family unit.[54] Church leaders overseeing the Staffordshire and Birmingham Conferences became concerned that when men left before their families they either failed to return for their family or to send funds back for them to emigrate. In 1862, the British Mission President, Amasa Lyman, addressed the Saints in Birmingham, advising that if there had to be a family separation then husbands should send their families first and men should remain to earn their passage at a later date.[55]

THE PERILS OF EMIGRATION

Emigrants were never just faceless statistics. Behind each individual's experience of migration lay a dramatic historical narrative in its own right. What follows here thus illustrates the ways in which new approaches to existing historical records on emigration can elicit fresh narratives of British and specifically Staffordshire Mormon experience. The power of the doctrine of the gathering meant that not just single men but entire families with young children and tiny babies would embark on this very hazardous journey.

---

[52] Letter Brigham Young to Orson Pratt (14 October 1849). As recorded in Linforth, *Route from Liverpool*, p. 8; Letter from Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, as printed in *Millennial Star*, 18:465 (11 April 1856).

[53] William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons: From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1902), p. 415, as cited in William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), p. 144.

[54] *Millennial Star*, 26:810 (17 December 1864) and 10:284 (15 September 1848).

[55] *Millennial Star*, 24:149–150 (11 January 1864).

Osmond Shaw and his wife Eliza from the Potteries, provides just one case–study amongst many of the distress that some families experienced and the complex set of decisions entailed in order to respond faithfully to the doctrine of the gathering.

Just as many family members had originally objected to Osmond and Eliza joining the Mormons at all, 'part–Mormon' families like the Shaws had then to contend with the emotional pleas of their non–Mormon parents not to emigrate at all. Mormon emigrants were often perceived as abandoning their families and, ironically, the Mormon proselytisation that had initially flourished through familial networks frequently resulted in the separation and breakdown of those same families. Even after the Shaws had departed the entreaties to return continued in numerous letters, as depicted in Simeon Shaw's correspondence with his son, Osmond.[56]

But worse traumas lay in store for Osmond and Eliza *en route* to Utah. Eliza had been in the final trimester of her pregnancy when leaving Stoke–on–Trent and she gave birth to a daughter in 1849, shortly after their arrival in New Orleans. Within weeks the new–born girl and William, their two year old, had both contracted cholera which was virulent in Louisiana at the time, with fatal results. Whether Osmond and Eliza could not face telling their families back in England or whether they were unable to send a letter is not known, but it was through the correspondence of another Stoke emigrant that the parents were finally informed of what had happened.[57] Simeon Shaw saw hope in such a tragedy and possibly a sign that his son would now return to Staffordshire. He wrote to Osmond:

> We must feelingly sympathise with you in your losses. Heaven does all things well. Trust in God and do good and the promise is immutable. "In all your ways acknowledge him and he shall direct your steps." But yet this is a very heavy bereavement; and still we shall rejoice if it causes you to turn your faces homeward, and incite you to come home with greater haste than you made to quit our neighbourhood. Believe me, this is the earnest wish of every one of the family.[58]

---

[56] Copies of letters from Simeon Shaw to Osmond Shaw are transcribed copies by Eva Beech and located in Hanley Library & Archive, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire.

[57] It seems that Simeon Shaw had found out of the loss from correspondence from another emigrant, O. Scarrett to his family. It is not known for sure whether Scarrett was a Mormon or just another emigrant who went with a Mormon emigrant company.

[58] Letter from Simeon Shaw to Osmond Shaw, 31 August 1849, transcribed copies by Eva Beech located in Hanley Library &Archives, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire.

Osmond only returned to Staffordshire twenty years later in 1868 as a missionary.[59] He managed to convince Eliza's parents to convert and emigrate but of his own family none responded. His father Simeon had since died, so never saw his son again, while Osmond's remaining siblings and family continued to encourage him to remain in Staffordshire.

These trials and tribulations were experienced many times; for many emigrants there were painful stories of loss, grief and separation. But this did not deter the majority of adults and children, young and old, who made their way to Liverpool docks ready to depart on their appointed ship. As each emigrant embarked they were assigned to a 'ward' with leaders to oversee them, organise daily prayers, sacrament meetings and singing during the voyage. Rotas were assigned for cooking and discipline was maintained with the assistance of Mormon guards appointed to protect the women from sailors. As William Bramall, a passenger on the *Amazon*, wrote in 1863, 'We have prayers at eight at night, and at nine o'clock the hurricane deck is cleared of all the sisters, and the guards are stationed to see that no female goes up and no sailor goes below'.[60] A guard's responsibility extended to the enforcement of sleeping arrangements for single men (at the bow) and single women (at the stern), while married couples were conveniently placed in the middle of the ship.[61] They were also responsible for detecting stowaways and confirming passenger rosters.[62] On the 1868 voyage of the *Emerald Isles*, Hans Jenson Hals recorded: 'I also appointed guards to protect the Saints against the sailors, who seemed to take delight in annoying and insulting us in every way possible'.[63]

However, even with such arrangements the standards of moral and physical discipline varied voyage by voyage. Thomas F. Fisher, having disembarked the *Marshfield* at New Orleans in 1854, wrote of the lapses in moral agency on board and how his family 'would be astonished to see the wickedness of some men and women calling themselves

---

[59] *Journal of Osmond Shaw*, 30 August 1868, LDS Church Archives.

[60] Letter from William Bramall to George Q Cannon, *Millennial Star*, 25:399–400 (20 June 1863).

[61] Mormons went above and beyond the requirements of the *Passenger Act* (1852) and had already separated the unmarried sexes prior to the introduction of law requiring all unmarried males 14 and over be separated unless part of a family berth. James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, Illustrated with Steel Engravings and Wood Cuts from Sketches Made by Frederick Piercy* (Liverpool: Franklin D Richards, 1855), pp. 21 and 24.

[62] Such an arrangement can be found on board the *Chimoraza* (April 1855) and other ships as listed in the *MIICD*.

[63] *Journal of Hans Jenson* Hals, 20 March 1868. Transcribed copy.

Saints, when they are thrown into close quarters'.[64] In such cases church discipline was administered in the same manner as described in Chapter Four with the prospect of being 'cut off', heavily chastised or disowned from the emigrating party. Fisher also observed that occasionally the crew might offer themselves for baptism in order 'to assist in their designs upon the honour of our sisters'.[65] In order to offset such desires, baptisms were invariably performed once people had landed in New Orleans. Sometimes marriages were performed on board or prior to leaving Liverpool, as it was not only considered proper but also cheaper for a family to share provisions.[66] On the 29 March 1853, the 21–year–old Staffordshire convert William Burton, for example, married Elizabeth Peat on–board the *Falcon*, under the direction of a Mormon Elder rather than the Captain of the ship.[67] As well as marriages, births and deaths inevitably occurred during the eight weeks voyage. Three weeks after the marriage of Burton, the death of John Mason was noted on the *Falcon*. John, a five year old from Burslem, Staffordshire, died of croup and was put overboard within forty minutes of his death.[68] The rapid despatch of a corpse was not uncommon in an attempt to avoid disease, although for many parents it must have been a doubly harrowing experience; first the loss, and then the expeditious dismissal of the body. During the secondary voyage from New Orleans up the Mississippi, George Wood, the West Bromwich Mormon, had insisted with others on burying their dead on land. The captain initially conceded, promising to wait while the bodies were buried on a small island. But shortly after the trench was dug, the captain blew his whistle and departed, leaving Wood behind. Sometime later, however, the captain was forced to return as a result of passengers threatening to take control of the ship and deal with the captain unless Wood was collected.[69] This was a rare incident, however, and unlike Atlantic burials where a small burial service took place, most dead bodies were tossed overboard without ceremony

---

[64] Letter from Thomas F. Fisher to his brother William Fisher, 29 May 1854, New Orleans, *Millennial Star*, 16:447–448 (15 July 1854).

[65] Ibid.

[66] *Autobiography of Barry Wride*, MIICD, 'In the (emigrating) company also was my wife Hannah then single who was joined in wedlock to me at Liverpool on the 13 April 1861 by Apostle C. (Charles) C. Rich at the (mission) office 42 Islington (Liverpool). This was a noted circumstance in my life. I had formed an association and kept company with this lady some time but had set no date for this union. Brother Rich thought (it was) time, it was so arranged.'

[67] *Journal of James McNaughton*, 29 March 1853, MIICD.

[68] John Mason, 'Died at 5 minutes to 6 o'clock evening put overboard at 25 minutes to 7 o'clock same evening, ship in latitude 38 – longitude 46 as given by the first mate.' Record of Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company, p. 22, *MIICD*.

[69] *George Wood Autobiographical Sketch*, pp. 4–6, LDS Church Archives.

particularly in light of possible delays to the ship if the local authorities found diseased passengers.

Once ships had docked Mormon agents arranged for the emigrants' onward journeys and assisted with transfers to steamers, ox companies and, from 1869 onwards, the US transcontinental railway. Most paid the fare through to Salt Lake Valley, although some could only afford the fare to New Orleans, Boston or New York and had to work to earn their fare and complete the journey, adding a further year or two before their eventual arrival in Utah. This proved more difficult than those who had passage straight through to Salt Lake City, as staged journeys were invariably dependent upon cash.

As the numbers of converts increased in Britain, mission leaders came under pressure to send out even more emigrants.[70] This culminated in the most significant disaster in Mormon emigration history. In May 1856, following the sailing of three ships, the anticipated closure of the emigration season was delayed and two further ships, the *Horizon* and *Thornton*, left Liverpool carrying over 1,600 converts between them.[71] In total, five emigrant companies travelled from Liverpool totalling at least 2,434 passengers.[72] The first three emigrant companies – Ellsworth (which included many Staffordshire Mormons), McArthur and Bunker – disembarked at Boston and made their way to Iowa City where agents equipped them with supplies and 'wheel–barrow' like handcarts.[73] They subsequently departed in June for the Winter Quarters in Florence, Nebraska, a journey of six weeks. The Iowa agents were unaware of any further companies arriving that season and had not kept on hand any more supplies. When the fourth and fifth companies arrived therefore, there was little left to support a winter migration. In the rush to equip these emigrants, handcarts were poorly built and the limited supplies rationed out.

---

[70] Franklin D. Richards promoting the new emigrant plans of Brigham Young. *Millennial Star*, 17:809–812 (22 December 1855).

[71] The *Thornton* departed 4 May 1856 with 764 passengers (under the direction of Mormon leader James Willie) and the *Horizon* departed 25 May 1856 with 856 passengers (under the direction of Mormon leader Edward Martin) see Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press), p. 151.

[72] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930. The late departures may have been the result of difficulties in procuring ships in response to the unexpected demand, or the realisation of capital as suggested by. LeRoy R. Hafen & Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: the Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860: with Contemporary Journals, Accounts, Reports and Rosters of Members of the Ten Handcart Companies* (Arthur H. Clark Company, 1981) p. 91.

[73] The handcart plan was introduced to Mormons in Britain in an editorial of the *Millennial Star*, 17:810–813 (22 December 1855), and was first put in to operation in 1856. Between 1846 and 1860 there were ten handcart companies the first five in 1856. Hand carts were preferential for their economic cost accompanied with the lack of traditional animals such as oxen and cattle.

Those in the party who advised them to wait in Iowa for the winter, such as the returning missionary Levi Savage, were accused of lacking faith in divine protection and the majority of leaders insisted on pressing on despite being only partially prepared. Savage's response was a courageous one:

> What I have said I know to be true; but seeing you are to go forward, I will go with you, will help all I can, will work with you, will rest with you, and if necessary, will die with you. May God in his mercy bless and preserve us.[74]

The first company to leave was the Willie Company with 404 emigrants. They suffered immediate setbacks losing thirty of the herd and adding an extra 100 pounds weight of flour to each handcart.[75] During the journey through Wyoming many of the handcarts collapsed and received only ineffectual repairs. When the companies arrived at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, again no preparations had been made. In order to expedite the journey, food rationing and the discarding of luggage, clothing and blankets was undertaken, another tragic misjudgement.[76] In October 1856, 250 wagons of food and supplies had left Salt Lake City under the instruction of Brigham Young. Meanwhile, both companies had come to the end of their rations and were freezing due to lack of clothing and blankets. By 23 October 1856, 13 from the Willie Company had died of exposure or exhaustion;[77] the Martin Company, a further 110 miles east, was suffering similar circumstances. By the time the first relief party found the Martin group, over 58 had perished.[78] According to one of the rescuers, there were between:

> five and six hundred men, women and children, worn down by drawing hand carts through snow and mud; fainting by the wayside; falling, chilled by the cold; children crying, their limbs stiffened by cold, their feet bleeding and some of them bare to snow and frost.[79]

---

[74] 'Mr Chislett's Narrative' in T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Shepard Book Company, 1904), p. 317; *Handcarts to Zion*, pp. 96–97.

[75] Hafen & Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, p. 100.

[76] Hafen & Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, pp. 101 and 108; Bartholomew & Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1993), pp. 3–4.

[77] Hafen & Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, pp. 101–107 and 126; Bartholomew and Arrington, pp. 11–18; Howard A. Christy, 'Weather, Disaster and Responsibility: An Essay on the Willie and Martin Handcart Company', *Brigham Young University Studies* vol. 37, no. 1 (1997), pp. 37–39.

[78] Hafen & Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, pp. 108–116 and 126; Bartholomew and Arrington, pp. 21–25; Howard A. Christy, 'Weather, Disaster and Responsibility', pp. 39–47.

[79] Hafen & Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*, p. 228.

With the rescuers' help, Willie Company arrived in Salt Lake City on 9 November 1856, having lost 68 emigrants. The Martin Company arrived 30 November 1856, having lost at least 145 members.

Historians have long debated as to where the blame should be laid for this disastrous event – whether it was the British Mission President, Franklin D. Richards, Daniel Spencer, the emigration agent or even Brigham Young himself.[80] One of Young's plural wives spared no criticism of her ex–husband's role in the affair, declaring that 'in the history of any people there has never been recorded a case of such gross mismanagement as that of gathering the foreign Saints to Zion in the year 1856'.[81] Intriguingly, the emigrants themselves refused to blame anyone. One of the survivors, John Jacques, the celebrated writer of children's catechisms and a former Staffordshire missionary wrote, 'I blame nobody. I am not anxious to blame anybody…I have no doubt that those who had to do with its management meant well and tried to do the best they could under the circumstances'.[82]

The handcart programme was only active for a short period between 1856 and 1860. Yet the imagery of a handcart in Mormon culture has become a symbol for the sacrifice and obedience of the nineteenth–century Mormon pioneers whether interpreted by the Church as either the 'handcart disaster' or, more recently, as 'the great rescue'.[83] Whatever the interpretation this incident alone contributed significantly to a decline of emigration. Between 1856 and 1857 numbers dropped over 50% from 2,434 to 1,208 emigrants. Thus the perils of emigration were very real and the doctrine of the gathering incurred considerable potential sacrifice on the part of converts throughout the century.

When they arrived in the US, many Staffordshire emigrants pursued the same occupation. Thus the miners of the Potteries, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich and other towns in the Black Country took up the same employment in Utah which was itself undergoing industrialisation and required skilled men to extract ore, mine coal and dig for minerals. Similarly, converts from North Staffordshire were employed by local Utah

---

[80] Howard A. Christy, 'Weather, Disaster and Responsibility', pp. 22–23; Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 222 and 256–258.

[81] Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19, or, the Story of a Life in Bondage: Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Hartford, Connecticut: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876), pp. 204–205.

[82] Howard A. Christy, 'Weather, Disaster and Responsibility', p. 57.

[83] Rebecca Bartholomew & Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1993), p. 44.

potteries, bringing with them their highly skilled techniques of working with Staffordshire earthenware. One early Staffordshire emigrant, Alfred Cordon, was appointed by the church to act as Pottery Superintendent.[84] During the 1850s and 1860s it was not unusual for the church to make such appointments due to its assumed responsibility for the legal, welfare, commercial and ecclesiastical needs of the territory.[85]

Early British settlers thus came to Utah with the specific intent of offering their technical expertise in support of Utah's new economy and the needs of its burgeoning population. Apostle John Taylor expressed this ideal when he explained that Utah would not need to send to Sheffield for tools, but rather 'we will set the Welsh boys to get the ore in the mountains, and then set the Sheffield boys to work in fixing it up into tools, and into forks and knives'.[86] Those without industrial skills became farmers, often out of necessity rather than choice as, although there was land, everything required for life had to be either grown or built through hard individual effort.

In assessing the contribution of the British influence on Utah its value might be considered more in terms of technical and skilled labour, therefore, rather than in financial wealth. But there is no doubt that Utah benefitted from the invaluable experience and lessons of the British industrial revolution and the relevant industrial skills of Mormon emigrants such as those from the Black Country.

EMIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE UK AND STAFFORDSHIRE

An analysis of emigration patterns provides an interesting indication of the way in which Mormon migration was subject to a series of mutually influencing transatlantic political developments. As noted earlier, the call to gather to America was responded to by

---

[84] Letter from Alfred Cordon, Superintendent of Pottery, Salt Lake City to *Deseret News* (26 June 1852).

[85] Timothy Scarlett, 'Potting in Zion: Craft and Industry in Utah, 1848–1930' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nevada, 2002).

[86] *Millennial Star*, 12:359 (1 December 1850).

over 55,000 British Mormons between 1840 and 1900.[87] As Figure 6–1 below illustrates, Mormon emigration patterns (versus new Mormon conversions) fluctuated constantly throughout this period. Such variations in emigration patterns were often connected with events taking place in the United States or internal disputes within Utah itself. The 1844 assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Illinois and the ensuing uncertainty as to where the Saints should re–locate had an immediate impact on Mormon emigration from Britain, leading to a temporary suspension of all emigration. [88]
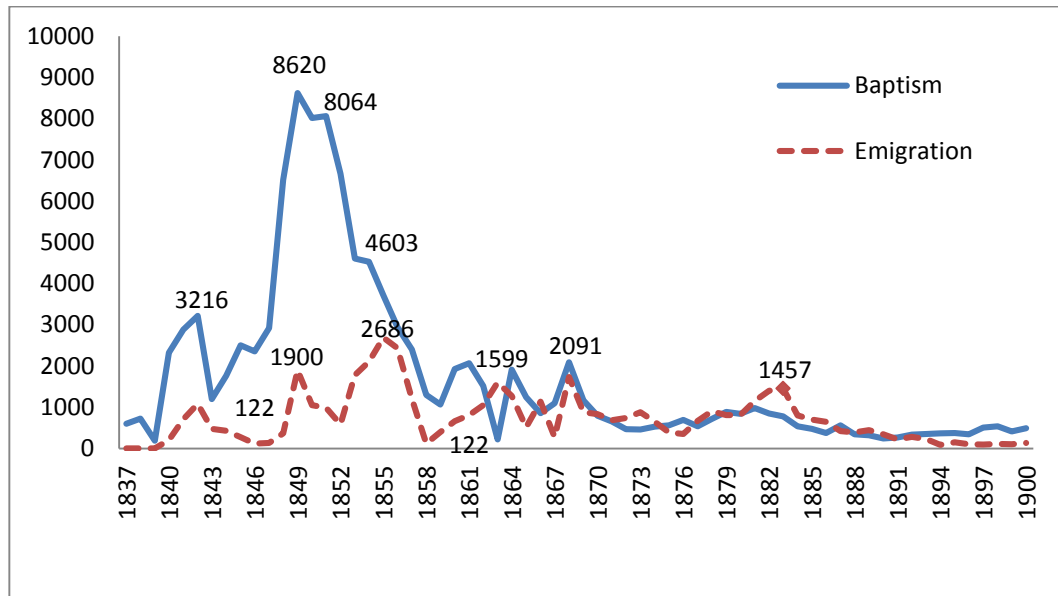
Figure 6–1 British Isles Baptisms and Emigration Figures[89]

These difficulties were compounded in 1846 by the Mormon eviction from Illinois. While the main body of the church relocated to Nebraska, British Mormons were instructed not to emigrate to the United States, although as shown in Figure 6–1, at least

---

[87] The 55,000 figure is derived from the British emigrant records within *Manuscript History of the British Mission*, *Emigrant Rosters* and shipping records. For total shipping from Liverpool is approximately just over 95,000, but includes approximately 40,000 Europeans. Maritime scholar Fred E. Woods agrees with the 55,000 British figure, but increases the amount of voyages by 83. The information is found on the *MIICD* that is distributed by the Church and compiled by Woods. See also Fred E. Woods, 'Seagoing Saints', *Ensign*, vol. 31 (September 2001), p. 54, where Woods puts the overall figure at approximately 90,000 including European Latter–day Saints that immigrated to America on more than 500 known voyages. See also Richard L. Evans, *Century of Mormonism in Britain*, pp. 244–245 who lists just over 46,000. For Church wide figures see 'Church Statistics' in *2008 Church Almanac*.

[88] See Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). Young led a Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Iowa westwards, reinforcing to Mormons evidence of their divine mission, with Young later being referred to as an 'American Moses.'

[89] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

122 still made the journey.[90] However, alternative attempts were made by British Mormon leaders to relocate thousands of Mormons to Vancouver Island or Oregon with the help of the government and a petition to Queen Victoria.[91]

While this endeavour was eventually unsuccessful, it continued to focus the British Mormons' minds on emigration.[92] When the suspension was lifted in 1848, 369 Mormons were financially and physically ready to make the journey. The following year 1900 emigrants left Britain, a surge illustrated in Figure 6–1. Mormon historian Richard L. Jenson has observed that during the period of suspension British Mormons once again turned their 'energies towards sharing the gospel with their neighbours and relations...bringing the British Mission's greatest numerical growth of the century in the years 1847–1851'.[93]

The main thrust of emigration was during the early 1850s and, at its height in 1855, 2,686 Mormons emigrated from Britain. Yet emigration figures never matched those of conversion, amounting to an average of 42% of the total membership of the British Isles between 1840 and 1900.[94] The exception to this can be seen in Figure 6–1 in the two decades between 1870 and 1890, where the number emigrating from England to Utah outnumbered converts. Between 1871 and 1880 there were 6,345 baptisms while 6,886

---

[90] Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Spencer, *Millennial Star*, 9:104 (1 April 1847). This apparently was a subsequent letter, as according to Orson Spencer the first letter was written, 1 November 1845.

[91] Great Britain had recently secured a treaty for that land with the United States in June 1846. James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley*, p. 4. Letter from Thomas D. Brown to Dr. John M. Bowring, 11 February 1847. This was in response to the letters received enquiring how the emigration will be paid for in response to the memorial sent to Queen Victoria. Prior to the memorial being presented to the Queen, the British Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, made a speech in the Houses of Parliament rejecting any idea of sending the poor to America or the Colonies.

The memorial was not heard of any further. Despite this John Taylor commenced writing poems of the idea of the British Saints travelling to Vancouver to be among those of Zion, *Millennial Star*, 9:28 (15 January 1847). No Latter–day Saints lived on the island until the 1875 arrival of William Francis and Maria Judson Copley, who settled near Shawnigan Lake. In 1887 Anthony Maitland Stenhouse, a member of the British Columbia legislative assembly, resigned his seat to become the first LDS convert on the island. Stenhouse then moved to an LDS community in southern Alberta.

See also *Millennial Star*, 9:74–5 (1 March 1847), 9:98 and 104 (1 April 1847) and 9:169 (1 June 1847). See also 'Vancouver Island', *Encyclopedia of Latter–day Saint History,* Robert J. McCue, 'The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints and Vancouver Island: The Establishment and Growth of the Mormon Community', *British Columbia Studies*, vol. 42 (Summer 1979), pp. 51–64; Rennie T. Warburton, 'Mormonism on Vancouver Island: A Comment', *British Columbia Studies*, vol. 43 (Autumn 1979), pp. 94–97.

[92] Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion', *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 172.

[93] Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion', *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 173.

[94] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930. Between 1840 and 1900, 45,962 British Mormon converts emigrated — during the same period 109,808 had been converted to Mormonism, providing the average of 42% overall.

people emigrated. The following decade similarly witnessed 5,457 new converts with 7,758 Mormons relocating to Utah.[95]

Arguably one of the most significant reasons for this increase was the appointment of Orson Pratt as President of the British Mission. Pratt was an exceptional orator who successfully reorganised and motivated the British members and missionaries of the church. In his first epistle to the British Isles in 1848, Pratt insisted that missionaries must return to preaching the fundamental doctrines of repentance and baptism and to 'let alone the mysteries of the kingdom'.[96] He further re–organised emigration procedures and urged church members to accept the doctrinal principles of the gathering, arguing that 'to neglect or be indifferent about gathering, is just as displeasing, in the sight of God as to neglect or be indifferent about baptism for the remission of sins'.[97] Pratt's charismatic leadership and the financial help of the PEF discussed earlier meant that in 1852 alone 250 British Mormons were assisted in emigrating.[98]

The same year an announcement from Salt Lake City on the official practice of 'plural marriage' had a somewhat paradoxical effect upon Mormon emigration. Given the dominant Victorian moral attitude against polygamy, it might reasonably have been expected to slow emigration down, but British cultural perspectives did not, in fact, appear to affect the number or rate of overall emigrants. Rather, the decline of emigration in 1857 and 1858 was more indicative of US federal actions against polygamy, including the now infamous 'Utah War' in 1858.[99] The American view on polygamy was clearly expressed in *Harper's* that Mormonism '[wa]s an institution so absolutely un–American in all it

---

[95] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.

[96] Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star*, 10:244 (15 August 1848). Such doctrines included polygamy and blood atonement.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion'. *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 177.

[99] For further reading on the 1857–1858 Utah War, see Sherman L. Fleek, 'The Church and the Utah War, 1857–1858', in Robert C. Freeman, ed., *Nineteenth Century Saints at War* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2006); Richard D. Poll and William P. MacKinnon, 'Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered', *Journal of Mormon History* , 20:2 (1994), pp. 16–44. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

requirements that it would die of its own infamies within twenty years, except for the yearly infusion of fresh serf blood from abroad'.[100]

By 1857, Utah was on the verge of a war with the US Federal Government as a rebellious territory. In October that year the *Millennial Star*, which had continued to inform British Saints of the difficulties abroad, announced that 'in view of the difficulties which are now threatening the Saints, we deem it wisdom to stop all emigration to the States and Utah for the present?'[101] Between 1853 and 1857 an average of 2,043 Mormons per year had emigrated.[102] In 1858, a maximum of just 178 emigrants were recorded.[103] The moratorium on emigration lasted for over a year until 1859 by which time Utah had negotiated a peaceful agreement. The call to gather was then made once again and 725 emigrants left England.[104] Further emigration decline can be seen between 1861 and 1865 during the American Civil War, which resulted in the closing of the main port of New Orleans. The route itself had become so precarious that when Potteries convert David Coombs and his family emigrated in 1864, he reported that the captain of the *McClellan* 'for fear of meeting confederates on the ocean sailed a great way out of his course to the north...to get amongst the icebergs'.[105] Other consequences of the closure of New Orleans impacted on employment in the textile and cotton industries in Britain as raw supplies were curtailed, thus working–class Mormons in these trades were unable to raise the necessary funds to emigrate. New York provided a safer route and with the changes between 1867 and 1869 from sailing ships to steamers and from ox wagons to rail travel, traffic continued to increase for the remainder of the century and the journey from Liverpool to Salt Lake City was cut dramatically from five months to three weeks.[106] For the remainder of the century the majority of annual voyages carried less than 1,000 emigrants. Increasing US federal hostility towards polygamy in Utah and political clashes over Mormon theocracy

---

[100] William Mulder, 'Immigration and the Mormon Question: An International Episode', *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 9 (June 1956), p. 417, as cited in Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 242.

[101] *Millennial Star*, 19:668 (17 October 1857).

[102] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930, shows emigration figures as 1853–1,778, 1854–2,109, 1855–2,686, 1856–2,434, and 1857–1,208.

[103] 122 derived from annual reports in Annual Reports British Mission, 1837–1930. However, Sonne shows three emigration companies in 1858 totalling 178 persons (25, 64, and 89), Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, p. 152.

[104] *William Tapscott* (11 Apr 1859). Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, p. 152.

[105] *Journal of David Coombs*, pp. 3–4, microfilm copy in author's possession.

[106] Richard L. Jensen, 'The British Gathering to Zion', *Truth Will Prevail*, pp. 185–186.

generated a government campaign to reduce emigration numbers completely.[107] In 1900 only 135 emigrated.

Emigration patterns in the Staffordshire Conference indicate some interesting disparities with that of the national situation. In order to offer a statistical analysis of emigration patterns within the Staffordshire Conference this final section draws upon the *Staffordshire Mormon Dataset* of 285 Staffordshire Mormons, as used in Chapter Three.[108] Due to the paucity of local primary records and branch information, this dataset has been compiled from multiple sources including emigration passenger rosters (where Staffordshire has been identified as the place of origin), personal histories and biographies in order to address any gaps in the data. As can be seen below in Figure 6–2 and Table 6–1, 28% (80) of Staffordshire Mormons emigrated to America between 1839 and 1870 under the doctrinal programme of the gathering, while 72% (205) members remained. The figure of 28% is significantly lower than the national average of 42%, as the *Manuscript History of the British Mission* indicates, and as discussed above.[109] The disparity between these two figures is explained in more detail below, but lack of funds, increasing age and disciplinary actions including excommunication were all significant factors.

---

[107] These conflicts came from the Mormon concept of a prophet–governor in Utah, presiding over both the political and theological influences of Utah. For an in–depth study of the political and theological relationship between Mormons and Utah, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986). See also Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill. N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

[108] The dataset consists of 285 Staffordshire converts are listed in full in Appendix C, are those which have been extracted from the 1,900 convert database.

[109] See Appendix A, Annual Reports of the British Mission, 1837–1930.
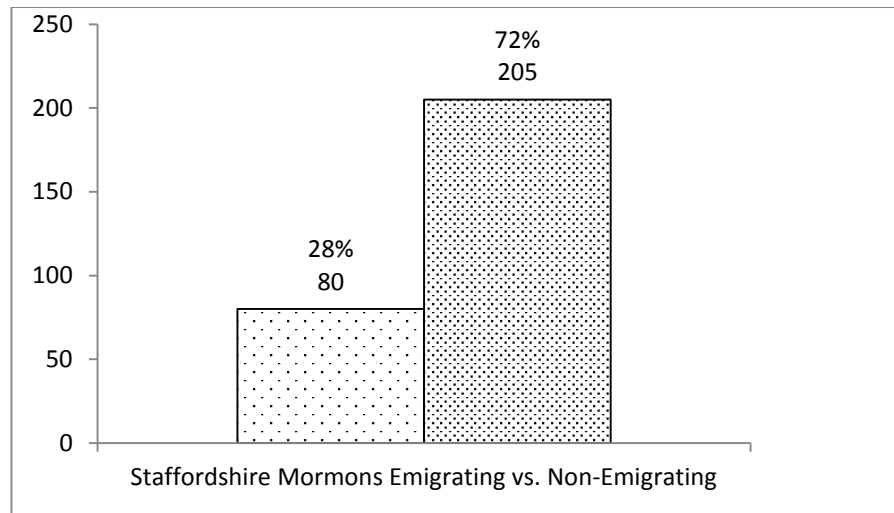
Figure 6–2 Staffordshire Mormon Emigration 1839–1870

n=285	District	Frequency
Emigrated	Staffs.	80
Non–Emigrated	Staffs.	205

Table 6–1 Staffordshire Mormon Emigration 1839–1870

Table 6–2 below shows the breakdown by gender of Staffordshire emigration patterns. It is perhaps unsurprising that nearly twice as many men as women responded to the call to emigrate as they were more likely to be single and able to make the move.

In addition, men were invariably better equipped with the necessary industrial skills being called for in the Salt Lake Valley. Of those who remained in Staffordshire, gender differentiation is less marked with 33% (93) male and 39% (112) female.

Staffs. Emigrated
By Gender

n=80	District	Frequency	%
Male	Staffs.	51	18
Female	Staffs.	29	10

Staffs. Non Emigrated
By Gender

n=205	District	Frequency	%
Male	Staffs.	93	33
Female	Staffs.	112	39

Table 6–2 Dataset of Staffordshire Emigration/Non–Emigration by Gender 1839–1870

In terms of the 80 Staffordshire members who emigrated, Table 6–3 shows that men accounted for 64% (51) and women for 36% (29).

Staffs. Emigrated By Gender	n=80	District	Frequency	%
	Male	Staffs.	51	64
	Female	Staffs.	29	36

Table 6–3 Staffordshire Emigration by Gender 1839–1870

Finally, in Table 6–4, of those 205 Mormons who remained in Staffordshire, the gender breakdown represents 45.4% male and 54.6% female.

Staffs. Non Emigrate By Gender	n=205	District	Frequency	%
	Male	Staffs.	93	45.4
	Female	Staffs.	112	54.6

Table 6–4 Staffordshire Mormons who did not. Emigrate by Gender

THE IMPACT OF EMIGRATION UPON DECLINING MEMBERSHIP IN BRITISH MORMONISM

As has been illustrated in Chapter Five the demise of Mormonism in Britain and Staffordshire had no single cause. The gathering was certainly not the major factor but it did have significant doctrinal and structural consequences beyond that of mere emigration statistics. One of the unfortunate results of the gathering and the emigration programme was that it tended to leave behind in its wake the less active or older members of the conference which often weakened the leadership of local branches. Despite Brigham Young insisting that the leadership seek out the oldest (both in age and time served) Mormons who had been faithful and give them preference, for many of the older converts travelling was bound to be physically arduous.[110] Age could also affect an individual's ability to save the money required for the journey. Employment was invariably reserved for those who were younger and who could withstand the demanding conditions of industrial labour. Some, such as Jonathon Lockett, an older Mormon convert who in 1840, walked fourteen miles to Stafford Jail on more than one occasion to visit an imprisoned Mormon missionary, died before his opportunity to emigrate arrived.[111] For people like Lockett the prospect of a 3,500 mile journey could mean death, despite the exertions of the administrators of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to emigrate this group of people.

[110] Letter from Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, *Millennial Star*, 29:823–824 (23 November 1867).
[111] *Alfred Cordon Diary*, 31 May 1840.

It is not unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that once the religiously committed, financially able or family–assisted converts had emigrated from Staffordshire in the early 1840s, then those who remained were often less experienced in church administration and leadership, less well–educated, poor and, increasingly, older. This placed great strain on those who remained particularly as the leaders were to be drawn from these ranks. In addition, increasing financial obligations were placed on local members to support missionaries and their families, particularly after the PEF was withdrawn in 1856. George A. Smith reported that 'the Saints have been so poor in the district where I have laboured that I am not able to send anything home for your support'.[112]

By 1854, with the absence of experienced or more committed leaders it seemed inevitable that the British Mission Presidency who oversaw the church in Staffordshire would send another American missionary to bring it back from 'a very bad condition' as its members 'were at sword's points with all the [church] authorities'.[113] But despite Elder Osmond M. Deuel's intervention and his optimistic report to the 'Special General Council in London' with regard to 'restoring a proper feeling, more especially in the Potteries district, which appeared to be the worst', any improvements were short–lived.[114] Disharmony between local Mormons and their leaders continued such that Joseph Westwood, on his release from the Presidency of the Staffordshire conference in 1854, reported feeling 'as one raised from the dead'.[115] In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that disillusionment and attrition increased significantly. One side–effect of the gathering in Staffordshire, as elsewhere, had been to leave behind often the less committed and less able members of the church. The instigation of a robust policy of spiritual renewal through the Mormon reformation, discussed in Chapter Five, only furthered numbers of excommunications. By 1870 therefore, Staffordshire had become a weakened, ageing and disenchanted Conference.

What this chapter has tried to show is that nineteenth–century Mormonism and the doctrine of the gathering was quite unique in the sense that a diminishing British

---

[112] Letter from George A. Smith to John Smith, 3 August 1840, *Manuscript History of the British Mission*.

[113] 'Report and Minutes of Minutes of the Special Conference Council', held 26–28 June 1854; *Millennial Star,* 16:488 (5 August 1854) and 16:513 (19 August 1854). It appears that some difficulties were caused when Elder Clements presided over the Staffordshire Conference some years before.

[114] 'Report and Minutes of Minutes of the Special Conference Council', *Millennial Star*, 16:488 (5 August 1854).

[115] 'Report and Minutes of Minutes of the Special Conference Council', *Millennial Star*, 16:514 (19 August 1854).

membership did not necessarily signal religious decline or apostasy in the eyes of the LDS church leaders, but rather the positive spiritual restoration of the faithful to Zion in Utah. Although less than half of the British Mormon community emigrated in total one can only speculate about how many more would have gone given the physical and financial means to do so. The fact that over 55,000 British Mormons with many Staffordshire members amongst them undertook the perilous trip across the Atlantic in the first 60 years of what was a new religious movement was a remarkable testimony to the faith, courage and spirit of ordinary men and women who strived for a better future.

CONCLUSION

This study has brought together methods and theories from the social sciences and history in order to bring to visibility the hitherto unknown experiences of Staffordshire Mormons in Victorian Britain. I have argued throughout that the strength of a regional historical approach is in its ability to provide a richness and complexity of detail concerning the tensions and power dynamics between laity and leadership as well as the specificity needed to critically analyse a particular cultural reading of church membership, rituals and doctrines. By use of an interdisciplinary approach and by inserting this regional history within a broader national and international context it was intended that the issues raised would be of greater import to historians of religion and nineteenth–century social and cultural history more widely.

In terms of LDS scholarship more specifically, as stated previously, the significance of the first and second Apostolic mission to Britain in 1837 and 1840 cannot be underestimated in terms of its contribution to the wider global expansion of the Mormon Church and the provision of new leaders for that church; the imperial dimensions of nineteenth–century Mormon evangelising await further scrutiny. The instantaneous success of the British Mission, where what began as a small team of American missionaries produced almost 33,000 converts in 15 years, was matched by its equally swift decrease by 1870. Here the religious distinctiveness, one might say uniqueness, of Mormonism is really at play; statistical religious decline in the UK was a cause for celebration not concern as British emigrants 'gathered' back to Utah and the site of Zion.

I have fully acknowledged the scarce and incomplete nature of primary materials on British Mormonism throughout the study but have shown how regional Mormon research can still be progressed significantly through my construction of an important original source – the *Staffordshire Mormon Database*. This, in conjunction with detailed scrutiny of the diaries and correspondence of Staffordshire LDS converts has comprised the first comprehensive study of the daily administration and life of local Staffordshire branches as well as the often more traumatic experiences of personal conversion and faith. Despite the devotional, retrospective nature of many of these accounts (that constitute a fascinating genre of spiritual writing all of their own) the diaries, letters and journals used here provide us with glimpses of the interior formation of the spiritual struggles and endeavours of hitherto unknown individuals such as Alfred Cordon and William Clayton. Unlike David Hempton who regards sources such as personal auto/biographical narratives

as being plagued by 'built–in distortions', I have argued that historians can learn a good deal about the internal aspects of an individual's search for spiritual wellbeing and wholeness from such texts. In Cordon's and Clayton's writings amongst others, for example, we also see how particular categories of identity – religion, class, nationality, and to some extent gender – constantly interacted and conflicted throughout the genesis of this new British religious movement.

One of the primary motivations for this first attempt to delineate the personal and institutional dynamics of the Staffordshire Conference in such comprehensive detail has been, of course, to redress the almost complete neglect of the British Mormon historical experience within LDS scholarship. In presenting the Staffordshire Conference in its own right and in all its regional specificity, this thesis aims to put regional British Mormon history on the map.

APPENDIX A

BRITISH ISLES STATISTICAL REPORTS 1837–1900

COMPILED FROM MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH

MISSION

Year	Confs.	Branches	Priesthood	Lay	Totals	Baptisms	Emigr.	Died	Excom.
1837	0	10	71	529	600	600	0	10	5
1838	0	30	179	1131	1310	727	0	15	17
1839	0	32	227	1273	1500	190	0	10	10
1840	8	30	383	3243	3626	2326	200	15	10
1841	14	44	676	5138	5814	2883	705	10	20
1842	16	157	1018	7449	8467	3216	1083	15	40
1843	17	197	1289	7559	8848	1195	475	18	160
1844	21	196	1272	6785	8057	1762	431	26	200
1845	30	234	1555	9401	10956	2505	276	30	150
1846	27	260	1830	9743	11573	2354	122	50	200
1847	28	310	2276	11717	13993	2918	130	127	417
1848	26	380	3308	16904	20212	6520	369	72	367
1849	27	479	4484	23428	27912	8620	1900	175	755
1850	42	602	5259	25488	30747	8017	1048	291	2277
1851	44	679	6300	26594	32894	8064	990	368	3046
1852	51	742	6787	25552	32339	6665	581	450	3959
1853	52	726	6757	24071	30828	4603	1778	480	3189
1854	51	702	6501	22940	29441	4530	2109	462	2726
1855	52	677	6011	19990	26001	3711	2686	379	3836
1856	50	643	5306	17196	22502	2947	2434	269	2568
1857	51	531	4020	11200	15220	2405	1208	226	2084
1858	46	456	3637	10549	14186	1298	122	181	2069
1859	45	424	3319	9708	13027	1064	399	163	1177
1860	46	408	3394	10459	13853	1928	665	168	268
1861	46	364	3069	11824	14893	2067	807	132	158
1862	43	354	2948	11380	14327	1517	1053	126	195
1863	43	346	2814	11037	13851	221	1599	142	433
1864	43	334	2710	10591	13301	1910	1272	179	553
1865	42	303	2584	10019	12403	1246	515	135	311
1866	39	282	2366	8416	10782	856	1132	96	258
1867	35	265	2382	8490	10872	1096	271	130	416
1868	27	248	2222	8488	10710	2091	1732	106	371
1869	27	247	2359	8621	10980	1170	878	104	378
1870	21	211	1875	6929	8804	793	835	117	308
1871	14	185	1863	6383	8246	654	688	114	165
1872	14	189	1623	5219	6842	466	737	75	140

Year	Confs.	Branches	Priesthood	Lay	Totals	Baptisms	Emigr.	Died	Excom.
1873	13	185	1415	4646	6061	461	881	86	166
1874	13	160	1322	4101	5423	530	650	71	88
1875	12	154	1329	4082	5411	560	389	74	90
1876	12	163	1343	4065	5408	691	349	78	84
1877	12	141	1264	3924	5188	534	669	85	91
1878	12	128	1202	3590	4842	718	903	74	90
1879	13	149	1275	3982	5257	888	812	72	91
1880	14	140	1270	3842	5112	843	808	67	176
1881	12	136	1232	3948	5180	980	1150	63	74
1882	12	119	1068	3722	4790	848	1398	55	78
1883	12	106	939	3463	4402	778	1457	48	95
1884	12	106	898	3275	4173	537	804	32	167
1885	13	99	820	3171	3991	474	697	50	72
1886	13	95	782	2806	3588	374	644	40	45
1887	13	91	768	2725	3493	562	422	43	43
1888	13	94	694	2499	3193	344	392	37	59
1889	13	89	633	2509	3142	321	447	45	88
1890	13	81	548	2222	2770	239	347	26	64
1891	13	83	509	2366	2875	267	218	31	20
1892	13	79	476	2128	2604	336	283	62	43
1893	13	75	468	2160	2628	353	225	37	23
1894	14	70	501	2481	2932	364	86	34	14
1895	14	70	482	2597	3079	378	153	54	12
1896	14	57	430	2296	2726	347	100	34	6
1897	14	60	436	2607	3043	503	94	46	16
1898	13	80	475	3008	3483	539	113	53	12
1899	13	61	512	3300	3812	416	106	48	9
1900	14	73	523	3660	4183	488	135	52	3

					Totals	**109808**	**45962**	**6963**	**35055**

APPENDIX B

BRITISH MISSION PRESIDENTS AND MILLENNIAL STAR EDITORS

1837–1871

British Mission President	Date Appointed	Millennial Star Editor	Dates Appointed
Heber C. Kimball	20 July 1837 – 20 April 1838	–	–
Joseph Fielding	20 April 1838 – 6 July 1840	–	–
Brigham Young	6 July 1840 – 20 April 1841	–	–
Parley P. Pratt	20 April 1841 – 20 October 1842	Parley P. Pratt	May 1840 – October 1842
Thomas Ward	20 October 1842 – 1 November 1843	Thomas Ward	October 1842 – November 1843
Reuben Hedlock	1 November 1843 – 4 February 1845	Thomas Ward	November 1843 – June 1845
Wilford Woodruff	4 February 1845 – 3 October 1846	Wilford Woodruff	June 1845 – January 1846
Orson Hyde	3 October 1846 – 15 January 1847	Orson Hyde	October 1846 – January 1847
Franklin D. Richards	15 January 1847 – 1 February 1847	Franklin D. Richards	January 1847 – February 1847
Orson Spencer	1 February 1847 – 15 August 1848	Orson Spencer	February 1847 – August 1848
Orson Pratt	15 August 1848 – 1 January 1851	Orson Pratt	August 1848 – March 1850
Orson Pratt	15 August 1848 – 1 January 1851	Eli B. Kelsey	March 1850 – July 1850
Orson Pratt	15 August 1848 – 1 January 1851	Orson Pratt	July 1850 – December 1850
Franklin D. Richards	1 January 1851 – 8 May 1852	Franklin D. Richards	January 1851 – May 1852
Samuel W. Richards	8 May 1852 – 8 June 1854	Samuel W. Richards	May 1852 – June 1854
Franklin D. Richards	8 June 1854 – 13 July 1856	Franklin D. Richards	June 1854 – July 1856
Orson Pratt	13 July 1856 – 4 October 1857	Orson Pratt	July 1856 – October 1857
Samuel W. Richards	4 October 1857 – 6 March 1858	Samuel W. Richards	October 1857 – May 1860
Asa Calkin	6 March 1858 – 19 May 1860	Samuel W. Richards	October 1857 – May 1860
Nathaniel V. Jones	19 May 1860 – 11 August 1860	Nathaniel V. Jones	May 1860 – August 1860
Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich	11 August 1860 – 14 May 1862	Amasa M. Lyman	August 1860 – January 1861
George Q. Cannon	14 May 1862 – 25 July 1864	George Q. Cannon	January 1861 – September 1864
Daniel H. Wells	25 July 1864 – 30 August 1865	Daniel H. Wells	September 1864 – September 1865
Brigham Young Jr.	30 August 1865 – 30 June 1867	Brigham Young, Jr.	September 1865 – July 1867
Franklin D. Richards	30 June 1867 – 9 September 1868	Franklin D. Richards	July 1867 – September 1868
Albert Carrington	9 September 1868 – 15 June 1870	Albert Carrington	September 1868 – June 1870
Horace S. Eldredge	15 June 1870 – 6 June 1871	Horace S. Eldredge	June 1870 – June 1871

APPENDIX C

STAFFORDSHIRE MORMONS 1839–1870

STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON DATASETS: CASE STUDY #1 N=285

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Ackerley	Hannah	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich	North	07/03/1775	27/05/1841	Rope Maker	373	4
Ackerley	Elizabeth	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich	North	06/10/1832	26/07/1850	Silk Harvester Labourer	398	3
Ackerley	Mary	Female		Kinderton; Middlewich	North	01/01/1818	04/08/1841	Silk Harvester Labourer	398	3
Ash	Phobe	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich; Pleasant View, Utah, USA.	North	18/04/1816	04/08/1841	Wife	398	3
Adams	Samuel Jr	Male	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860; Jefferson, ID	North	16/04/1835	28/07/1841	Boatman	735	3
Adams	Samuel Sr	Male	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860	North	02/08/1805	28/07/1841	Boatman	735	3
Adams	Bessy	Female		Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860	North	30/04/1837	01/01/1847	Home Worker	970	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Adams	Elizabeth Mountford	Female	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Bucknall; Norton; Millard	North	15/04/1815	28/01/1841	(Husband Boatman)	738	4
Adshead	Ann	Female		Hazlegreen	North	01/01/1795	01/01/1841	Calico Weaver	370	3
Adshead	Betty	Female		Hazlegreen	North	01/01/1827	01/01/1841	Calico Weaver	370	3
Adshead	Peter	Male	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Hazelgreen; Nauvoo; Manti	North	28/12/1798	09/05/1841	Cotton Draper	770	3
Ainsworth	Mary Jane	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster; PPMU	Wolverhampton, Brigham City	South	04/07/1854	02/05/1862	Machinist	688	3
Ainsworth	Joseph	Male	PPMU p.711; LDS Biographies Vol 2	Staffordshire	North	01/01/1820	01/01/1848	Potter	105	3
Alcock	William	Male	*Marriages in Nauvoo Region 1839–45, SEB On–board Manchester*	Leek; Manchester	North		19/07/1840	Silk Manufacturer	770	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Alcott	Lydia Blakeslee	Female	SEB Early Reorganization Minutes, USA.es 1872–1905 Books B, C & HRLDSC p.236	Lane End; NY; IL; MI	North	01/10/1832	01/05/1840	Wife of Potter	105	3
Allblaster	George	Male	Hanover Passenger List 01/03/1842	Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/03/1824	29/04/1840	Potter	105	3
Allblaster	Mrs Elizabeth	Female	James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles,* p.159	Staffordshire	North		29/04/1840	Wife of Potter	105	3
Allcock	Sophia L	Female	SEB RLDS Deceased Files; Hanley RLDS Branch Records	Woolwich, Leek, Hanley,	North	01/08/1838	01/01/1858	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Amison	Harriett	Female	Bk. A p. 1 (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, No.234, p.4.	Longton	North	08/01/1824	01/01/1840	Wife of Potter	105	3
Angel	Thomas	Male	RLDS V3 p.390	Dudley	South	01/04/1818		Labourer	970	5
Angel	Mary/ Margaret	Female		Tipton; Bellville, IL	South	01/12/1817		House Keeper	921	4

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Ash	Isaac	Male	SEB; MMMCI; 1851 Census	Asterley; Peover, Ches.; Peushley, Staffordshire	South	01/01/1797	22/11/1840	Agricultural Labourer	24	4
Ash	James	Male	Middlewich Branch Records	Peover/Middle wich; Pleasant View, Utah, USA.	North	12/06/1816	22/11/1840	Agricultural Labourer	24	4
Ashcroft	Josiah	Male	British Mission Register , p. 29	Kennebec Passenger List	North	01/01/1827		Labourer	970	5
Bailey	Anne	Female		Tunstall; Stoke; NY 1856; NJ 1864	North	01/01/1822	01/01/1841	Silk Spinner	365	3
Banks	William Jr	Male	1880 US Census; Emigration Roster	Kingswood; Spanish Fork, Utah, USA.	South	07/05/1836	01/01/1845	Butcher	770	3
Barley	Ann	Female		Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1824	01/01/1841	Home Worker	970	5
Barlow	Martha Ellen	Female	Longton Branch Records	Fenton, Longton Staffordshire.	North		25/04/1857	Laundress	918	4
Barnes	Charles	Male	Amazon Passenger List; BMR p.300	Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1804		Potter	105	3
Barnes	Elizabeth	Female	*Amazon* Passenger List	Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1805		Wife of Potter	105	3
Barrett	William James	Male	ACD; HC;	Burslem; Australia	North	23/01/1823	01/01/1839	Labourer	970	5
Bates	Benjamin	Male		Warks.; Wolverhampton ; Alpine Utah, USA.	South	24/06/1854		Edge Tool Maker	278	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Bates	John	Male		Sedgely; Birmingham; Wolverhampton until 1871 then Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	12/09/1819		Edge Tool Maker	278	3
Bates	Joseph William	Male	SEB	Dudley; Nauvoo 1846	South	16/02/1827	08/10/1842	Stonecutter	575	3
Battby	Maria	Female		Burslem, Staffordshire.	North		01/01/1841	Lathe Treader	498	3
Baugh	Joseph	Male	British Mission Register , p. 196; William Stetson Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1811		Engineer	244	3
Baugh	Edward James	Male	British Mission Register , p. 196; William Stetson Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1841		Engineer	244	3
Baugh	Hickman	Male	British Mission Register , p. 196; William Stetson Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1840		Labourer	970	5
Baugh	Neria	Female	British Mission Register , p. 196; William Stetson Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1838		Spinster	365	3
Baugh	Elizabeth	Female		Netherton; Dudley; Walsall Wood; Oneship; Panguitch, Utah, USA.	South	10/11/1825	01/06/1856	Worker	970	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Baugh	Hannah	Female	British Mission Register , p. 196; *William Stetson* Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1826		Wife of Engineer	244	3
Beckett	Thomas	Male	SEB	Walsall, Staffordshire.	South	01/01/1820	19/01/1845	Wrought Iron Hinge Maker	278	3
Bellamy	William	Male	SEB; 1851 Census	Woodhall/ Woodhouse, Lincolnshire/ Staffordshire	South	01/01/1815	27/11/1843	Servant	900	3
Benbow	William	Male		Herts; Hanley; Nauvoo; Montrose; IA	North	11/02/1803	04/01/1840	Grocer	770	3
Biddle	William Gander	Male	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Ogden	South	24/11/1832	01/07/1851	Bridle Buckle Plater	344	3
Biddle	Thomas	Male	1861 Census	Walsall; Ogden 1867; Brigham City	South	07/12/1842	14/05/1868	Brown Saddler	344	3
Biddle	Emma	Female	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1847		Dress Maker	405	3
Biddle	Elizabeth Heath	Female	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	02/02/1835		Staymaker	406	3
Birch	Richard	Male	Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, Susan Easton Black	Walsall Wood, Staffordshire.; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	25/05/1824	13/04/1847	Farmer	11	2

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Birch	James	Male	SEB	West Bromwich; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; 1856; Sandy Ridge, WY	South	21/03/1826		Stoker	279	5
Birch	Mary Ann	Female	SEB	West Bromwich, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA.	South			None Listed (Husband Stoker)	279	5
Blood	Mary Stretton	Female	Mary Ellen W. Smoot "The Beacons of His Light", Dawn Anderson, Dlora Dalton, and Susette Green, eds., Every Good Thing: Talks from the 1997 BYU Women's Conference, 54–55; 1841 Census	Yoxall; Barton under Needwood; Nauvoo, IL; IA; Kaysville, Utah, USA.	South	25/07/1811	01/03/1843	Shop Keeper	770	3
Booth	Hugh	Male		Newcastle under Lyme	North		01/01/1840	Silk Manufacturer	770	3
Bott	Elizabeth	Female		Lane End; Longton; NY; Florence, NE; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 15/10/1863; Bountiful; Quarterville; Hanefer, Utah, USA.	North	09/03/1838	01/05/1857	China Painter	108	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Bowers	James	Male	SEB	Dudley; Oldbury; Plains; IA	South	27/01/1811		Miner	24	3
Bowers	Hezekiah	Male	SEB	Oldbury; Dudley; Spanish Fork 1862	South	01/01/1838		Errand Boy	758	5
Bowers	Isabella	Female	SEB	Oldbury; Dudley; Spanish Fork 1862	South	01/01/1835		Nailer	949	4
Brassnall	(Male)	Male	SEB	Walsall	South	01/05/1815	01/05/1847	Domestic Servant	900	3
Brewster	Margaret	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1809		Family Locksmith	243	3
Brewster	Frederick	Male	LDS Emigrant Roster	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1828		Locksmith	243	3
Brewster	Helen	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1828		(Husband Locksmith)	243	3
Brindley	William	Male	1861 Census	Bloxwich; Walsall; Cache Co.	South	18/04/1804		Brasscutter	180	3
Brindley	Jane Shutt	Female	PEF & Emigrant Roster; PPMU; Millennium File–Dependency Database2; 1861 Census	Walsall; Utah, USA. 1869; ID 1873; Sevier 1878	South	15/08/1841		Dress Maker	405	3
Brindley	George	Male	PEF & Emigrant Roster; PPMU; Millennium File–Dependency Database2	Walsall; Cache Co., 1889; Bannock, ID 1873; Sevier Co. 1878; Utah, USA.	South	03/08/1839		Hammer Plater	222	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Brooks	Elizabeth	Female	ACD	Leek	North			Silk Spinner	365	3
Brough	Samuel Sr	Male	Longton Branch Records; Brough Family Organisation	Lane End; Baddeley Edge 1860; Warrens Lane, Longton 24/02/1861; NY ; Florence NE; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 15/10/1863; Bountiful; Porterville; Henefer; Randolph, Utah, USA.	North	16/09/1839	01/05/1857	Miner	42	3
Brough	Thomas	Male	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census	Lane End; NY; PA; Madison, IL; Utah, USA. 18/09/1854; Portville	North	22/10/1832	07/01/1848	Miner	42	3
Brough	Mary	Female		Trentham, Staffordshire	North	01/01/1794		Pensioner (Husband Chelsea Pensioner)	9999	9
Brough	Mary Ann	Female	Longton Branch Records	Warrens Lane, Longton; Trentham	North	03/05/1836	25/04/1857	Potters Transporter	105	3
Brough	Adry	Male		Longton; Staffordshire	North	13/03/1831	25/04/1857	Potters Assistant	970	5
Bull	Mary Elizabeth	Female		Kingswinford; Manti 1888; Nephi 1892; Los Angeles, CA	South	13/04/1861	17/04/1875	Not Yet Identified	9997	9

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Bullock	Thomas	Male	ACD, OPH Vol 8 pp.229–30	Leek; Stourbridge; Other places in England Wales as a travelling HM Excise Officer; Nauvoo, IL; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	23/12/1816	20/11/1841	Excise Officer	800	1
Bullock	Henrietta Rushton	Female	OPH Vol 8 pp.229–230, Vol. 12 p.496; AEL Vol.9 p.25; PPMU p.780	Leek; Stourbridge; Nauvoo, IL;1848; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	13/02/1817	20/11/1841	(Husband Excise Officer)	800	1
Butt	Ann Jane	Female	Longton Branch Records	Longton	North		01/01/1840	Servant	970	5
Cartlidge	Samuel	Male	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census	Longton; NY; Madison, IL;	North	01/02/1832		Miner	42	3
Cartridge	Elizabeth Brough	Female	Longton Branch Records; Brough Family Organisation	Warrens Lane, Longton; NY; Madison, IL; Randolph, Utah, USA.	North	13/05/1832	17/05/1847	Potters Turner	105	3
Charles	Caroline	Female		Old Swinford; Kenwanee, IL	South	26/07/1827		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Charles	Selines	Female		Dudley; Kelwannee, IL	South	24/07/1852		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Cliff	Edward	Male		Barrowden, Utah, USA.; Burslem, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1835	01/01/1860	LDS Minister	826	1

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Cook	James	Male	PPMU p.818; British Mission Register p.97; Jersey Passenger List	Newport, Shropshire; Bilston; Manti 1855	South	13/11/1816	29/06/1851	Wheelwright	475	3
Coombs	George	Male	LDS Biographical Vol 4:609; PPMU 1864	Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1814		Bricklayer	565	3
Coombs	Joshua Snr	Male	Trent Vale Branch Records	Stafford; Trent Vale, Staffordshire.; Fountain Green	North	04/02/1841	18/03/1856	Bricklayer	565	3
Coombs	William Henry	Male	Trent Vale Branch Records	Stafford Burlsem, Trent Vale, Staffordshire.; Fountain Green, Utah, USA.	North	29/08/1838	01/03/1856	Bricklayer	565	3
Coombs	George Jr	Male	LDS Biographical Vol 4:609	Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North			Bricklayer Labourer	970	5
Coombs	Eliza Astbury	Female		Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1812		None Listed (Husband Brick Layer)	565	3
Cooper	Louisa	Female	SEB; LDS BE Vol 2 Eardley, Bedson;	Cobridge; Stoke; Burslem; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	14/07/1830	01/01/1850	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Corbitt	Walter	Male	SEB		South		31/12/1848	Locksmith	243	3
Cordon	Alfred	Male	Alfred Cordon Diary	Liverpool; Toxteth; Burslem; Nauvoo 1843; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1851; Willard	North	26/02/1817	30/06/1839	Potter	105	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Cordon	Emma Parker	Female		Burslem; Nauvoo, IL 1846; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1852; Brigham City; Willard	North	26/05/1819	26/07/1839	(Husband Potter)	105	3
Crange	Eliza	Female	Zion Bound: The Ancestry & Descendants of Arlington Peter & Fannie Burnham Mortensen by Kathryn Mortensen Harmer, 1998	Wednesbury; Utah, USA.	South			Spinster	365	3
Cresswell	William	Male	Longton Branch Records; Cynosure Passenger List	Kingston, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	20/02/1802	27/04/1857	Potter	105	3
Cresswell	Eliza	Female	Longton Branch Records; Cynosure Passenger List	Shelton, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	14/10/1839	25/04/1857	Pottery Burnisher	105	3
Cresswell	Sarah	Female	Longton Branch Records; *Cynosure* Passenger List	Shelton, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	10/03/1803	25/04/1857	Wife of Potter	105	3
Cresswell	Mercy Onions	Female		Longton	North			Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Daniel	Harriet Matilda	Female	Our Pioneer Heritage	Burslem	North	31/03/1805		Not Yet Identified	9997	9

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Daniels	Ann (Hannah)	Female	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Burslem, Spring Wood	North	04/04/1832	22/10/1860	Bonnet Maker & Draper	408	3
Daniels	Eli	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Burslem, Spring Wood	North	01/01/1827	28/10/1860	Miner	42	3
Day	Thomas	Male	GMDA SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.	South	02/09/1814	04/09/1842	Carpet Factory Worker	689	5
Dean	Charles	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, MS 58:688, 1861 Census	Audley, Miles Green, Longton, Burslem, Woodruff, Utah, USA.	North	11/03/1829	28/10/1860	Miner	42	3
Dean	John	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Audley, Limehouses, Longton	North	10/10/1813	24/12/1860	Miner	42	3
Dean	Mary	Female	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Kidsgrove, Miles Green	North	12/03/1834	22/10/1860	Wife of Coal Miner	42	3
Densley	Daniel Sr.	Male		Somerset, Walsall, Cannock Chase	South	29/07/1826	08/02/1868	Miner	42	3
Densley	Sarah	Female		Walsall	South	01/01/1834		(Husband Coal Miner)	42	3
Derycot	Charles	Male	SEB 1851 Census		South	01/01/1804	12/04/1846	Miner	42	3
Devey	John	Male	PPMU p.844	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA.	South	28/01/1849		Die Cast Manufacturer	278	3
Duncombe	Joseph Sr	Male		Willenhall, Wednesfield 1841	South	15/03/1806		Miner	42	3
Duncombe	Elizabeth	Female		Darlaston; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1844		Labourer	970	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Dyche	Sarah	Female		Stafford 1861	South	01/01/1851		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Eardley	Bedson	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Derbys; Tunstall; Burslem;	North	20/11/1832		Potter	105	3
Eardley	James	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"; Hartley Passenger List; British Mission Register, p.47; Customs List, p.2	Derbys, Burslem	North	25/02/1830	01/01/1846	Potter	105	3
Eardley	Edward	Male	Burslem Branch Records	Burslem, Tunstall, Wolstanton	North	20/08/1820	21/04/1844	Potter	105	3
Eardley	Henry	Male		Tunstall, Staffordshire.	North	21/07/1816		Potter	105	3
Empey	Emma Adams	Female	LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, Andrew Jenson, Vol. 4, p.722	Tipton, Staffordshire, Utah, USA.	South	06/08/1860	27/09/1890	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
England	Mrs William	Female		Staffordshire.	South	01/01/1841		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Fellows	George	Male		Bloxwich, Hyrum	South	21/04/1813		Carpenter Master	474	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Fellows	Francis Goodwin	Female		Bloxwich; IA	South	06/12/1823		(Husband Carpenter Master)	474	3
Fellows	Francis Goodwin	Female		Bloxwich; IA	South	06/12/1823		(Husband Carpenter Master)	474	3
Fereday	John	Male		Wolverhampton; Spanish Fork	South	24/05/1850	25/10/1866	Blacksmith Striker	190	3
Fereday	John Bird	Male		Shareshill, South Wales; Bloxwich; Wolverhampton, 1862; Oakley, ID	South	19/07/1820	03/03/1842	Engine Worker	278	3
Fereday	William	Male		Monroe, Staffordshire.; Logan	South	28/02/1853	01/01/1863	Engineers Boy	737	3
Fereday	Martha	Female			South			Kreller Maker	399	5
Ferguson	James	Male		West Bromwich; Handsworth; Aston; Cache Co., 1875; North Logan	South	11/02/1827	15/06/1855	Market Grocer	13	3
Ferguson	Sarah Foster	Female		East India; West Bromwich; Handsworth	South	01/01/1830		(Husband Market Grocer)	770	3
Ford	Alfred Charles	Male	SEB	Tipton, Staffordshire.; Washington CO. Kanab	South	28/09/1833	03/04/1844	Stonemason	572	3
Fowler	Henry	Male	SEB		South		31/12/1848	Bricklayer	565	3
Freeman	Susan	Female	British Mission Registers	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North			Home Worker	970	5
Galley	Martha	Female		Macclesfield; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cedar Valley NE	North	06/03/1832		Not Yet Identified	9997	9

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Gardiner	John	Male	*Sheffield Passenger List*	Longton, Staffordshire; Nauvoo, Illinois; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1821		Weaver	370	3
Grant	Harriet Foster	Female		Willenhall; American Fork	South	19/01/1842	24/04/1864	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Green	Mary Ann	Female		Staffordshire.	South	01/07/1838		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Griffin	Harriet Ann	Female		Walsall; Not Yet Identified 1865 Hyrum	South	01/02/1836	20/12/1851	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Griffin	Susanna Ellen	Female		Walsall; USA 1865; Cache Co 1867	South	04/10/1844	05/11/1855	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Grocot	Rebekah	Female	1841 Census	Stoke	North	01/01/1826	01/01/1841	Servant	900	3
Hawthorne	Charles	Male		Crewe; Hanley; Burslem	North		01/01/1841	Labourer	970	5
Haycock	Joseph	Male		Worcs; USA 1866; NE; PA; Utah, USA.; 29/07/1869; Warship Beaver Pangultch Mexico 2yrs Exscalante, Utah, USA.	South	25/07/1832	22/06/1852	Miner	42	3
Haywood	Elizabeth	Female		Newcastle NUL, USA	North	01/01/1813		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Herbert	Eliza	Female	PAF	Wilts; Staffordshire.; Council Bluffs	South	28/08/1831		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Hewitt	Richard	Male	Yorkshire Passenger List; Customs List, Passenger No. 62	Staffordshire.; Tashlequah, TX 1847; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1851	South	01/03/1830		Potter	105	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Hodfells	Hannah	Male	British Mission Register p.77 ; Enoch Train Passenger List	Dudley; Utah, USA. 1856	South	01/01/1838		Spinster	365	3
Hodgett	Joseph	Male	British Branch Records p.150; Falcon Passenger List	Dudley; Utah, USA. 1853	South	01/01/1824		Miner	42	3
Horton	Ann M.	Female		Gnossal, Staffordshire; USA 1850, St Louis, MO; Utah, USA. 1856; Provo 1866;MO 1868	North	01/05/1832	01/01/1850	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Howell	Harriett	Female	SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.	South	01/12/1822	04/10/1847	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Hughes	Maria	Female		Market Drayton; BMR, p. 54	North	01/01/1805		Home Worker	970	5
Hulme	William Sr	Male		Stoke, Staffordshire.	North		01/01/1841	Day Labourer	970	5
Jackson	William	Male		Leek	North			Silk Worker	365	3
Jackson	Emily	Female		Stone, Staffordshire; St Louis 1868; NE, 1870; Fountain Green 1873; ID Falls, ID	North	31/05/1844	01/01/1862	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Jackson	Sara Jane	Female		Staffordshire.; Weber; CA	South	01/01/1838		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Jones	George	Male	British Mission Register p.69; Hudson Passenger List	Walsall, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA. 1864	South	01/01/1833		Servant	900	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Jones	Mary Ann	Female	SEB	Stourport, Staffordshire; USA 1856	South	09/05/1834		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lamb	Eliza	Female		Dudley; Kewanne, IL 1862	South	20/03/1857		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lamb	Mary Ann	Female		Dudley; Kewanne, IL; NM	South	13/09/1853		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lamb	Sarah	Female		Dudley; Kewanne, IL	South	14/04/1855		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lee	George	Male		Burslem	North		01/01/1841	Day Labourer	970	5
Lewis	Elizabeth	Female		Leek; Longport; Burslem; Utah, USA.; For Des Moines; Florence; 1861; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	04/11/1824	10/07/1840	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lewis	Martha	Female		Wales; Bloxwich 1847; Wolverhampton 1847–62; Logan, Utah, USA.	South	01/06/1826		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Littley	Amelia	Female		Walsall Wood; Madison Co.NE	South	10/06/1785		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Lloyd	Willliam	Male	James Pennel Passenger List, British Mission Register, p.62, Customs Passenger No. 85	Stoke Lane, Staffordshire.; Burlsem	North	01/01/1814		Potter	105	3
Lloyd	Thomas	Male	An Enduring Legacy, Vol 9, p.48; SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.; Farmington; Logan	South	15/06/1833	05/11/1852	Saddle Maker	344	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Lloyd	Mary	Female	Trent Vale Branch Records; *James Pennel Passenger List*	Stoke Lane, Staffordshire.; Burlsem, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1814		Wife of Potter	105	3
Lockett	James	Male	ACD 26 April 1840	Tunstall; Burslem 1850	North	01/01/1780	26/04/1840	Miner	42	3
Lockett	Grace	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1809		Home Worker	970	5
Lockett	John	Male	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1835		Labourer	970	5
Lockett	James	Male	James Pennell Passenger List; British Mission Register, p.84, p.72; Customers Passenger No. 77	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1810		Potter	27	3
Lockett	Julia Ann	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1838		Silk Worker	398	3
Lockett	Ann	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1841		Silk Worker	398	3
Lowely	John	Male		Tunstall	North		01/01/1840	Labourer	970	5
Machin	John	Male	Miles Green Branch Records; Metoka Ship; Nauvoo	Newcastle under Lyme	North	01/01/1793		Potter	105	3
Marsh	Sarah	Female		Dudley; Kewanne, IL 1860	South	07/03/1829		Not Yet Identified	9997	9

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Mason	John	Male	Hanley Branch Records; The Contributor, USA, Volume 13, April 1892, No.6; Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company BMR No. 1044, pp.140–157 (FHL Film 025690)	Burslem; Salt Lake	North	01/01/1819	01/01/1840	Potter	105	9
Mayer	Elizabeth	Female		Hanley; Ceobuk, Iowa, USA.	North	01/01/1843		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Mayer	Fergus	Female		Hanley; Ceobuk, IA	North	01/03/1840		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Melton	Jemima	Female		Burslem	North	01/01/1819	28/07/1839	Sewer	399	5
Middleton	Sarah	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records	Market Drayton; Prees; 1854 Birmingham 1871 ; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1875	North	06/08/1823		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Mills	Mary Ann	Female		Staffordshire.; North Althon, IL; Lamoni, IA	North	31/12/1838		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Mollett	Ann	Female	Hanley Branch Records; William Tapscott, Ship Roster	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1840	17/06/1848	Spinster	365	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Mollett	Elizabeth	Female	Hanley Branch Records; Wyoming, Ship Roster	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1834	17/06/1848	Spinster	365	3
Mollett	John	Male	*Juventa Passenger List; BMR p.133*	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1824	19/07/1847	Miner	42	3
Mollett	Theresa	Female	*Juventa* Passenger List; BMR p.134	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1828		Wife of Coal Miner	42	3
Moore	George	Male	Improvement Era Vol XXVII January 1924 "Passing Events"	Walsall; Provo, Utah, USA.; Wallsburg, Utah, USA.	South	06/04/1830		Woodyard Labourer	970	5
Morris	George Vernon	Male	SEB; George Morris Autobiography 1816–1849	Hanley; Bunbury, OA 1846; Nauvoo, 1844–6; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1850	North	23/08/1817	28/06/1841	Boiler Factory Worker	222	3
Morris	Mary Ann	Female		Burwardley, Ches; NE	North	18/11/1818		(Husband Coal Miner)	47	4
Mountford	William	Male	Burslem / Trent Vale Branch Records	Stoke; 16 Orme Street, Burslem	North	18/03/1821	01/01/1840	Potter	105	3
Mountford	Hannah	Female	Burslem / Trent Vale Branch Records	Stoke; 16 Orme Street, Burslem	North			Wife of Potter	105	3
Mulliner	Eliza	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records		North		06/07/1852	Hair Cloth Weaver	370	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Mulliner	Ann	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records	Market Drayton	North	01/01/1835	31/07/1851	Seamstress	419	3
Mulliner	Ann Sr	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records	Market Drayton	North	01/01/1797	01/05/1853	Seamstress	419	3
Mulliner	Eliza	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records		North		06/07/1852	Hair Cloth Weaver	370	3
Mycock	Benjamin	Male		Leek	North	01/01/1796	12/04/1840	Scarmger of the Town	105	3
Nixon	Sarah Jane / Ann	Female		Leek; Provo	North	13/04/1834	20/05/1845	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Noon	Sarah Perry Peake	Female		Wolstanton; Nauvoo 1846	North	03/05/1811	01/01/1842	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Orgill	Edward	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys; Riverton, Utah, USA.	North	25/11/1849	09/10/1858	Potter	105	3
Orgill	Joseph	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys. 09/09/1860; Burslem; Derbys 20/02/1861; Cache Co. Utah, USA.	North	22/01/1814	05/12/1842	Potter	105	3
Orgill	Joseph	Male	Burslem Branch Records; Colorado Passenger List	Albert Street, Burslem	North	30/09/1838	07/03/1848	Potter	105	3
Orgill	Nephi	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys.; Lincoln, WY	North	13/11/1851	19/06/1870	Potter	105	3
Orgill	Thomas	Male	Burslem Branch Records; Colorado Passenger List	Derbys; Burslem; San Pete Co.	North	03/08/1821	25/03/1843	Potter	105	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Orgill	William Lowe	Male		Derbys; Burslem 23/09/1860; Derbys 20/02/1861; Cache Co.	North	23/04/1844	15/10/1853	Potter	105	3
Orgill	Mary	Female	Colorado Passenger List	Staffordshire., Leicestershire; Derbys.	North	02/06/1818	01/05/1842	Potters Assistant	370	3
Orgill	Ann	Female	Burslem Branch Records	Derbys. ;3 Furlong Place, Burslem	North	05/05/1829	27/04/1857	Potters Family	105	3
Orgill	Elizabeth	Female		Derbys.; Draper. Utah, USA.	North	24/02/1854	07/08/1862	Potters Family	105	3
Patridge	George	Male	MS 30:80	Bromsgrove, Worcestershire; Wolverhampton	South	01/01/1802		Railway Works Worker	577	4
Payne	Edward	Male		Warminster; Dudley; Tipton; Durham; USA 1884; Heber, Coalville 1869; Glenwood, Utah, USA. 1876	South	31/05/1832	27/05/1854	Miner	42	3
Perks	James	Male	British Mission Register p.150; Germanicus Passenger List	Dudley; Wellsville, Utah, USA.; Cache Co., Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1819		Miner	42	3
Pitt	William	Male	SEB	Dymock, Gloucestershire	South	16/08/1813	13/06/1840	Painter	592	3
Plant	Joseph	Male		Hanley	North	15/08/1830	01/01/1841	Day Labourer	970	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Platt	Henry John	Male		Longport; IL 1853; St Louis 1855; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1857; St George 1863; Graham, AZ	North	15/03/1828	01/04/1848	Bricklayer Labourer	970	5
Poole	Elizabeth	Female	Hanley Branch Records	Shelton; Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1817	27/12/1848	Dress Maker	405	3
Pools	Eliza	Female	Early Reorganisation Minutes, 1852–1871 Book A	Longton	North	01/01/1845		Wife	9999	9
Potts	Peter	Male	*My Life a Farmers Boy, Factory Lad, Teacher & Preacher, Chapter 13, pp.138–9, unknown publisher*		South	01/01/1784		Stonecutter	575	3
Ralphs	Thomas	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Woollerton; Nauvoo 1842; IA 1846, Kanesville 1848; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1849, Brigham City, Utah, USA. 1855	South	23/07/1819	12/02/1841	Potter	105	3
Ralphs	William Benjamin	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Woollerton; Nauvoo 1848; IA 1847, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1851, American Fork, 1860	South	16/05/1816	01/02/1841	Potter	105	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Rowley	John	Male		Lane End, MO	North	01/12/1822	01/01/1841	Blacksmith	523	3
Rowley	Eliza	Female		Staffordshire.; Keokuk, IA	South	01/11/1830		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Rushton	Richard Jr	Male		Leek; St Louis; Nauvoo 1843; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	05/07/1814	01/01/1840	Farmer	11	2
Rushton	Richard	Male	Richard Rushton Sr. Journal; George A. Smith Journal	Leek; Nauvoo	North	09/06/1781	19/07/1840	Silk Manufacturer	770	3
Rushton	Mary Olivia	Female		Leek; Kentucky; Nauvoo; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cook Co., IL	North	29/06/1820	26/11/1840	Silk Winder	370	3
Rushton	Edward	Male		Leek; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	28/02/1839	05/01/1858	Silk Worker	370	3
Rushton	Edwin	Male	Edwin Rushton Family Documents	Leek; Nauvoo, 1842; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	01/06/1824	23/09/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Rushton	Harriet	Female		Leek; Nauvoo, 1842	North	27/12/1807	14/01/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Rushton	Frederick James	Male	0	Leek; Nauvoo, 1842; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	06/02/1806	19/07/1840	Weaver	370	3
Rushton	Lettice Johnson	Female		Leek; 08/03/1843; New Orleans; Nauvoo, 1843	North	03/12/1784	01/07/1840	(Husband Silk Manufacturer) Blind	770	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Rushton	Mary Olivia	Female		Leek; Kentucky; Nauvoo; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cook Co., IL	North	29/06/1820	26/11/1840	Silk Winder	370	3
Sant	John Jr	Male	Middlewich Branch Records; On-board Manchester 1861 Census	Middlewich; Cache Co., Utah, USA.; Bear Lake, ID; Bannock, ID	North	30/11/1838	06/01/1846	Waterman	738	4
Scriven	Elizabeth	Female		Staffordshire.; USA post 1854; MO	North	01/01/1817		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Scrivens	Maria	Female		Brierley Hill; USA 1848; Linn, MO	South	01/01/1811		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Shakespeare	David	Male		Sedgely; USA; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; NV; Panguitch, Utah, USA.	South	13/08/1827	23/04/1851	Miner	42	3
Shakespeare	William	Male	Early Reorganisation Minutes, 1852–1871 Book A pp.315, 345, 352	Dudley, Staffordshire; Kewannee, IL	South	27/04/1828	01/01/1851	Miner	42	3
Shakespeare	Hannah Brandon	Female	OPH; Vol 6 p.471		South			(Husband Coal Miner)	47	4
Shakespeare	Sarah Marsh	Female	Early Reorganisation Minutes, 1852–1871 Book A pp.315, 345, 352	Dudley, Staffordshire; Kewannee, IL	South	01/03/1828		"Mind the House" (Husband Coal Miner)	42	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Shaw	Osmond Broad	Male	SEB; HC 4 Ch 17; Marriage Certificate	Hanley; Tunstall; Shelton; St Louis; Burlington, IA; 1852 Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	21/05/1821	04/06/1840	Earthenware Warehouseman	940	3
Silcock	Nicholas Thomas	Male	LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, Andrew Jenson, Vol. 4, p.668	Hanley; Blithfield; Nauvoo 1846; Grantsville 1856; Toole 1851–2; New Orleans; St Louis; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1850–52; Granstville 1856	North	29/09/1818	14/08/1840	Carpenter	474	3
Smallman	Mary	Female	ACD	Hanley, Staffordshire.; Nauvoo, IL	North	05/06/1818	13/01/1840	Servant	900	3
Smith	Charles	Male	Carol Cornwall Madsen, Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail, p.723	Ipstones; Ellesmere; Shrewsbury	South	10/06/1819	22/08/1841	Apprentice Watchmaker	323	3
Smith	William J	Male		Shrops.; Burslem; NUL; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	22/04/1814	01/01/1840	Scourer	118	4
Smith	Elizabeth	Female		Lichfield; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Lichfield	South	01/07/1832		Not Yet Identified	9997	9

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Smith	Mary Ann	Female		Bromley; St Louis; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cedar City	South	27/12/1844	21/04/1853	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Smut	Edwin Ward	Male	Utah, Autobiography of Edwin Smout, BYU Archives; SEB	Tipton, Staffordshire.	South	21/05/1823	18/03/1848	Tailor	404	3
Spinning	Harriet Matilda Alcock	Female	*Marriages in Nauvoo Region 1839–45*, SEB	Lane End; Nauvoo, IL; Kanawee, MI	North	09/05/1822	01/01/1838	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Sproston	Mary Ann Walley	Female		Wolstanton; Clayton; Mercer, IL	North	04/10/1808		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Stanaway	Sampson	Male	ACD	Potteries	North			Labourer	970	5
Starkey	Sarah Jane	Female		Drolton, Warks.; Stowe, Staffordshire	South	01/02/1864	05/06/1879	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Steele	Richard	Male		Worcs.; Fort Madison 1843–4; Nauvoo 1846; IA 1846–7; Utah, USA. 1851; American Fork	South	14/02/1818	01/01/1840	Potter	105	3
Steele	Mary Ann Reece	Female	Steele Family History' Richard Steele Journal	Congleton, Ches.; Nauvoo, IL; American Fork, Utah, USA.	North	22/08/1823	21/02/1840	Straw Hat Maker	408	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Stokes	Henry	Male	SEB; Carol Cornwall Madsen, Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail, p.727	West Bromwich, Staffordshire.; NY 1860–1862; Cache, Utah, USA.	South	07/05/1829	15/08/1841	Brewery Worker	970	5
Stunaway	Sampson	Male		Stoke;	North		01/01/1841	Labourer	970	5
Thacker	William	Male	Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, USA., pg.524	Darlaston; Wolverhampton; NY; Heber	South	06/06/1823	20/07/1850	Nailer	949	4
Thacker	William Timothy	Male	Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, USA., pg.524	Willenhall; Manti, Utah, USA.; Heber; Provo, Utah, USA.	South	07/11/1854	01/01/1864	Stonecutter	575	3
Thomas	James	Male	Wyoming Passenger List	Hanley, Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1848		Labourer	970	5
Thomas	Elizabeth	Female	*Wyoming* Passenger List	Hanley, Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1848		Factory Worker	970	5
Thomas	Mary O	Female		Staffordshire	South		01/01/1842	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Tonks	William	Male	PAF, Treasures of Pioneer History, Vol.3, p.415	Willenhall; NY 1856; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1861;Morgan 1868	South	19/07/1832	15/07/1850	Blacksmith	190	3
Tonks	Timothy	Male		Willenhall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	11/10/1792	01/01/1850	Wheelwright	475	3
Tovey	John Galey	Male	Our Pioneer Heritage, Vol. 2, p.277	Hanley; Derbys; Longton 15/04/1860; Longton	North		25/05/1857	Stonecutter	575	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Tucker	Nathaniel	Male		Dudley, Staffordshire; Kewannee, IL	South	18/08/1844		Miner	42	3
Turner	Hannah Eudora	Female		Sedgely; NY; New Orleans; St Louis; Florence NE; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 15/09/1861; Fairfield, Utah, USA.	South	12/03/1814		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Vawdrey	John	Male		Sandbach; Middlewich 16/10/1858	North	01/01/1830		Silk Thrower	372	4
Vawdrey	Nancy	Female		Sweetenham; Sandbach; Park Valley, Utah, USA.	North	23/05/1834	17/04/1852	Silk Thrower	372	4
Vawdrey	Betty	Female		Sweetenham; Sandbach	North	03/01/1792	12/12/1852	(Husband Carpenter)	474	3
Vawdrey	Hannah Brough	Female	PEF & Emigrant Roster; PPMU	Sandbach; Draper, Utah, USA.	North			(Husband Shoemaker)	42	3
Vernon	Mary Ann	Female		Cinder Hill	South	01/01/1831		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Wainwright	John	Male	*Ellen Maria Passenger List;*	Burslem, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1814		Potter	105	3
Wainwright	John	Male	*Ellen Maria* Passenger List; British Mission Register p.34	Longton, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1786		Potter	105	3
Wainwright	Elizabeth	Female	*Ellen Maria* Passenger List	Burlsem, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1802		Home Worker	970	5

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Walker	Charles Lowell	Male	Pioneer History Library; Diary of Charles Lowell Walker 2 Vols, Utah, USA. State Press 1980	Leek; St Louis 1849; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; 1855; St George 1862	North	17/11/1832	22/04/1845	Stonecutter	575	3
Walker	James Spencer	Male		Burslem; Tunstall	North	01/02/1806	01/01/1840	Waggoner	719	4
Walker	Mary Lois	Female	Improvement Era Vol XXIII January 1920 "Passing Events"	Leek; Cedar City, Utah, USA.; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA., Utah, USA.	North	14/05/1835	27/11/1853	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Wardle	Eliza	Female		Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1813	01/01/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Wardle	Fanny Ruston	Female		Leek; Nauvoo, 1848; Midway, Utah, USA.	North	24/11/1820	01/01/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Wardle	Harriet	Female		Leek; Cheddleton; Washington State	North	31/08/1821	01/01/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Wardle	John	Male		Cheddleton; San Bernardino; Oregon	North	03/08/1815	01/1/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Wardle	Ralph Sr	Male	Bk. A, p. 1; (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, Hartley Passenger List 01/03.1849	Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	14/08/1776	01/1/1840	Turner	486	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
Wardle	George	Male		Cheddleton; Leek; Nauvoo 1846; WY; Utah, USA. 24/07/1847 BY Company; Provo; Midway; Glenwood; Vernal, Utah, USA.	North	03/02/1820	01/1/1840	Wheelwright	475	3
Wardle	Ralph	Male	Bk. A, p. 1; (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, #234, p. 4. Estimated Age & Baptism	Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1820	01/1/1840	Wheelwright	475	3
Wardle	Eliza	Female		Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1813	01/1/1840	Silk Worker	370	3
Weaver	John	Male	Edwin Smout. Journal, BYU Archives	Dudley	South		01/1/1840	Master Shoemaker	412	3
Welling	Job	Male	Our Pioneer Heritage, Vol. 1, p.307	Audlem; Portsmouth, USA 23/03/1856; Liverpool; USA Boston 05/01; IA 09/06/1858 Handcart Ellsworth; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Farmington 1875 to Australia Mission via England; Farmington	North	09/01/1833	09/01/1852	Tailor	404	3

Surname	Forename	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Baptised	Occupation	Group	Class
White	Joseph	Male		Leek; Audlem	North		01/01/1840	Silk Manufacturer	770	3
Whitehouse	Benjamin	Male	1841 Census	Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/01/1831	14/05/1864	Miner	42	3
Whitehouse	John	Male	RLDS Kewanee Branch Records	Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/07/1805	14/05/1864	Miner	42	3
Whitehouse	Simion	Male		Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/01/1839	14/05/1864	Miner	42	3
Whitehouse	Mary Ann	Female	1841 Census	Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/01/1836	14/05/1864	Nailer	949	4
Whitehouse	Rosannah	Female		Dudley; Kewannee, IL 1862	South	25/12/1832	14/05/1864	Nailer	949	4
Whitehouse	Martha Charles	Female	*Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* SEB	Dudley; Kewanee, IL	South	01/08/1835	01/01/1849	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Woodfield	Mary (Hunt)	Female		Solihull; Bristol; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	24/12/1804	14/03/1841	Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Wootton	Elizabeth	Female		Potteries; Kanab, Utah, USA.	North	05/11/1835		Not Yet Identified	9997	9
Wright	Matilda Elizabeth	Female		Lichfield; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	21/08/1859	05/03/1866	Not Yet Identified	9997	9

STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON DATASETS: CASE STUDY #2 N=245

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Ackerley	Hannah	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich	North	07/03/1775	66	27/05/1841
Ackerley	Elizabeth	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich	North	06/10/1832	17	26/07/1850
Ackerley	Phobe	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich; Pleasant View, UT	North	18/04/1826	15	04/08/1841
Ackerley	Mary	Female		Kinderton; Middlewich	North	01/01/1818	23	04/08/1841
Adams	Samuel Jr	Male	*Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints:1830–1848, SEB*	Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860; Jefferson, ID	North	16/04/1835	13	28/07/1848
Adams	Samuel Sr	Male	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860	North	02/08/1805	35	28/07/1841
Adams	Bessy	Female		Baddeley Edge; USA 11/05/1860	North	30/04/1837	9	01/01/1847
Adams	Elizabeth Mountford	Female	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB;* ,Estimated Baptism date based on family baptism.	Bucknall; Norton; Millard	North	15/04/1815	25	28/01/1841
Adshead	Ann	Female		Hazlegreen	North	01/01/1795	46	01/01/1841
Adshead	Betty	Female		Hazlegreen	North	01/01/1827	14	01/01/1841
Adshead	Peter	Male	*Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, SEB*	Hazelgreen; Nauvoo; Manti	North	28/12/1798	42	09/05/1841
Ainsworth	Mary Jane	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster;	Wolverhampton, Brigham	South	04/07/1854	8	02/05/1862

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
			PPMU	City				
Ainsworth	Joseph	Male	PPMU p.711; LDS Biographies Vol 2	Staffordshire	North	01/01/1820	28	01/01/1848
Alcock	William	Male	*Marriages in Nauvoo Region 1839–45, SEB On-board Manchester*	Leek; Manchester	North	01/01/1815	25	19/07/1840
Alcott	Lydia Blakeslee	Female	SEB Early Reorganization Minutes, USA.es 1872–1905 Books B, C & HRLDSC p.236	Lane End; NY; IL; MI	North	01/10/1832	8	01/05/1840
Allblaster	George	Male	Hanover Passenger List 01/03/1842	Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/03/1824	16	29/04/1840
Allblaster	Mrs Elizabeth	Female	James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles,* p.159 Birth date approx.		North	23/07/1812	27	29/04/1840
Allcock	Sophia L	Female	SEB RLDS Deceased Files; Hanley RLDS Branch Records	Woolwich, Leek, Hanley,	North	01/08/1838	19	01/01/1858
Amison	Harriett	Female	Bk. A p. 1 (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, No.234, p.4.	Longton	North	08/01/1824	15	01/01/1840
Amison	Thomas	Male	Bk. A p. 1 (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, No.234, p.4.	Longton	North	01/01/1814	26	01/01/1840
Angel	Thomas	Male	RLDS V3 p.390	Dudley	South	01/04/1818	19	01/04/1842
Angel	Mary/ Margaret	Female		Tipton; Bellville, IL	South	01/04/1823	25	01/04/1842

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Ash	Phobe	Female	Middlewich Branch Records	Middlewich; Pleasant View, Utah, USA.	North	18/04/1816	25	04/08/1841
Ash	Isaac	Male	SEB; MMMCI; 1851 Census	Asterley; Peover, Ches.; Peushley, Staffordshire	South	01/01/1797	43	22/11/1840
Ash	James	Male	Middlewich Branch Records	Peover/Middlewich; Pleasant View, Utah, USA.	North	12/06/1816	24	22/11/1840
Ashcroft	Josiah	Male	British Mission Register, p. 29; new.familysearch.org; estimated baptism date	Kennebec Passenger List	North	01/01/1827	20	01/01/1847
Bailey	Anne	Female		Tunstall; Stoke; NY 1856; NJ 1864	North	01/01/1822	19	01/01/1841
Banks	William Jr	Male	1880 US Census; Emigration Roster	Kingswood; Spanish Fork, Utah, USA.	South	07/05/1836	8	01/01/1845
Barley	Ann	Female		Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1824	17	01/01/1841
Barlow	Martha Ellen	Female	Longton Branch Records	Fenton, Longton Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1835	22	25/04/1857
Barnes	Charles	Male	Amazon Passenger List; BMR p.300	Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1804	45	01/04/1849
Barnes	Elizabeth	Female	*Amazon* Passenger List	Staffordshire; Utah, USA., USA.	North	01/01/1805	44	01/04/1849
Barrett	William James	Male	ACD; HC;	Burslem; Australia	North	23/01/1823	15	01/01/1839
Bates	Joseph William	Male	SEB	Dudley; Nauvoo 1846	South	16/02/1827	15	08/10/1842
Battby	Maria	Female		Burslem, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1820	21	01/01/1841
Baugh	Neria	Female	British Mission Register, p. 196; William Stetson Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1838	12	05/05/1850
Baugh	Elizabeth	Female		Netherton; Dudley; Walsall Wood; Oneship; Panguitch, Utah, USA.	South	10/11/1825	30	01/06/1856
Baugh	Hannah	Female	British Mission Register, p. 196; *William Stetson* Passenger List	Dudley; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1826	24	05/05/1850
Bebbington	Harriet	Female		Butheley, Ches., UT 1855; Riverton	North	01/02/1814	39	19/06/1853

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Beckett	Thomas	Male	SEB	Walsall, Staffordshire.	South	01/01/1820	25	19/01/1845
Bellamy	William	Male	SEB; 1851 Census	Woodhall/ Woodhouse, Lincolnshire/Staffordshire	South	01/01/1815	28	27/11/1843
Benbow	William	Male		Herts; Hanley; Nauvoo; Montrose; IA	North	11/02/1803	36	04/01/1840
Biddle	William Gander	Male	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Ogden	South	24/11/1832	18	01/07/1851
Biddle	Thomas	Male	1861 Census	Walsall; Ogden 1867; Brigham City	South	07/12/1842	25	14/05/1868
Biddle	Emma	Female	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1847	11	06/07/1858
Biddle	Elizabeth Heath	Female	PPMU; 1861 Census	Walsall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	02/02/1835	23	06/07/1858
Birch	Richard	Male	Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: 1830–1848, Susan Easton Black	Walsall Wood, Staffordshire.; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	25/05/1824	22	13/04/1847
Birch	James	Male	SEB	West Bromwich; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; 1856; Sandy Ridge, WY	South	21/03/1826	23	01/01/1850

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Blood	Mary Stretton	Female	Mary Ellen W. Smoot "The Beacons of His Light", Dawn Anderson, Dlora Dalton, and Susette Green, eds., Every Good Thing: Talks from the 1997 BYU Women's Conference, 54–55; 1841 Census	Yoxall; Barton under Needwood; Nauvoo, IL; IA; Kaysville, Utah, USA.	South	25/07/1811	31	01/03/1843
Booth	Hugh	Male		Newcastle under Lyme	North	01/01/1818	22	01/01/1840
Bott	Elizabeth	Female		Lane End; Longton; NY; Florence, NE; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 15/10/1863; Bountiful; Quarterville; Hanefer, Utah, USA.	North	09/03/1838	19	01/05/1857
Bourne	John	Male	SEB	Burslem; American Fork, UT	North	13/11/1821	18	07/12/1839
Bowers	James	Male	SEB	Dudley; Oldbury; Plains; IA	South	27/01/1811	40	01/01/1852
Bowers	Hezekiah	Male	SEB	Oldbury; Dudley; Spanish Fork 1862	South	01/01/1838	14	01/01/1852
Bowers	Isabella	Female	SEB	Oldbury; Dudley; Spanish Fork 1862	South	01/01/1835	14	24/07/1849
Brassnall	(Male)	Male	SEB	Walsall	South	01/05/1815	32	01/05/1847
Brewster	Margaret Mound	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster; new.familysearch.org	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	24/04/1791	57	04/09/1848
Brewster	Frederick	Male	LDS Emigrant Roster; new.familysearch.org	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	08/11/1817	31	27/10/1849

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Brewster	Ellen	Female	LDS Emigrant Roster; new.familysearch.org	Wolverhampton; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	01/01/1821	28	27/10/1849
Brindley	William	Male	1861 Census; new.familysearch.org; possible rebaptism dates	Bloxwich; Walsall; Cache Co.	South	18/04/1804	71	18/07/1875
Brindley	Jane Shutt	Female	PEF & Emigrant Roster; PPMU; Millennium File–Dependency Database2; 1861 Census	Walsall; Utah, USA. 1869; ID 1873; Sevier 1878	South	15/08/1841	26	25/06/1868
Brindley	George	Male	PEF & Emigrant Roster; PPMU; Millennium File–Dependency Database2	Walsall; Cache Co., 1889; Bannock, ID 1873; Sevier Co. 1878; Piuto Co.	South	03/08/1839	28	25/06/1868
Brooks	Elizabeth	Female	ACD; SEB	Burslem; Nauvoo, IL; Burlington, IA; SLC, UT.	North	30/03/1819	21	01/01/1841
Brough	Samuel Sr	Male	Longton Branch Records; Brough Family Organisation	Lane End; Baddeley Edge 1860; Warrens Lane, Longton 24/02/1861; NY ; Florence NE; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 15/10/1863; Bountiful; Porterville; Henefer; Randolph, Utah, USA.	North	16/09/1839	17	01/05/1857
Brough	Thomas	Male	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census	Lane End; NY; PA; Madison, IL; Utah, USA. 18/09/1854; Portville	North	22/10/1832	15	07/01/1848
Brough	Mary	Female	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census; new.familysearch.org	Trentham, Staffordshire	North	15/01/1789	50	01/01/1840
Brough	Mary Ann	Female	Longton Branch Records	Warrens Lane, Longton; Trentham	North	03/05/1836	20	25/04/1857
Brough	Adry	Male		Longton; Staffordshire	North	13/03/1831	26	25/04/1857
Bull	Mary Elizabeth	Female		Kingswinford; Manti 1888; Nephi 1892; Los Angeles, CA	South	13/04/1861	14	17/04/1875

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Brough	Richard	Male	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census; new.familysearch.org	Trentham; Battle of Waterloo 1805–1822 Royal Artillery, Longton; Blurton; Trentham	North	14/02/1788	51	01/01/1840
Bullock	Thomas	Male	ACD, OPH Vol 8 pp.229–30	Leek; Stourbridge; Other places in England Wales as a travelling HM Excise Officer; Nauvoo, IL; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	23/12/1816	24	20/11/1841
Bullock	Henrietta Rushton	Female	OPH Vol 8 pp.229–230, Vol. 12 p.496; AEL Vol.9 p.25; PPMU p.780	Leek; Stourbridge; Nauvoo, IL;1848; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	13/02/1817	24	20/11/1841
Butt	Ann Jane	Female	Longton Branch Records	Longton	North	01//03/1825	15	01/04/1840
Cartlidge	Samuel	Male	Brough Family Organisation; 1851 Census	Longton; NY; Madison, IL;	North	05/02/1832	15	17/05/1847
Cartridge	Elizabeth Brough	Female	Longton Branch Records; Brough Family Organisation	Warrens Lane, Longton; NY; Madison, IL; Randolph, Utah, USA.	North	13/05/1832	15	17/05/1847
Charles	Caroline	Female	SEB *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*	Old Swinford; Kenwanee, IL	South	26/07/1827	21	01/01/1849
Charles	Selines	Female	SEB *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*	Dudley; Kelwannee, IL	South	24/07/1852	9	01/01/1862
Charles	Eliza	Female	SEB *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*	Dudley; Kelwannee, IL	South	01/03/1817	31	01/01/1849
Charles	Martha	Female	SEB *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*	Dudley; Kelwannee, IL	South	01/08/1835	13	01/01/1849
Cliff	Edward	Male		Barrowden, Rutland; Burslem, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1835	25	01/01/1860

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Cook	James	Male	PPMU p.818; British Mission Register p.97; Jersey Passenger List	Newport, Shropshire; Bilston; Manti 1855	South	13/11/1816	34	29/06/1851
Coombs	George	Male	LDS Biographical Vol 4:609; PPMU 1864	Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North	02/02/1815	41	18/03/1856
Coombs	Joshua Snr	Male	Trent Vale Branch Records	Stafford; Trent Vale, Staffordshire.; Fountain Green	North	04/02/1841	15	18/03/1856
Coombs	William Henry	Male	Trent Vale Branch Records	Stafford Burlsem, Trent Vale, Staffordshire.; Fountain Green, Utah, USA.	North	29/08/1838	17	18/03/1856
Coombs	George Jr	Male	LDS Biographical Vol 4:609	Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North	02/04/1844	11	18/03/1856
Coombs	Eliza Astbury	Female		Burslem; Stafford, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1812	41	22/09/1853
Cooper	Louisa	Female	SEB; LDS BE Vol 2 Eardley, Bedson;	Cobridge; Stoke; Burslem; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	14/07/1830	19	01/01/1850
Cordon	Alfred	Male	Alfred Cordon Diary	Liverpool; Toxteth; Burslem; Nauvoo 1843; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1851; Willard	North	26/02/1817	22	30/06/1839
Cordon	Emma Parker	Female		Burslem; Nauvoo, IL 1846; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1852; Brigham City; Willard	North	26/05/1819	20	26/07/1839
Cresswell	William	Male	Longton Branch Records; Cynosure Passenger List	Kingston, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	20/02/1802	55	27/04/1857
Cresswell	Eliza	Female	Longton Branch Records; Cynosure Passenger List	Shelton, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	14/10/1839	17	25/04/1857
Cresswell	Sarah	Female	Longton Branch Records; *Cynosure* Passenger List	Shelton, 37 Gate Street, Longton	North	10/03/1803	54	25/04/1857

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Daniels	Harriet Matilda	Female	SEB; Our Pioneer Heritage; new.familysearch.org	Burslem	North	31/03/1805	35	01/01/1841
Daniels	Ann (Hannah)	Female	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Burslem, Spring Wood	North	04/04/1832	28	22/10/1860
Daniels	Eli	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Burslem, Spring Wood	North	01/01/1827	33	28/10/1860
Day	Thomas	Male	GMDA SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.	South	02/09/1814	28	04/09/1842
Dean	Charles	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, MS 58:688, 1861 Census	Audley, Miles Green, Longton, Burslem, Woodruff, Utah, USA.	North	11/03/1829	31	28/10/1860
Dean	John	Male	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Audley, Limehouses, Longton	North	10/10/1813	47	24/12/1860
Dean	Mary	Female	Miles Green Branch Records, 1861 Census	Kidsgrove, Miles Green	North	12/03/1834	26	22/10/1860
Densley	Daniel Sr.	Male		Somerset, Walsall, Cannock Chase	South	29/07/1826	41	08/02/1868
Beech	Sarah	Female	new.familysearch.org	Walsall	South	01/01/1834	30	01/01/1864
Derycot	Charles	Male	SEB 1851 Census		South	01/01/1804	42	12/04/1846
Devey	John	Male	PPMU p.844; new.familysearch.org	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA.	South	28/01/1849	26	12/09/1875
Duncombe	Joseph Sr	Male		Willenhall, Wednesfield 1841	South	15/03/1806	42	27/11/1848
Duncombe	Elizabeth	Female		Darlaston; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	28/10/1849	8	01/01/1858
Dyche	John	Male	new.familysearch.org	Bradely, Staffs	North	13/05/1847	19	01/01/1867
Dyche	Sarah	Female	new.familysearch.org	Stafford	South	01/01/1851	16	01/01/1867
Eardley	Bedson	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Derbys; Tunstall; Burslem;	North	20/11/1842	12	04/08/1855
Eardley	James	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of	Derbys, Burslem	North	25/02/1830	15	01/01/1846

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
			the Church "Deseret Pottery"; Hartley Passenger List; British Mission Register, p.47; Customs List, p.2					
Eardley	Edward	Male	Burslem Branch Records	Burslem, Tunstall, Wolstanton	North	20/08/1820	23	21/04/1844
Eardley	Henry	Male		Tunstall, Staffordshire.	North	21/07/1816	27	21/04/1844
Empey	Emma Adams	Female	LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, Andrew Jenson, Vol. 4, p.722	Tipton, Staffordshire, Utah, USA.	South	06/08/1860	30	27/09/1890
Fellows	George	Male	new.familysearch.org Estimated Baptismal Dates	Bloxwich, Hyrum	South	21/04/1813	41	01/01/1855
Fellows	Francis Goodwin	Female	new.familysearch.org Estimated Baptismal Dates	Bloxwich; Iowa	South	06/12/1823	31	01/01/1855
Fereday	John	Male		Wolverhampton; Spanish Fork	South	24/05/1850	16	25/10/1866
Fereday	John	Male		Shareshill, South Wales; Bloxwich; Wolverhampton, 1862; Oakley, ID	South	19/07/1820	21	03/03/1842
Fereday	William	Male		Monroe, Staffordshire.; Logan	South	28/02/1853	9	01/01/1863
Fereday	Martha	Female			South	01/06/1826	19	01/02/1846
Ferguson	James	Male		West Bromwich; Handsworth; Aston; Cache Co., 1875; North Logan	South	11/02/1827	17	15/06/1844
Ferguson	Sarah Foster	Female	new.familysearch.org Estimated Baptismal Dates	East India; West Bromwich; Handsworth	South	01/01/1830	24	01/01/1854
Ford	Alfred Charles	Male	SEB	Tipton, Staffordshire.; Washington CO. Kanab	South	28/09/1833	10	03/04/1844
Fowler	Henry	Male	SEB		South	01/01/1834	14	31/12/1848

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Freeman	Susan	Female	British Mission Registers; new.familysearch.org Estimated Baptismal Dates	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1828	27	01/01/1855
Galley	Martha	Female		Macclesfield; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cedar Valley NE	North	06/03/1832	10	01/01/1843
Grant	Harriet Foster	Female		Willenhall; American Fork	South	19/01/1842	22	24/04/1864
Griffin	Harriet Ann	Female		Walsall; Not Yet Identified 1865 Hyrum	South	01/02/1836	15	20/12/1851
Griffin	Susanna Ellen	Female		Walsall; USA 1865; Cache Co 1867	South	04/10/1844	11	05/11/1855
Grocot	Rebekah	Female	1841 Census	Stoke	North	01/01/1826	15	01/01/1841
Hawthorne	Charles	Male	1841 Census	Crewe; Hanley; Burslem	North	01/04/1821	19	01/01/1841
Haycock	Joseph	Male		Worcs; USA 1866; NE; PA; Utah, USA.; 29/07/1869; Warship Beaver Pangultch Mexico 2yrs Exscalante, Utah, USA.	South	25/07/1832	19	22/06/1852
Haywood	Elizabeth	Female		Newcastle NUL, USA	North	01/01/1813	29	23/01/1842
Herbert	Eliza	Female	PAF	Wilts; Staffordshire.; Council Bluffs	South	28/08/1831	10	01/01/1842
Hodfells	Hannah	Female	British Mission Register p.77 ; Enoch Train Passenger List	Dudley; Utah, USA. 1856	South	01/01/1838	12	01/01/1850
Horton	Ann M.	Female		Gnossal, Staffordshire; USA 1850, St Louis, MO; Utah, USA. 1856; Provo 1866;MO 1868	North	01/05/1832	17	01/01/1850
Howell	Harriett	Female	SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.	South	01/12/1822	24	04/10/1847
Hughes	Maria	Female		Market Drayton; BMR, p. 54	North	01/01/1805	37	01/01/1842

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Hulme	William Sr	Male	Branch Records; new.familysearch.org	Stoke, Staffordshire.	North	25/09/1812	28	01/01/1841
Jackson	Emily	Female		Stone, Staffordshire; St Louis 1868; NE, 1870; Fountain Green 1873; ID Falls, ID	North	31/05/1844	17	01/01/1862
Lewis	Elizabeth	Female		Leek; Longport; Burslem; Utah, USA.; For Des Moines; Florence; 1861; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	04/11/1824	15	10/07/1840
Lloyd	Thomas	Male	An Enduring Legacy, Vol 9, p.48; SEB	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.; Farmington; Logan	South	15/06/1833	19	05/11/1852
Lloyd	Mary	Female	Trent Vale Branch Records; *James Pennel Passenger List*	Stoke Lane, Staffordshire.; Burlsem, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1814	28	01/01/1842
Lockett	James	Male	ACD 26 April 1840	Tunstall; Burslem 1850	North	01/01/1780	60	26/04/1840
Lockett	Grace	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1809	36	01/01/1845
Lockett	John	Male	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1835	8	26/04/1843
Lockett	James	Male	James Pennell Passenger List; British Mission Register, p.84, p.72; Customers Passenger No. 77	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1810	30	26/04/1840
Lockett	Julia Ann	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1831	10	01/01/1841
Lockett	Ann	Female	James Pennell Passenger List	Burslem; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1832	11	01/01/1843
Mason	John	Male	Hanley Branch Records; The Contributor, USA, Volume 13, April 1892, No.6; Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company BMR No. 1044, pp.140–157 (FHL Film 025690)	Burslem; Salt Lake	North	01/01/1819	21	01/01/1840

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Melton	Jemima	Female		Burslem	North	01/01/1819	20	28/07/1839
Mills	Mary Ann	Female		Staffordshire.; north Althon, IL; Lamoni, IA	North	31/12/1838	9	01/01/1848
Mollett	Ann	Female	Hanley Branch Records; William Tapscott, Ship Roster	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1840	8	17/06/1848
Mollett	Elizabeth	Female	Hanley Branch Records; Wyoming, Ship Roster	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1834	14	17/06/1848
Mollett	John	Male	*Juventa Passenger List; BMR p.133*	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1824	23	19/07/1847
Mollett	Theresa	Female	*Juventa* Passenger List; BMR p.134	Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1828	17	01/01/1845
Moore	George	Male	Improvement Era Vol XXVII January 1924 "Passing Events"	Walsall; Provo, Utah, USA.; Wallsburg, Utah, USA.	South	06/04/1830	23	01/01/1854
Morris	George Vernon	Male	SEB; George Morris Autobiography 1816–1849	Hanley; Bunbury, OA 1846; Nauvoo, 1844–6; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1850	North	23/08/1817	23	28/06/1841
Morris	Mary Ann	Female		Burwardley, Ches; NE	North	18/11/1818	23	01/01/1842
Mountford	William	Male	Burslem / Trent Vale Branch Records	Stoke; 16 Orme Street, Burslem	North	18/03/1821	18	01/01/1840
Mountford	Hannah	Female	Burslem / Trent Vale Branch Records	Stoke; 16 Orme Street, Burslem	North	02/04/1821	20	02/10/1841
Mulliner	Eliza	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records		North	20/04/1838	14	06/07/1852
Mulliner	Ann	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records	Market Drayton	North	01/01/1835	16	31/07/1851
Mulliner	Ann Sr	Female	Market Drayton Branch Records	Market Drayton	North	01/01/1797	56	01/05/1853
Mycock	Benjamin	Male		Leek	North	01/01/1796	44	12/04/1840
Nixon	Sarah Jane / Ann	Female		Leek; Provo	North	13/04/1834	11	20/05/1845
Noon	Sarah Perry Peake	Female		Wolstanton; Nauvoo 1846	North	03/05/1811	30	01/01/1842
Orgill	Edward	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys; Riverton, Utah, USA.	North	25/11/1849	8	09/10/1858

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Orgill	Joseph	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys. 09/09/1860; Burslem; Derbys 20/02/1861; Cache Co. Utah, USA.	North	22/01/1814	28	05/12/1842
Orgill	Joseph	Male	Burslem Branch Records; Colorado Passenger List	Albert Street, Burslem	North	30/09/1838	9	07/03/1848
Orgill	Nephi	Male	Colorado Passenger List	Derbys.; Lincoln, WY	North	13/11/1851	18	19/06/1870
Orgill	Thomas	Male	Burslem Branch Records; Colorado Passenger List	Derbys; Burslem; San Pete Co.	North	03/08/1821	21	25/03/1843
Orgill	William Lowe	Male		Derbys; Burslem 23/09/1860; Derbys 20/02/1861; Cache Co.	North	23/04/1844	9	15/10/1853
Orgill	Mary	Female	Colorado Passenger List	Staffordshire., Leicestershire; Derbys.	North	02/06/1818	23	01/05/1842
Orgill	Ann	Female	Burslem Branch Records	Derbys. ;3 Furlong Place, Burslem	North	05/05/1829	27	27/04/1857
Orgill	Elizabeth	Female		Derbys.; Draper. Utah, USA.	North	24/02/1854	8	07/08/1862
Patridge	George	Male	MS 30:80	Bromsgrove, Worcestershire; Wolverhampton	South	01/01/1802	42	01/01/1844
Payne	Edward	Male		Warminster; Dudley; Tipton; Durham; USA 1884; Heber, Coalville 1869; Glenwood, Utah, USA. 1876	South	31/05/1832	21	27/05/1854
Pitt	William	Male	SEB	Dymock, Gloucestershire	South	16/08/1813	26	13/06/1840
Plant	Joseph	Male		Hanley	North	15/08/1830	10	01/01/1841
Platt	Henry John	Male		Longport; IL 1853; St Louis 1855; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1857; St George 1863; Graham, AZ	North	15/03/1828	20	01/04/1848
Poole	Elizabeth	Female	Hanley Branch Records	Shelton; Hanley, Staffordshire.	North	01/01/1817	31	27/12/1848
Ralphs	Thomas	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Woollerton; Nauvoo 1842; IA 1846, Kanesville 1848; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1849, Brigham City, Utah, USA. 1855	South	23/07/1819	21	12/02/1841

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Ralphs	William Benjamin	Male	Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church "Deseret Pottery"	Woollerton; Nauvoo 1848; IA 1847, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1851, American Fork, 1860	South	16/05/1816	24	01/02/1841
Rowley	John	Male		Lane End, MO	North	01/12/1822	18	01/01/1841
Rushton	Richard Jr	Male		Leek; St Louis; Nauvoo 1843; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	05/07/1814	25	01/01/1840
Rushton	Richard	Male	Richard Rushton Sr. Journal; George A. Smith Journal	Leek; Nauvoo	North	09/06/1781	59	19/07/1840
Rushton	Mary Olivia	Female		Leek; Kentucky; Nauvoo; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cook Co., IL	North	29/06/1820	20	26/11/1840
Rushton	Edward	Male		Leek; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	28/02/1839	18	05/01/1858
Rushton	Edwin	Male	Edwin Rushton Family Documents	Leek; Nauvoo, 1842; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	01/06/1824	16	23/09/1840
Rushton	Harriet	Female		Leek; Nauvoo, 1842	North	27/12/1807	32	14/01/1840
Rushton	Frederick James	Male	0	Leek; Nauvoo, 1842; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	06/02/1806	34	19/07/1840
Rushton	Lettice Johnson	Female		Leek; 08/03/1843; New Orleans; Nauvoo, 1843	North	03/12/1784	55	01/07/1840
Rushton	Mary Olivia	Female		Leek; Kentucky; Nauvoo; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cook Co., IL	North	29/06/1820	20	26/11/1840
Sant	John Jr	Male	Middlewich Branch Records; On-board Manchester 1861 Census	Middlewich; Cache Co., Utah, USA.; Bear Lake, ID; Bannock, ID	North	30/11/1838	8	06/01/1846
Shakespeare	David	Male		Sedgely; USA; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; NV; Panguitch, Utah, USA.	South	13/08/1827	23	23/04/1851
Shakespeare	William	Male	Early Reorganisation Minutes, USA.es, 1852–1871 Book A pp.315, 345, 352	Dudley, Staffordshire; Kewannee, IL	South	27/04/1828	22	01/01/1851

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Shaw	Osmond Broad	Male	SEB; HC 4 Ch 17; Marriage Certificate	Hanley; Tunstall; Shelton; St Louis; Burlington, IA; 1852 Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	21/05/1821	19	04/06/1840
Silcock	Nicholas Thomas	Male	LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, Andrew Jenson, Vol. 4, p.668	Hanley; Blithfield; Nauvoo 1846; Grantsville 1856; Toole 1851–2; New Orleans; St Louis; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1850–52; Granstville 1856	North	29/09/1818	21	14/08/1840
Smallman	Mary	Female	ACD	Hanley, Staffordshire.; Nauvoo, IL	North	05/06/1818	21	13/01/1840
Smith	Charles	Male	Carol Cornwall Madsen, Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail, p.723	Ipstones; Ellesmere; Shrewsbury	South	10/06/1819	22	22/08/1841
Smith	William J	Male		Shrops.; Burslem; NUL; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	North	22/04/1814	25	01/01/1840
Smith	Mary Ann	Female		Bromley; St Louis; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Cedar City	South	27/12/1844	8	21/04/1853
Smut	Edwin Ward	Male	Utah, Autobiography of Edwin Smout, USA., BYU Archives; SEB	Tipton, Staffordshire.	South	21/05/1823	24	18/03/1848
Spinning	Harriet Matilda Alcock	Female	*Marriages in Nauvoo Region 1839–45*, SEB	Lane End; Nauvoo, IL; Kanawee, MI	North	09/05/1822	15	01/01/1838
Starkey	Sarah Jane	Female		Drolton, Warks.; Stowe, Staffordshire	South	01/02/1864	15	05/06/1879
Steele	Richard	Male		Worcs.; Fort Madison 1843–4; Nauvoo 1846; IA 1846–7; Utah, USA. 1851; American Fork	South	14/02/1818	21	01/01/1840
Steele	Mary Ann Reece	Female	Steele Family History' Richard Steele Journal	Congleton, Ches.; Nauvoo, IL; American Fork, Utah, USA.	North	22/08/1823	16	21/02/1840
Stokes	Henry	Male	SEB; Carol Cornwall Madsen, Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail, p.727	West Bromwich, Staffordshire.; NY 1860–1862; Cache, Utah, USA.	South	07/05/1829	12	15/08/1841

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Stunaway	Sampson	Male		Stoke;	North	01/01/1820	21	01/01/1841
Thacker	William	Male	Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, USA., pg.524	Darlaston; Wolverhampton; NY; Heber	South	06/06/1823	27	20/07/1850
Thacker	William Timothy	Male	Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, USA., pg.524	Willenhall; Manti, Utah, USA.; Heber; Provo, Utah, USA.	South	07/11/1854	9	01/01/1864
Thomas	James	Male	Wyoming Passenger List	Hanley, Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1848	10	01/01/1858
Thomas	Elizabeth	Female	*Wyoming* Passenger List	Hanley, Staffordshire; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1848	20	25/12/1868
Thomas	Mary O	Female		Staffordshire	South	05/04/1830	11	01/01/1842
Tonks	William	Male	PAF, Treasures of Pioneer History, Vol.3, p.415	Willenhall; NY 1856; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. 1861;Morgan 1868	South	19/07/1832	17	15/07/1850
Tonks	Timothy	Male		Willenhall; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	11/10/1792	57	01/01/1850
Tovey	John Galey	Male	Our Pioneer Heritage, Vol. 2, p.277	Hanley; Derbys; Longton 15/04/1860; Longton	North	01/01/1837	20	25/05/1857
Tucker	Nathaniel	Male	new.familysearch.org; estimate baptismal date.	Dudley, Staffordshire; Kewannee, IL	South	16/08/1844	13	01/01/1858
Vawdrey	John	Male		Sandbach; Middlewich 16/10/1858	North	01/01/1830	25	01/01/1855
Vawdrey	Nancy	Female		Sweetenham; Sandbach; Park Valley, Utah, USA.	North	23/05/1834	17	17/04/1852
Vawdrey	Betty	Female		Sweetenham; Sandbach	North	03/01/1792	60	12/12/1852
Wainwright	John	Male	*Ellen Maria Passenger List;*	Burslem, Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1814	34	01/01/1848
Wainwright	John	Male	*Ellen Maria* Passenger List; British Mission Register *p.34*	Longton, Staffordshire.; Utah, USA.	North	01/01/1786	62	01/01/1848
Wainwright	Elizabeth	Female	*Ellen Maria* Passenger List	Burslem, Utah, USA.	North	29/05/1803	44	01/01/1848
Walker	Charles Lowell	Male	Pioneer History Library; Diary of Charles Lowell Walker 2 Vols, Utah,	Leek; St Louis 1849; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; 1855; St George 1862	North	17/11/1832	12	22/04/1845

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
			USA. State Press 1980					
Walker	James Spencer	Male		Burslem; Tunstall	North	01/02/1806	33	01/01/1840
Walker	Mary Lois	Female	Improvement Era Vol XXIII January 1920 "Passing Events"	Leek; Cedar City, Utah, USA.; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA., Utah, USA.	North	14/05/1835	18	27/11/1853
Wardle	Eliza	Female		Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1813	27	01/01/1840
Wardle	Fanny Ruston	Female		Leek; Nauvoo, 1848; Midway, Utah, USA.	North	24/11/1820	19	01/01/1840
Wardle	Harriet	Female		Leek; Cheddleton; Washington State	North	31/08/1821	18	01/01/1840
Wardle	John	Male		Cheddleton; San Bernardino; Oregon	North	03/08/1815	24	01/1/1840
Wardle	Ralph Sr	Male	Bk. A, p. 1; (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, Hartley Passenger List 01/03.1849	Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	14/08/1776	63	01/1/1840
Wardle	George	Male		Cheddleton; Leek; Nauvoo 1846; WY; Utah, USA. 24/07/1847 BY Company; Provo; Midway; Glenwood; Vernal, Utah, USA.	North	03/02/1820	19	01/1/1840
Wardle	Ralph	Male	Bk. A, p. 1; (BMR). Customs List Customs Passenger, #234, p. 4. Estimated Age & Baptism	Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1820	20	01/1/1840
Wardle	Eliza	Female		Cheddleton; Leek; Longton	North	01/01/1813	27	01/1/1840
Weaver	John	Male	Edwin Smout Journal, BYU Archives	Dudley	South	01/01/1820	20	01/1/1840

Surname	First	Gender	Source	Residences	District	Birth	Age at Baptism	Baptised
Welling	Job	Male	Our Pioneer Heritage, Vol. 1, p.307	Audlem; Portsmouth 23/03/1856; Liverpool; USA Boston 05/01; IA 09/06/1858 Handcart Ellsworth; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.; Farmington 1875 to Australia Mission via England; Farmington	North	09/01/1833	19	09/01/1852
White	Joseph	Male		Leek; Audlem	North	01/01/1820	20	01/01/1840
Whitehouse	John	Male	RLDS Kewanee Branch Records	Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/07/1805	58	14/05/1864
Whitehouse	Simion	Male		Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/01/1839	25	14/05/1864
Whitehouse	Mary Ann	Female		Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	05/08/1838	25	14/05/1864
Whitehouse	Rosannah	Female		Dudley; Kewannee, IL 1862	South	25/12/1832	31	14/05/1864
Whitehouse	Martha Charles	Female	*Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* SEB	Dudley; Kewannee, IL	South	01/08/1835	13	01/01/1849
Woodfield	Mary (Hunt)	Female		Solihull; Bristol; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	24/12/1804	36	14/03/1841
Wootton	Elizabeth	Female		Potteries; Kanab, Utah, USA.	North	05/11/1835	16	01/03/1852
Wright	Matilda Elizabeth	Female		Lichfield; Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.	South	21/08/1859	15	05/03/1866

Appendix D

STAFFORDSHIRE MORMON DATABASE [INSIDE REAR COVER]

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR SOURCES CITED OR CONSULTED

PRIMARY SOURCES

ARCHIVAL SOURCES & UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Provo, Utah.

Adams, John, *John Adams Journal 1830–1899*, MS 270.1 Ad 184.

Bullock, Thomas Collection, 1808–1892, (MSS 772) [L. Tom Perry Special Collections], Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah.

Day, Thomas, *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day, 1814–1894*, comp. and ed. Clifford L. Stott and Ronald D. Dennis, BX 8670.1 .D333s.

Needham, John, *John Needham Autobiography*, MS 612.

Rushton, Edwin, *Edwin Rushton Journal* (typescript).

Rushton, Edwin, *Journal Selections*: *'Edwin Rushton: Bridge Builder and Faithful Pioneer.'*

Morris, George, *George Morris Autobiography 1816–1849*, M270.1 M832.

Smout, Edwin Ward, *Edwin Ward Smout Diary*, M270 M82 vol. 15.

Turley, Theodore, *Theodore Turley Journal*, M270.1 T848.

Church Historical Library and Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (LDS Church Archives).

Allman, Thomas, *Thomas Allman Sketch*.

Allred, William Moore, *William Allred Autobiography and Journal, 1819–1887*, MS d 1871.

Argyle, Joseph, *Reminiscences and Journal* MS 340.

Blood, William, *William Blood Diaries*, MS d 1855.

Bourne, John, *John Bourne Journal 1821–1854*, MS 478.

Bullock, Thomas, *Thomas Bullock Diaries*, MS d 1385.

——, *Thomas Bullock Papers*, MS d 1385.

Cordon, Alfred, *Alfred Cordon Diaries*, 8 Vols., MS f 27.

——, *Alfred Cordon Diaries and Reminiscences 1817–1868*, MS. 1831.

Crowther, Thomas, *Autobiography of Thomas Crowther*, MS d 2050 box 1.

Day, Thomas, *Thomas Day Journal*, MS d 1182.

Derry, Charles, *Charles Derry Autobiography* (*1849–1857*), also in *Journal of History* (Lamoni, Iowa), 1 (1980), pp. 260–91.

Fielding, Joseph, *Joseph Fielding Diaries*, MS d 1567.

——, *Joseph Fielding Letter*, MS f 365 item 1.

Grant, William, *William Grant Journal*, MS d 1956.

Hancock, George, *George Hancock Letter*.

Holding, Ephraim George, *Diary of Ephraim George Holding*.

Hunt, Thomas William, *Thomas William Hunt Diary*, MS f 47 item 5.

Jenson, Andrew, *Manuscript History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, British Mission,* LR1140.

Kimball, Heber C., *Journal*, MS 94c.

Kirby, Thomas Wright, *Thomas Wright Kirby Sketch*, MS d 1033.

Lyman, Amasa D., *Amasa D. Lyman Collection 1832–1877*, MS 829.

Needham, John, *Journal of John Needham*, MS 4221.

——, *Sketch of the Life of John Needham: Pioneer of 1851*, MS 4221.

Platt, Henry J., *Autobiography of Henry J. Platt*, Recorded 14th Quorum Seventies Biographical Register.

Powell, John, *John Powell Autobiography*, MS f 155 item 3.

Pratt, Orson, *Orson Pratt Autobiography and Journal, 1833–1847*, MS f 310.

——, *Orson Pratt Correspondence*, MS 587.

——, *Orson Pratt Papers*, MS 587.

Pratt, Parley P., *Parley P. Pratt Letters*, MS f 310.

——, *Parley P. Pratt Papers*, MS f 310.

Rhead, Josiah, *Edward Rhead Sketch*, MS f 193 item 1.

Rich, Charles C., *Charles C. Rich Collection*, MS 889.

Richards, Franklin D., *Franklin D. Richards Journal 1844–1854 and 1866–1899*, MS 1215 Boxes 1–6.

Richards, Willard, *Willard Richards Papers, 1821–1854*, MS 1490.

Rushton, Richard, Richard *Rushton Diary*, MS d 1793.

Rushton, Edwin, *History of Richard Rushton*, MS d 1793.

Rushton, Henrietta, *Henrietta Rushton Letter*.

Shaw, Osmond, *Journal of Osmond Shaw*.

Smith, Charles, *Charles Smith Diary*, MS d 1912.

——, *Charles Smith Journals Record Book & Papers*, MS d 1912.

Smith, George A., *George A. Smith Papers, 1834–1875*, MS 1322.

Snow, Lorenzo, *Lorenzo Snow Journal and Letterbook*, MS. 1330.

Steele, Richard, *Richard Steele Journal 1840–1877,* MS 8373.

——, Richard Steele Letters.

Stokes, Henry, *Henry Stokes Journal & History of Henry Stokes and His Ancestors*, MS d 1587.

Street, Alexander, *Autobiography: Life of Alexander Street Sr.*, MS d 2008.

Unknown, *A Sketch of the Life of Mary Ann Reese Steele*, Richard Steel Family.

——, *Sketch of the Life of Richard Steele*.

Walker, Charles Lowell, *Charles Lowell Walker Papers*, MS d 494.

Wardle, George, *George Wardle Life Sketch*, MS 7788.

Wood, George, *Autobiographical Sketch*.

Wootton, John, *John Wootton Biography*.

——, *John Wootton Letters*.

Young, Brigham, *Brigham Young Letterpress Copybooks*, CR 1234.

——, *Brigham Young Letters*, CR 1234.

——, *Brigham Young Papers*, CR 1234.

Young, Joseph, *Joseph Young Letters*, MS d 152.

Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, (FHL).

Record of Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints

Baddeley Edge Branch.

Birmingham Branch, 1847–1908.

Birmingham Conference, 1848–1948.

Branstone Branch (Staffordshire), 1842–1877.

Bristol Road Branch (Warwickshire), 1844–1857.

British Mission, 1846–1939.

Burslem Branch (Staffordshire), 1858–1869.

Burton Branch (Derbyshire), 1842–1857.

Burton–on–Trent Branch (Staffordshire), 1875–1901.

Dudley–Port Branch (Staffordshire), 1849–1944.

Dudley–Port Branch (Staffordshire), 1884–1945.

Dunstall Branch (Staffordshire), 1842–1855.

Gosburton Clough Branch (Staffordshire), 1842–1901.

Handforth Branch (Cheshire), 1847–1863.

Hanley Branch (Staffordshire), 1843–1911.

Kingstanding Branch (Warwickshire), 1900–1946.

Lichfield Branch (Staffordshire), 1847–1860.

Little Heath Branch (Staffordshire), 1857–1879.

Longton Branch (Staffordshire), 1856–1861.

Lyman, Francis M., 'The Boundaries of the British Conferences' MS 3137.

Middlewich Branch (Cheshire), 1840–1865.

Miles Green Branch (Staffordshire), 1854–1865.

Sandbach Branch (Cheshire), 1857–1860.

Stafford Branch (Staffordshire), 1852–1873.

Staffordshire Conference 1840–1867.

Tipton Branch (Staffordshire), 1848–1867.

Trent Vale Branch (Staffordshire), 1843–1860.

Walsall Branch (Staffordshire), 1908–1910.

West Bromwich Branch (Staffordshire), 1841–1869.

Wolverhampton Branch (Staffordshire), 1840–1945.

Staffordshire County Reference Library, Stoke on Trent, Hanley, Staffordshire, England

Simeon Shaw, *Simeon Shaw Letters*, Letters transcribed by Eva Beech.

Journal of David Coombs. Microfilm. [Copy in private possession]

EARLY MORMON PERIODICALS

Elders' Journal

The Evening and Morning Star (Missouri & Ohio: 1832–1834).

Journal of Discourses, ed. by George D. Watt. 26 vols (Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1852–1886).

The Latter–day Saints' Millennial Star (Liverpool, England: 1840–1970).

The Mormon (New York: 1855–1857).

Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Illinois, United States: 1839–1846).

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Birmingham Daily Gazette, Birmingham, England.

Deseret News [Also known as *Deseret News Weekly*, *Deseret Weekly*, *Deseret Evening News*] (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints).

Ensign (Salt Lake City, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1970–).

New York Times, New York City.

The Times, London.

PAMPHLETS

Beecher, Dale F., 'As They Saw It: Contemporary Views of the Latter–day Saint Emigration' (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1984).

Council of the Twelve Apostles (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints), 'Quorum of the Twelve Apostles Minutes', 1835.

Hewitt, William, *An Exposition of the Errors and Fallacies of the Self–named Latter–day Saints* (Lane End, Staffordshire: C Watts, 1840).

GOVERNMENT REPORTS

Chadwick, Edwin, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain: Supplementary Report* (London: HMSO, 1842).

Mann, Horace, *Census of Great Britain, 1851 of Religious Worship. England and Wales. Report and Tables* (London: Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853).

Scriven, S., 'The Education of Children in the Potteries', (London: Parliamentary Report, 1843).

DIGITISED PRIMARY SOURCES

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, *Selected Collections of the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1839–1882). Volume 1, 38 DVDs. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1923).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, *Selected Collections of the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: Church Historian's Office Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints 1896–1923* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1896–1923). Volume 2, 36 DVDs, MS 1322 & CR100 137.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

BOOKS

Aird, Polly, *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West, 1848–1861* (Norman, Oklahoma: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2009).

Alexander, Thomas G., *Great Basin Kingdom Revisited: Contemporary Perspectives* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991).

——, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter–day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Alexander, Thomas G., Jessie L. Embry, and Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, *After 150 Years: The Latter–day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, *Charles Redd Monographs in Western History* (Midvale, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983).

Allen, James B., *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, A Mormon* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

Allen, James B., and Thomas G. Alexander, *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842* (Santa Barbara, California: Peregrine Smith, 1974).

Allen, James B., and Leonard J. Arrington, *The Presidents of the Church: Biographical Essays* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1986).

Allen, James B., Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992).

Allen, James B., and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter–day Saints*. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992).

Allen, James B., Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter–day Saint History, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Allen, James B., John W. Welch, and *Brigham Young University Studies*, *Coming to Zion*, *Brigham Young University Studies Monographs* (Provo, Utah:, Brigham Young University, 1997).

Anderson, C. LeRoy, *Joseph Morris and the Saga of the Morrisites* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1988).

Anderson, Edward H., *The Life of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon, 1893).

Anderson, J. Max, *The Polygamy Story: Fiction and Fact* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Publishers Press, 1979).

Andrew, Laurel B., *The Early Temples of the Mormons: the Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1977).

Andrus, Hyrum Leslie, and Richard Edmond Bennett, *Mormon Manuscripts to 1846: A Guide to the Holdings of the Harold B. Lee Library* (Provo, Utah:

Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 1977).

Armytage, W. H. G., *Heavens Below; Utopian Experiments in England, 1560–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).

Arrington, Leonard J., *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

——, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958).

——, *Voices from the Past: Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1986).

Arrington, Leonard J., and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter–day Saints*. 2nd ed. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

——, *Saints without Halos: The Human Side of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1981).

Ashton, Wendell J., *Theirs Is the Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1945).

——, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950).

Aydelotte, William Osgood, Allan G. Bogue, and Robert William Fogel, *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History*, *Quantitative Studies in History* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1972).

Backman, Milton Vaughn, *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter–day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1983).

Baines, Dudley, *Emigration from Europe, 1815–1930* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, Houndsmill, 1991).

——, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900*, (*Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time*), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, and Alfred Bates, *History of Utah, 1540–1886* (San Francisco, California: The History Co., 1889).

Banerjee, Jacqueline P., *Through the Northern Gate: Childhood and Growing up in British Fiction, 1719—1901*, *Studies in Nineteenth–Century British Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).

Bartholomew, Rebecca, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995).

Bartholomew, Rebecca & Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1993).

Bates, Irene M., and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Batson, C. Daniel and W. Larry Ventis, *The Religious Experience*: *A Social–Psychological Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

Bebbington, David W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Beecher, Dale F., *The Office of Bishop: An Organizational Development in the Church*, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints. History Division. Task Papers in LDS History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: History Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1978).

Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach, and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987)

Barrett, Ivan J., *Joseph Smith and the Restoration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979).

Barrett, William E., *The Restored Church: A Brief History of the Growth and Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1940).

Barrett, William E., and Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints. Board of Education., *Doctrines of the Restored Church: A Brief Treatment of the History, Beliefs, Doctrines, and Literature of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: LDS Dept. of Education, 1941).

Bery, Ashok, and Patricia Murray, *Comparing Postcolonial Literatures: Dislocations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Best, Geoffrey, *Mid–Victorian Britain: 1851–75* (London: Fontana Press, 1987).

Bigler, David L., *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1998).

Binfield, Clyde, *So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity, 1780–1920* (London: Dent, 1977).

Bitton, Davis, *Checklist of Published Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies*, *Task Papers in LDS History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1976).

——, *Mormon Catechisms*, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1976).

——, *The Ritualization of Mormon History, and Other Essays* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

Black, Susan Easton, *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 6 vols (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993).

——, *Members of the Willie and Martin Handcart Companies of 1856: A Sesquicentennial Remembrance* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1980).

——, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints 1830–1848*. 50 vols (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984).

Black, Susan Easton, and Andrew C. Skinner, *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2005).

Bloom, Harold, *Greek Drama*, *Bloom's Period Studies* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004).

Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987* (Solihull: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Booth, Charles, Richard M. Elman, and Albert Fried, *Charles Booth's London; a Portrait of the Poor at the Turn of the Century, Drawn from His Life and Labour of the People in London* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967).

Brereton, Virginia Lieson, *From Sin to Salvation: Stories of Women's Conversions, 1800 to the Present* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Briggs, Asa, *The Making of Modern England 1783–1867: The Age of Improvement*, *History of England* (London: Longman, 1970).

——, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

——, *Victorian People. A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851–67. Revised Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Briggs, John H. Y., and Ian Sellers, *Victorian Nonconformity*, *Documents of Modern History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973).

Briggs, John H. Y., *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot: Baptist Historical Society, 1994).

Brigham Young University, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, *Publications and Projects in LDS History: A Bibliography of the History Division of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1972–1981 and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History of Brigham Young University* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, 1982).

Brodie, Fawn McKay, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*. 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995 [1971]).

Brooke, John L., *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology 1644–1844* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Brown, Kenneth D., *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988).

Bushman, Claudia L., and Richard L. Bushman, *Mormons in America*, *Religion in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Bushman, Richard L., and Jed Woodworth, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

Butt, Newbern I., *Index: Documentary History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1848, Volumes 1–7, Editions 1905–1953, Edited by Brigham H. Roberts* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Library, 1962).

Campbell, Eugene E., *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–69* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988).

Campbell, Richard D. Poll and Thomas G. Alexander and Eugene E., *Utah's History.* ed. by David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

Cannon, Donald Q., *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History, British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990).

Cannon, Donald Q., and Brent L. Top, *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History, Europe* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2003).

Cannon, Donald Q., and David J. Whittaker, *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth–Century Mormons*, *Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985).

Cannon, George Q., and Wilford Woodruff, *The History of the Mormons: Their Persecutions and Travels* (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1891).

Carter, C. W., and Joseph Smith, *Organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints and Their Belief: Also the Life and History of Their Prophet, Seer and Revelator, Joseph Smith, During His Brief Life of 38 1/2 Years* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Utah Lithographing Co., 1897).

Carter, Kate B., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1950).

Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church*. 3rd ed. Vol. 1 (London: SCM, 1987).

Chapman, E. V., *Rev. Robert Aitken* (Douglas: Manx Methodist Historical Society, 1982).

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1981).

——, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns*, (Manchester, Brigham Young and Parley P. Pratt), 1840.

——, *Conference Report October 1903* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1903).

——, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: A History of the Church in the Paisley Area Covering the Period 1840 to 1980* (Paisley, Scotland: Paisley Ward, 1981).

——, *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints; Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1981).

——, *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1985).

——, *Our Heritage: A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1996).

——, *The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1981).

⸻, *A Short History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. Rev. ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1946).

Clark, James R., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1965).

Clay, Edmund, *Tracts on Mormonism* (New Haven, Connecticut,: Research Publications, 1967).

Clifton, Carmin, *Come Lord, Come: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Romania* (San Jose, California: Writers Club Press, 2002).

Coleman, B. I., *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1973).

Coleman, Terry, *Passage to America: A History of Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the Mid–Nineteenth Century* (London: Hutchinson, 1972).

Compton, Todd, *In Sacred Loneliness: the Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1997).

Corcoran, Brent D., and Stephen L. Richards, *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994).

Cowley, Matthias F., *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1964).

Crawley, Peter, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church: Volume One 1830–1847*. 2 vols. Vol. 1 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997).

⸻, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church: Volume Two 1848–1852*. 2 vols. Vol. 2 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005).

⸻, *Parley P. Pratt, Father of Mormon Pamphleteering* (Provo: Utah, 1981).

Crawley, Peter, Chad J. Flake, and Harold B. Lee Library, *A Mormon Fifty: An Exhibition in the Harold B. Lee Library in Conjunction with the Annual Conference of the Mormon History Association* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1984).

Crawley, Peter, and David J. Whittaker, *Mormon Imprints in Great Britain and the Empire, 1836–1857: An Exhibition in the Harold B. Lee Library in Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1987).

Creswell, John W., *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, California.: Sage Publications, 2003).

Crowther, William O., 'Sketch of the Life of Thomas Crowther', *The Crowthers of Fountain Green, Utah* (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing & Publishing Co., 1944).

Cummings, David W., *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific: The Building Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Its History, Scope and Significance* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, Inc., 1961).

Cummings, Donald W., *Saints of the Golden West: A Chronological History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Western Australia: The First One Hundred Years, 1896–1996* (Canning Vale, W.A.: D.W. Cummings, 1997).

Currie, Robert, Alan D. Gilbert, and Lee S. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

Dahl, Paul E., *William Clayton: Missionary, Pioneer, and Public Servant*. 2nd ed. (Boise, Idaho: P E Dahl, 1964).

Daines, J. Gordon, and Brigham Young University. University Archives, *Guide to Manuscript Collections Concerning the History of Brigham Young University Located Away from Campus* (Provo, Utah: L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah, 2006).

Darcy, R., and Richard C. Rohrs, *A Guide to Quantitative History* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995).

Daynes, Kathryn, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Davidson, Karen Lynn, *Our Latter–day Hymns: The Stories and the Messages*. Rev. and enl. ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2009).

Davies, Douglas J., *Anthropology and Theology* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002).

——, *Death, Ritual, and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* (London: Cassell, 1997).

——, *An Introduction to Mormonism* (Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

——, *Meaning and Salvation in Religious Studies*, *Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

——, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace, and Glory* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2000).

——, ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (London, New York: Cassell, 1996).

——, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion*, *Nottingham Series in Theology* (Nottingham and Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1987).

Davis, Inez Smith, *The Story of the Church: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, and of Its Legal Successor, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 3rd ed. (Independence, Missouri.: Herald Publishing House, 1943).

Daynes, Kathryn M., *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

DeLong, Sarah Broom, and Dennis A. Wright, *Vancouver Saints: A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, 1845 to 2007* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2009).

Dennis, Richard, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, *Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography* (Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Dennis, Ronald D., *The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1987).

——, *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: A Historical Bibliography* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988).

Dennis, Ronald D., Dan Jones, and J. Davis, *Defending the Faith: Early Welsh Missionary Publications* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003).

Dennis., Ronald D., trans. and ed., *Prophwyd Y Jubili (the Prophet of the Jubilee),* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997).

——, *Udgorn Seion (Zion's Trumpet): 1849 Welsh Mormon Periodical* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2001).

Derr, Jill Mulvay, *Lives of the Saints: Writing Mormon Biography and Autobiography: Proceedings of The 2001 Symposium of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter–day Saint History at Brigham Young University* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2002).

Derr, Jill Mulvay, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1992).

Deseret News, *2008 Almanac of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 2007).

Deseret Sunday School Union, *Church History Sunday School Lessons for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 13 vols (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1928).

Deseret Sunday School Union, and A. Hamer Reiser, *The History of the Church for Children: First Intermediate Class Sunday School Teacher's Supplement for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, *First Intermediate Sunday School Lessons* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1943).

Dickens, Charles, *The Old Curiosity Shop and Reprinted Pieces* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1879).

——, *The Old Curiosity Shop and the Uncommercial Traveler* (New York: F. M. Lupton, 1896).

——, *The Works of Charles Dickens* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892).

Doctorow, E. L., *Creationists: Selected Essays, 1993–2006*. 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 2006).

Doxey, Cynthia, *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History: The British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2007).

Dupree, Marguerite, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840–1880*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Durham , Homer (ed), *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff,* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1946).

Edwards, F. Henry, *The Background of Church History: A Topical Study of the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints from 1805 to 1920* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1929).

Ehat, Andrew F. and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1990).

Elliott, Grant H., *A Study of the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the Year 1907* ([Provo: Brigham Young University, 1964).

Ellsworth, S. George, and Kathleen C. Perrin, *Seasons of Faith and Courage: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in French Polynesia: A Sesquicentennial History, 1843–1993* (Sandy, Utah: Yves R. Perrin, 1994).

Embry, Jessie L., *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle*, *Publications in Mormon Studies.* Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987).

Ercanbrack, Sidney Reed, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Enid, Oklahoma* (Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press, 1984).

Erickson, Charlotte, *Emigration from Europe, 1815–1914: Select Documents. Documents in Economic History* (London: A. And C. Black, 1976).

——, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Esshom, Frank, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah: Comprising Photographs, Genealogies, Biographies .. The Early History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Pioneers Book Publishing Co., 1966).

Evans, John Henry, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints from 1805 to 1905*. 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1909).

Evans, Richard L., *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain: A Brief Summary of the Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the United Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Press, 1937).

Fenton, Cleta, *A Legacy of Faith: A History of the Longmont Colorado Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Longmont, Colorado: The Colorado Stake , 1997).

Firmage, Edwin Brown, and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

Flake, Chad J., and Larry W. Draper, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930. Ten Year Supplement* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989).

Flake, Chad J., and Dale Lowell Morgan, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1978).

Flake, Joel Alva, *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in South America, 1945–1960* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1975).

Flanders, Robert Bruce, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

Floud, Roderick, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians*. 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1979).

Foster, Craig L., *Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti–Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837–1860*. 1st ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2002).

Foster, Lawrence, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Frank Waters Society., and Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association., *Flight from Fiesta: A Conjoint Meeting of the Frank Waters Society and the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association, October 15–17, 1987*, *Studies in Frank Waters* (Las Vegas: The Frank Waters Society, 1987).

Freeman, Robert C., ed., *Nineteenth Century Saints at War* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2006).

Fullmer, John Solomon, *Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the Prophet and the Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints. Also a Condensed History of the Expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855, Private reprinting 2008).

Garr, Arnold K., Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan, *Encyclopedia of Latter–day Saint History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2000).

Garrett, H. Dean, and Brigham Young University, *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint Church History, Illinois* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1995).

Gay, John, *The Geography of Religion in England* (London: Duckworth, 1971).

Gilbert, Alan D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740–1914* (London: Longman, 1976).

Giles, John Davis, *A Picture Story of Mormonism: A Picture History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Designed for the Use of Missionaries in Presenting to the World the Story of the Origin, Growth and Progress of the Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1936).

Givens, Terryl L., *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

——, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

——, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Glare, P. G. W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

Godfrey, Kenneth W., *Charles Shumway: A Pioneer's Life* (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1974).

Godfrey, Kenneth W., Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter–day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1982).

Godfrey, Kenneth W., and F. Ross Peterson, *The Importance of the Temple in Understanding the Latter–day Saint Nauvoo Experience: Then and Now* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2001).

Gordon, Sarah Barringer, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth–Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Gowland, D. A., *Methodist Secessions: The Origins of Free Methodism in three Lancashire Towns* (Manchester: Chetham Society, CS26, 1979).

Greenslade, M. W., D. A. Johnson, and C. R. J. Currie, *A History of Stafford* (Stafford: Staffordshire County Library, 1979).

Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: A Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860 with Contemporary Journals, Accounts, Reports; and Rosters of Members of the Ten Handcart Companies* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960).

Haggar, R. G., M. W. Greenslade, and J. G. Jenkins, eds., *Staffordshire Pottery Industry, Being an Extract from the Victoria History of the County of Stafford. Volume 2* (Stafford: Staffordshire County Library, 1981).

Hamblin, Jacob, Preston Nibley, Wilford Woodruff, and George Q. Cannon, *Three Mormon Classics* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1988).

Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1952, 1951).

Hanks, Maxine, *Women and Authority: Re–Emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1992).

Hardy, B. Carmon, *The Works of Abraham: A Documentary History of Mormon Polygamy* (Spokane: Arthur H Clark Company, 2007).

Harold B. Lee Library, *Brigham Young University*, *Master's Theses on Mormonism* (Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 2003).

Harrison, John Fletcher Clews, *The Common People: A History from the Norman Conquest to the Present* (London: Fontana, 1984).

——, *The Early Victorians, 1832–1851* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

——, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

——, ed., *Society and Politics in England, 1780–1960. A Selection of Readings and Comments* (Harper & Row: New York, 1965).

Haskins, Loren, and Kirk Jeffrey, *Understanding Quantitative History*, *New Liberal Arts Series* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990).

Hatch, Trevan G., *Visions, Manifestations, and Miracles of the Restoration* (Orem, Utah: Granite Pub. and Distribution, 2008).

Hawkes, John D., *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Australia to 1900* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1965).

Hempton, David, *Methodism*, *Politics in British Society 1750–1850* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1984).

Hicks, Michael, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana & Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

Hill, Marvin S., C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, *The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977).

Hinckley, Gordon Bitner, *Truth Restored: A Short History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1991).

——, *What of the Mormons? Including a Short History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 6th ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1954).

Hobsbawm, E. J., *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875*, *History of Civilisation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

——, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*, *History of Civilisation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

——, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848*, *History of Civilisation* (London: Cardinal, 1973).

——, *Age of Capital*, (London: Abacus, 1977).

Holte, James Craig, *The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

Homer, Michael W., ed., *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930* (Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006).

——, *The Making of the Modern World* (London: The Folio Society, 2005).

Horn, Pamela, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976).

Houghton, Walter E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830–1870* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1973 [1957]).

Hudson, Pat, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Hunt, Brian W., *Zion in New Zealand: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in New Zealand, 1854–1977* (Temple View, New Zealand: Church College of New Zealand, 1977).

Inglis, K. S., *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1964).

Jackson, Kent P., Andrew C. Skinner, and Robert J. Matthews, eds., *A Witness for the Restoration: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Matthews* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007).

Jaques, John, *Catechism for Children: Exhibiting the Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Liverpool and London: F. D. Richards, 1854).

——, *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: Its Priesthood, Organization, Doctrines, Ordinances and History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Company, Printers and Publishers, 1882).

James, William, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. The Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion, given at Edinburgh 1901–1902,* (London and New York: Longman, Green & Co, 1902[1920]), Lecture 9 'Conversion'.

Jarausch, Konrad Hugo, and Kenneth A. Hardy, *Quantitative Methods for Historians: A Guide to Research, Data, and Statistics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Jenson, Andrew, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1914).

——, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1941).

——, *Latter–day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1901–1936).

Jenson, Andrew, and J. R. C. Nebeker, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Orem, Utah: Quick & Easy Publishing, 2002).

Jensen, Richard L., and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989).

Jessee, Dean C., *The Writing of Joseph Smith's History*, *Mormon Miscellaneous Reprint Series* (Sandy, Utah: Mormon Miscellaneous, 1984).

Kelly, Brian, and Petrea Kelly, *Illustrated History of the Church* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2008).

——, *Latter–day History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. Expanded and updated ed. (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2004).

Kennedy, James Harrison, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888).

Kenney, Scott, G., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898: Typescript*, 9 Vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1986).

Kimball, Stanley B., *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

——, *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City, Utah, Signature Books, 1987).

Klaiber, Manfred and Walter Marquardt, *Living Grace: An Outline of United Methodist Theology* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 2001).

Larry T. Wimmer J.R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope., *Index to the 1850, 1860 and 1870 Censuses of Utah: Heads of Households* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1981).

Larson, Gustive O., *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, a Chapter in American Cooperative Experience* (Francestown, N.H.: Marshall Jones Co, 1947).

Launius, Roger D., and Linda Thatcher, *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

Lawton, Richard, *The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses for England and Wales* (London, Totowa, N.J.: F. Cass, 1978).

Leonard, Glen M., *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002).

LeSueur, Stephen C., *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1987).

Lifton, R. J. *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of 'Brainwashing' in China*, (New York: Norton, 1961).

Linforth, James, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, Illustrated with Steel Engravings and Wood Cuts from Sketches Made by Frederick Piercy* (Liverpool: Franklin D Richards, 1855).

Linn, William Alexander, *The Story of the Mormons: From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1902).

Ludlow, Daniel H., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints,* 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

Lyman, Edward Leo, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

Madsen, Carol Cornwall, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2006).

——, *Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1994).

Madsen, Carol Cornwall, Cherry B. Silver, and Women's History Initiative, *New Scholarship on Latter–day Saint Women in the Twentieth Century: Selections from the Women's History Initiative Seminars, 2003–2004, Symposium Proceedings in Latter–day Saint History* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter–day Saint History, 2005).

Marginson, Paul, Keith Sisson, and James Arrowsmith, *European Integration and Industrial Relations: Multi–Level Governance in the Making* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Marrott, Robert L., *History and Functions of the Aaronic Priesthood and the Offices of Priest, Teacher, and Deacon in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1829 to 1844*. Electronic ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976).

May, Dean L., and Reid L. Neilson, *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The First Twenty Years* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

McGuire, Meredith B., *Religion, the Social Context*. 4th ed. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1997).

Monnett, John D., *Revealed Educational Principles & the Public Schools: A Look at Principle–Centered Education through the Prophets and LDS Educational History* (Grantsville, Utah: Archive Publishers, 1999).

Montale, Eugenio, and William Arrowsmith, *Cuttlefish Bones: 1920–1927* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992).

Moore, James R., ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain, III Sources* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

Morgan, Sue, *The Feminist History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Morrell, Jeanette McKay, *Highlights in the Life of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1966).

Mulder, William, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

Mulder, William, and A. Russell Mortensen, *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Western Epics, Inc., 1994).

Neilson, Reid L., Terryl L. Givens, eds. *Joseph Smith, Jr.: Reappraisals after Two Centuries*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Nicholas, Stephen, *The Convict Workers* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Nyholm, Douglas A., *The History of Mormon Currency*. 1st ed. (Sandy, Utah: D.A. Nyholm, 2004).

Obelkevich, James, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

O'Dea, Thomas F., *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

Owen, Harold, *The Staffordshire Potter* ([S.l.]: Richards, 1901).

Page, William, *The Victoria History of the County of Stafford*. ed. by William Page, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London: Constable, 1908), electronic ed.

Palliser, David Michael, and Roy Millward, *The Staffordshire Landscape*, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976).

Penn, Irving, Alexandra Arrowsmith, Nicola Majocchi, and Nicholas Callaway, *Passage: A Work Record* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

Perkes, William Evans, *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family* (Alhambra, California: Greenwood Press, 1977).

Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, *Names of Persons and Sureties Indebted to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company from 1850 to 1877 Inclusive* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Star Book and Job Printing Office, 1877, Private Reprinting, 2007).

Peterson, Orlen Curtis, *A History of the Schools and Educational Programs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ohio and Missouri, 1831–1839*, electronic ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1972).

Poll, Richard Douglas, David E. Miller, Eugene E. Campbell, and Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah's History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989).

Powell, Allan Kent, *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1994).

Pratt, Parley Parker, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Embracing His Life, Ministry and Travels, with Extracts in Prose and Verse, from His Miscellaneous Writings*. 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1978 [1938]).

Quinn, D. Michael, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994).

——, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extension of Power* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1997).

——, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1992).

Rambo, Lewis, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993).

Reed, Leonard, *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Leonard Reed, 1987).

Reed, Michael, *A History of Buckinghamshire* (Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1993).

Reynolds, Leslie, *Mormons in Transition* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1998).

Reynolds, Arthur, *English Sects: an Historical Handbook* (London: A R Mowbray, 1921).

Richards, F. D., and James A. Little, *A Compendium of the Doctrines of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Company, 1882).

Richardson, James T., (ed.), *Conversion Careers: In and Out of the New Religions*, (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1978).

Roach, John, *Social Reform in England, 1780–1880* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

Robbins, Thomas, *Cults, Converts and Charisma* (London: Sage Publications, 1988).

Roberts, Brigham Henry, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1930).

——, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1970).

——, *The Life of John Taylor: Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2002 [1897]).

Roberts, B. H., and Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints*. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1948).

Roberts, Elizabeth, *Women's Work, 1840–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Roberts, Robert, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

——, *A Ragged Schooling: Growing up in the Classic Slum* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976).

Sandeen, Ernest Robert, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Chicago, Illinois & London: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Sargant, W., *Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing*, (London: Heinemann, 1957).

Savage, C. R., *C.R. Savage Collection* (Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 2006).

Schaefer, Naomi, *God on the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation Are Changing America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005).

——, *Mormonism in Germany: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Germany between 1840 and 1970* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1970).

Schein, E. H., *Coercive Persuasion: A Socio–Psychological Analysis of the "Brainwashing" of American Civilian Prisoners by the Chinese Communists*, (New York: Norton, 1967).

Sekers, David, *The Potteries*. Rev. ed. (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2009).

Sellers, Ian, *Nineteenth–Century Nonconformity*, *Foundations of Modern History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

Shepperson, Wilbur S*., British Emigration to North America: Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957).

Shipps, Jan, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

Smith, Cecil Woodham, *The Great Hunger* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

Smith, George D., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1995).

Smith, Joseph, *History of the Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1912).

——, *The Prophet Joseph Smith Tells His Own Story: A Brief History of the Early Visions of the Prophet and the Rise and Progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Chattanooga, Tennessee.: Southern States Mission, 1911).

Smith, Joseph, and Lee Nelson, *The Journal of Joseph: The Personal History of a Modern Prophet* (Springville, Utah: CFI, 1988).

Smith, Joseph, and Edwin F. Parry, *Joseph Smith's Teachings: A Classified Arrangement of the Doctrinal Sermons and Writings of the Great Latter–day Prophet* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1922).

Smith, Joseph, and Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: Taken from His Sermons and Writings as They Are Found in the Documentary History and Other Publications of the Church and Written or Published in the Days of the Prophet's Ministry* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002).

Smith, Joseph Fielding, *Essentials in Church History. A History of the Church from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time, with Introductory Chapters on the Antiquity of the Gospel and the "Falling Away."*, 25th ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1972).

Smith, Lucy, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Plano, Illinois: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1880).

Smith, Madelyn J., *Our Heritage: A Brief History of the Contributions of Our Family to the Growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints* (Utah: Harold E. Cripps Family Organization, 1993).

Sonne, Conway B., *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1983).

——, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987).

Staffordshire County Council, *State of Large Towns in North Staffordshire: Local History Source Book* (Stafford: Staffordshire County Council Education Department, 1972).

Stark, Rodney, *The Rise of Christianity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Stegner, Wallace, *The Gathering of Zion* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

Stenhouse, Fanny, 'Tell *It All' the Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism*, (Hartford, Connecticut: Worthington & Co, 1875).

Stenhouse, T. B. H., *Rocky Mountain Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Shepard Book Company, 1904).

Stiles, Andrina, *Religion, Society and Reform, 1800–1914*, *Access to History* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995).

Stout, Wayne Dunham, *A Bibliography of Mormonism* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Special Collections, Harold B. Library, n.d.).

Talmage, James E., *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1976).

Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner, *Changes in Joseph Smith's History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilm Co., 1965).

——, *Falsification of Joseph Smith's History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilm Co., 1971).

Taylor, Philip A. M., *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966).

Terry, Keith C., *Great Moments in Mormonism* (Santa Barbara, California: Butterfly Publishing, 1980).

Thernstrom, Stephan A., *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964).

Thomas, John B. May, *The Rise of the Staffordshire Potteries Origins of Industry (*Bath: Adams and Dart, 1971).

Thompson, David Michael, *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century, Birth of Modern Britain Series* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

Thompson, Edward P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963).

Topp, Chester W., *Victorian Yellowbacks & Paperbacks, 1849–1905*. (Denver, Colorado: Hermitage Antiquarian Bookshop, 1993).

Tosh, John, *Historians on History: An Anthology* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000).

——, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. Rev. 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 2002).

Toynbee, Arnold Joseph, *Cities on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Tullidge, Edward W., *History of Salt Lake City. By Authority of the City Council and under the Supervision of a Committee Appointed by the Council and Author, Etc* (Salt Lake City, Utah: E. W. Tullidge, 1886).

Underwood, Grant, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

Van Orden, Bruce A., *Building Zion: The Latter–day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1996).

Van Wagoner, Richard S., *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1986).

——, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1994).

Vogel, Dan, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988).

——, *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, [1996]–[2003]).

Walker, Pamela J., *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (London: University of California Press, 2001).

Walker, Ronald W., David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Walls, Andrew, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transition of Faith* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004).

Warrillow, Ernest J. D., *A Sociological History of the City of Stoke–on–Trent*, (Stoke on Trent: Etruscan Publications, 1960).

Watt, G. D., *Phonograph: Rules for Writing* (Nauvoo, Illinois: George D. Watts, 1845).

Watt, Ronald D., *The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt: First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* (Logan: Utah State University, 2009).

Watts, Michael R., *The Dissenters, Vol. 2: The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Watts, Ruth, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England, 1760–1860*, *Women and Men in History* (London: Longman, 1998).

Werner, Julia Stewart, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

Whitney, Orson F., *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967).

Whittaker, David J., and *Brigham Young University Studies*, *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States*, *Brigham Young University Studies Monographs* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Studies, 1995).

Whittaker, David J., and Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter–day Saint History, *Early Mormon Pamphleteering*, *Dissertations in Latter–day Saint History* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter–day Saint History, 2003).

Whittaker, David J., and Christian L. McClellan, *Mormon Missions and Missionaries: A Bibliographic Guide to Published and Manuscript Sources* (Provo, Utah: Special Collections & Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 1993).

Whittle, P., *The History of the Borough of Preston, the County Palatine of Lancaster* (Preston: Whittle, 1837, Privately Reprinted 2005).

Widtsoe, John A., *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1951).

Wiggins, Marvin E., *Mormons and Their Neighbors: An Index to over 75,000 Biographical Sketches from 1820 to the Present*. 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 1984).

Williamson, Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G., *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Wilson, Bryan, *Religious Sects* (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1970).

Wilson, Linda, *Constrained by Zeal: Female Spirituality Amongst Nonconformists, 1825–75* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000).

Woodham Smith, Cecil, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845–1849* (London: Hamilton, 1962).

Woodruff, Wilford, and Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1964).

Woodward, E. L., *The Age of Reform, 1815–1870.* 2nd ed. (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Wrigley, E. A., *Nineteenth–Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Young, Ann Eliza, *Wife No. 19, or, the Story of a Life in Bondage: Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Hartford, Connecticut: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876).

Young, Brigham, and Eugene E. Campbell, *The Essential Brigham Young*, *Classics in Mormon Thought Series* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1992).

Young, Kimball, *Isn't One Wife Enough? The Story of Mormon Polygamy* (New York: Henry Holt, 1954).

BOOK SECTION

Armstrong, W.A., 'The Use of Information about Occupation', pp. 191–310 in *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data*, ed. by E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Bainbridge, William Sims, 'The Sociology of Conversion', pp. 178–191 in *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, ed. by H. N. Malony and S. Southard (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992).

Bennett, Richard E., 'Plucking Not Planting: Mormonism in Eastern Canada, 1830–1850', pp. 19–34 in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. by Herbert C. Northcott, Brigham Y. Card, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990).

Black, Susan Easton, 'A Profile of a British Saint 1837–1848', pp. 103–114 in Donald W. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter–day Saint History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990).

Bruce, Steve, 'Sociology of Conversion: The Last Twenty–Five Years' in pp. 1–12 in *Paradigms, Poetics And Politics Of Conversion*, Jan N. Bremmer, Wout J. Van Bekkum and Arie L. Molendijk eds., (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

Buchanan, Frederick S., 'The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland', pp. 268–298 in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987,* Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and

Larry C. Porter, eds. (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Cowan, Richard O., 'Church Growth in England, 1841–1914' pp. 199–235 in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds. (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Davies, Douglas J., 'Pilgrimage in Mormon Culture' pp. 312–325 in *Social Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Makhan Johan, ed. (New Delhi, India: Inter–India Publications, 1991).

——, 'Aspects of Latter Day Saint Eschatology', *Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain,* No. 6, Michael Hill, ed. (London: S.C.M. Press, 1973)

Gooren, Henri, 'Conversion Careers in Latin America Entering and Leaving Church among Pentecostals, Catholics, and Mormons', pp. 52–71, in *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin* America Steigenga Timothy J. and Edward L. Cleary eds. (London: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

Harrison, John F. C., 'Popular History of Early Victorian Britain' pp. 1–15 in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, Thorp, Malcolm and Richard L. Jensen eds., (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989).

William G. Hartley, 'LDS Pastors and Pastorate, 1852–55', in pp. 194–210, Thorp, Malcolm and Richard L. Jensen eds., (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1989).

Jensen Richard L., 'The British Gathering to Zion', pp. 165–198 in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds. (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Larsen, Timothy, 'Defining and Locating Evangelical Theology', pp. 1–14 in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. by Larsen, Timothy and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Moss, James R., 'The Gospel Restored to England', pp.71–103 in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds. (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Richardson, James. T. and Brock Kilbourne, 'Classical and Contemporary Brainwashing Models: A Comparison and Critique', in D. B. Bromley and J. T. Richardson eds*., The Brainwashing/Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal, and Historical Perspectives* (Lewiston, New York: Mellen, 1983).

Richardson, James T., 'Conversion' in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*, William H. Swatos, Jr., ed. (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1998), pp. 119–121.

——, 'Studies of Conversion', pp. 104–121 in *The Sacred in a Secular Age*, ed. by P. Hammond (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985).

Thorp, Malcolm R., 'The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social and Economic Conditions', pp. 199–217 in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the*

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987, Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds. (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1987).

Tillot, P. M., 'Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Census' pp. 82–133 in E. A. Wrigley ed., *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Whittaker, David J., 'Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources', pp. 459–538 in *The Disciple as Witness: Essays on Latter–day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson*, ed. by Donald W. Parry, Andrew H. Hedges, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000).

Woods, Fred E., 'The Gathering of the British Saints', pp. 380–387 in *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet,* Andrew Skinner and Susan Easton Black, eds. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 2005).

JOURNAL ARTICLE

Aird, Polly, 'Why Did the Scots Convert?', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2000), pp. 91–122.

Allen, James B., 'Review: George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 165–175.

Allen, James B., and Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes', *BYU Studies*, vol. 15, no.4 (Summer 1975), pp. 1–23.

Anderson, Olive, 'Women Preachers in Mid–Victorian Britain: Some Reflexions on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change', *The Historical Journal,* vol. 12 (1969), pp. 467–484.

Austin, Roy L., 'Empirical Adequacy of Lofland's Conversion Model', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 18 (1977), pp. 282–287.

——, 'Reply to Richardson's Comments On "Empirical Adequacy of Lofland's Conversion Model"', *Review of Religious Research,* vol. 19 (1978), pp. 323–324.

Bartholomew, Ronald E. , '19th Century Missiology of the LDS Bedfordshire Conference and it's Interrelationship with Other Christian Denominations', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 2 (2009), pp. 108–127.

——, 'The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire England', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 99–136.

Bauer, R. A., 'Brainwashing: Psychology or Demonology?' *Journal Sociological Issues*, vol. 13 (1957), pp. 41–47.

Baugh, Alexander, 'Introduction, Missouri Mormonism: Past and Present', *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 1 (1998), pp. 1–2.

Beckford, James A., 'Accounting for Conversion', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 29, no. 2 (June 1978), pp. 249–262.

Bergera, Gary James, 'Seniority in the Twelve: The 1875 Realignment of Orson Pratt', *Journal of Mormon History,* vol. 18 (1992), pp. 19–58.

Brown, Kenneth D., 'Non–Conformity and the British Labour Movement: A Case Study', *Journal of Social History,* vol. 8 (1975), pp. 113–20.

Buchanan, Frederick S.; 'The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1987), pp. 27–52.

——, 'Scots Among The Mormons', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Fall 1968), pp. 328–352.

Cannon, M. Hamlin, 'Migration of English Mormons to America' *Historical Review*, vol. 52, no. 3 (April 1947), pp. 436–455.

Christensen, Carl W. 'Religious Conversion', *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 9 (1963), pp. 207–216.

Cooper, Matthew, 'Relations of Modes of Production in Nineteenth Century America: The Shakers and Oneida,' *Ethnology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (January 1987), pp. 1–16.

Christy, Howard A., 'Weather, Disaster and Responsibility: An Essay on the Willie and Martin Handcart Company,' *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1 (1997), pp. 60–74.

Davidman, Lynn, and Arthur L. Greil, 'Gender and the Experience of Conversion: The Case of "Returnees" To Modern Orthodox Judaism', *Sociology of Religion,* vol. 54 (1993), pp. 83–100.

Davies, Douglas James, 'World Religion: Dynamics and Constraints', *Brigham Young University Studies,* vol. 44, no. 4 (2005), pp. 253–270.

Dennis, Ronald D., 'The Reverend W. R. Davies vs. Captain Dan Jones,' *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987), pp. 53–66.

Derr, Jill Mulvay and C. Brooklyn Derr, 'Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought,* vol. 15, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 21–43.

Devitry–Smith, John, 'William James Barratt: The First Mormon Down Under,' *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3 (Summer 1988), pp.53–66.

Divett, Robert T., 'Medicine and the Mormons: a Historical Perspective,' *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1979), pp.16–25.

Doxey, Cynthia, 'The Church in Britain and the 1851 Religious Census', *Mormon Historical Studies,* vol. 4 (2003), pp. 107–138.

Erickson, Charlotte, 'Quantitative History', *The American Historical Review,* vol. 80 (1975), pp. 351–365.

Evans, Max J., and Ronald G. Watt, 'Sources and Literature for Western American History: Sources for Western History at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints', *The Western Historical Quarterly,* vol. 8 (1977), pp. 303–312.

Field, Clive D., 'The Social Structure of English Methodism: Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries', *The British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 28 (1977), pp. 199–225.

Flanders, Robert Bruce, 'The Kingdom of God In Illinois: Politics In Utopia, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 26–36.

Fleming, Stephen L., 'The Religious Heritage of the British Northwest and the Rise of Mormonism', *Church History*, vol. 77, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 73–104.

Galenson, David W., 'The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis', *The Journal of Economic History,* vol. 44 (1984), pp. 1–26.

Gooren, Henri, 'Reassessing Conventional Approaches to Conversion: Toward a New Synthesis', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 46, no. 3 (2007), pp. 337–353.

Guarneri, Carl J., 'Reconstructing the Antebellum Communitarian Movement: Oneida and Fourierism,' *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 463–488.

Hartley, William G. and Richard L. Jensen, 'Immigration and Emigration', in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, vol. 2, (New York: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 673–676.

Hatton, Timothy J., 'A Model of UK Emigration, 1870–1913', *Review of Economics and Statistics,* vol. 77 (1995), pp. 407–415.

Heaton, Tim B., Stan L. Albrecht, and J. Randal Johnson, 'The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 119–135.

Heirich, Max, 'Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 83, no. 3 (November 1977), pp. 653–680.

Hicks, Michael, 'What Hymns Early Mormons Sang and How They Sang Them', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2008), pp. 95–118.

Higgs, Edward, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1987), pp. 59–80.

Holdsworth, Clare, 'Dr John Thomas Arlidge and Victorian Occupational Medicine', *Medical History*, vol. 42 (1998), pp. 458–475.

Jensen, Richard L., 'Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 91 (1982), pp. 3–23.

Jensen, Richard L. and Gordon Irving, 'The Voyage of the Amazon: A Close View of One Immigrant Company', *Ensign,* vol. 10 (March 1980), pp. 16–19.

Jensen, Richard L. and Maxine C. Ward, 'Names of Persons and Sureties indebted to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company 1850 to 1877', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1989), pp. 141–242.

Kent, J. H. S., 'The Role of Religion in the Cultural Structure of the Later Victorian City', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* vol. 23 (1973), pp. 153–173.

Kilbourne, Brock, and James T. Richardson, 'Paradigm Conflict, Types of Conversion, and Conversion Theories', *Sociological Analysis,* vol. 50 (1989), pp. 1–21.

Knoll, Mark A., 'A Jesuit Interpretation of Mid Nineteenth–Century America: Mormonism in Connection with Modern Protestantism', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3 (2006), pp. 39–74.

Kox, Willem, Wim Meeus, and Harm Hart, 'Religious Conversion of Adolescents: Testing the Lofland and Stark Model of Religious Conversion', *Sociological Analysis,* vol. 52 (1991), pp. 227–240.

Larsen, Gustive O., 'The Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund,' *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (September, 1931), pp. 184–194.

Lofland, John, and Norman Skonovd, 'Conversion Motifs', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* vol. 20 (1981), pp. 373–385.

Lofland, John and Rodney Stark, 'Becoming a World–Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 30 (1965), pp. 863–874.

Mauss, Armand, 'Sociological Perspectives on the Mormon Subculture', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10, (1984), pp. 437–460.

May, Dean L., 'Body and Soul: The Record of Mormon Religious Philanthropy', *Church History*, vol. 57, no. 3 (September 1988), pp. 323–324.

McCue, Robert J., 'The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints and Vancouver Island: The Establishment and Growth of the Mormon Community.' *British Columbia Studies*, vol. 42 (Summer 1979), pp. 51–64.

Miller, J. G., 'Brainwashing: Present and Future', *Journal Sociological Issues*, vol. 13 (1957), pp. 5–20.

Moloney, J. C., 'Psychic Self–abandon and Extortion of Confessions', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 36 (1955), pp. 53–60.

Morris, David M., 'The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency Through Change, 1831–1920', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, vol. 1 (2008), pp. 153–169.

Mulder, William, 'Immigration and The "Mormon Question": An International Episode', *The Western Political Quarterly,* vol. 9 (1956), pp. 416–433.

Nelson, Reed E., 'Authority, Organization, and Societal Context in Multinational Churches', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38:4 (December 1993), pp. 653–682.

Poll, Richard D. and William P. MacKinnon, 'Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1994), pp. 16–44.

Porter, Larry C., 'Brigham Young and the Twelve in Quincy: A Return to the Eye of the Missouri Storm, 26 April 1839', *Mormon Historical Studies,* vol. 2 (2001), pp. 29–58.

Price, Jacob M., 'Recent Quantitative Work in History: A Survey of the Main Trends', *History and Theory: Studies in Quantitative History and the Logic of the Social Sciences*, vol. 3 (1969), pp. 1–13.

Quinn, D. Michael, 'From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 9–14.

─────, 'The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church', *Journal of Mormon History* vol. 1 (1974), pp. 21–38.

Raphael, Samuel, 'The Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid–Victorian Britain', *History Workshop,* vol. 3 (1977), pp. 6–72.

Richardson, B. Kilbourne and James T., 'Paradigm Conflict, Types of Conversion, and Conversion Theories', *Sociological Analysis,* vol. 50 (1989), pp. 1–21.

Richardson, James T., 'Comment on Austin's Article 'Empirical Adequacy of Lofland's Conversion Model', *Review of Religious Research,* vol. 19 (1978), pp. 320–323.

─────, 'Conversion Careers', *Society*, vol. 17 (1980), pp. 47–50.

─────, 'The Active vs. Passive Convert: Paradigm Conflict in Conversion/Recruitment Research', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1985), pp. 163–169.

Robbins, Thomas, Dick Anthony and James Richardson, 'Theory and Research on Today's "New Religions"', *Sociological Analysis,* vol. 39 (1978), pp. 95–122.

Sampson, D. Paul, and Larry T. Wimmer, 'The Kirtland Safety Society: The Stock Ledger Book and the Bank Failure', *Brigham Young University Studies,* vol. 12 (1972), pp. 427–454.

Samuel, Raphael, 'Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid–Victorian Britain', *History Workshop*, vol. 3 (1977), pp. 6–72.

Seggar, J. F. and P. Kunz, 'Conversion: Evaluation of a Step–like Process for Problem Solving', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 178–184.

Shipps, Jan, 'Joseph Smith and the Making of a Global Religion', *Brigham Young University Studies,* vol. 44, no. 1 (2005), pp. 293–306.

Singer, Merrill, 'The Social Context of Conversion to a Black Religious Sect', *Review of Religious Research,* vol. 30 (1988), pp. 177–192.

Smilde, David, 'A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Conversion to Venezuelan Evangelicalism: How Networks Matter', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 111, no. 3 (November 2005), pp. 757–796.

Smith, E. Gary, 'The Office of Presiding Patriarch: The Primacy Problem', *Journal of Mormon History,* vol. 14 (1988), pp. 35–48.

Smith, George A., 'My Journal', *The Instructor*, (March 1947), pp. 119–142.

Snow, David A., and Richard Machalek, 'The Sociology of Conversion', *Annual Review of Sociology,* vol. 10 (1984), pp. 167–190.

Snow, David A., and Cynthia L. Phillips, 'The Lofland–Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment', *Social Problems,* vol. 27 (1980), pp. 430–447.

Somers, Margaret R., 'Narrativity, Narrative Identity, and Social Action: Rethinking English Working–Class Formation ', *Social Science History*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 591–630.

Stark, Rodney, and William Sims Bainbridge, 'Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 18, no. 2 (June 1979), pp. 117–131.

——, 'Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 85, no. 6 (May 1980), pp. 1376–1395.

——, 'Towards a Theory of Religion: Religious Commitment', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1980), pp. 114–128.

Stott G. St. John, 'John Taylor's Religious Preparation,' *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 123–128.

Swan, Howard S., 'The Music of the Mormons, 1830–1865', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3 (May 1949), pp. 223–252.

Taylor, Philip A. M., 'Why Did British Mormons Emigrate', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25 (October 1957), pp. 249–271.

Thompson, David M., 'Review: The Making of the English Religious Classes', *The Historical Journal,* vol. 22 (1979), pp. 477–491.

Thorp, Malcolm R., 'The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–1852', *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 4 (1977), pp. 51–65.

——, 'Social and Religious Origins of Early English Mormons'**,** in *World Conference on Records: Preserving Our Heritage*, vol. 6 (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1980), pp. 1–14.

Tillot, P. M., 'The Analysis of Census Returns', *The Local Historian*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1968), pp. 2–10.

Underwood, Grant, 'Millenarianism and Popular Methodism in Early Nineteenth Century England and Canada', *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol. 29 (Spring/Fall 1994), pp. 81–91.

——,'Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind,' *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 9 (1982), pp. 41–51.

Warburton, Rennie T., 'Mormonism on Vancouver Island: A Comment', *British Columbia Studies*, vol. 43 (Autumn 1979), pp. 3–25.

Warner, Ted J., 'B. H. Roberts on a Non–Mormon Topic: An Exercise in Historiography', *Brigham Young University Studies,* vol. 16 (1976), pp. 409–414.

Whittaker, David J. 'Harvest in Herefordshire', *Ensign*, vol. 17 (January 1987), pp. 46–49.

Wilson, Bryan R., 'Migrating Sects: A Review Article', *British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 18 (1967), pp. 303–317.

Woods, Fred E., 'Cemetery Record of William D. Huntington, Nauvoo Sexton', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 1 (Spring 2000), pp. 131–163

——, 'Seagoing Saints', *Ensign*, vol. 31 (September 2001), pp. 54–56.

——, 'From Liverpool to Keokuk', *Mormon Historical Studies*, vol. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 3–24.

―――, 'Conveyance & Contribution: Mormon Scots Gather to an American Zion', *History Scotland*, Part 1 in July – Aug 2005, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 48–54, and Part 2 in Sep – Oct 2005, vol. 5, no. 5, pp. 37–42;

―――, 'Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840–46', *Nauvoo Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 43–63.

Woods, Fred E. and Nicholas J. Evans, 'Latter–day Saint Scandinavian Migration Through Hull, England, 1852–1894', *Brigham Young University Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2002), pp. 75–102.

Wrigley, E., A., 'Births and Baptisms: The use of Anglican Baptism Registers as a Source of Information about the Numbers of Births in England before the Beginning of Civil Registration', *Population Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1977), pp. 181–312.

Yeo, Eileen, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle 1838–1842', *Past & Present*, vol. 91 (1981), pp. 109–139.

Young, S. Dilworth, 'The Seventies: A Historical Perspective', *Ensign*, vol. 6 (July 1976), pp. 14–17.

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Arrington, James N., 'The Journey Home: A Root–Metaphor Analysis of the 1840 Mormon Manchester Hymnbook' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2006).

Arrowsmith, Stephen G., 'The "Unidentified Pioneers": An Analysis of Staffordshire Mormons, 1837 to 1870' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003).

Ashcroft, Kendrick B., '"A Grand Co–Operative Scheme": A Study of the Ministry of Angels Throughout Scriptural History as Found in the Canonized Standard Works of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002).

Barlow, Brent A., 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Ireland since 1840' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968).

Britsch, R. Lanier, 'A History of the Missionary Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in India, 1849–1856' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1964).

Cannon, M. Hamlin, 'The "Gathering" Of British Mormons to Western America: A Study in Religious Migration' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, American University, 1950).

Carson, Scott Alan, 'The Perpetual Emigrating Fund: Redemption Servitude and Subsidized Migration in America's Great Basin' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Utah, 1998).

Castleton, Don B., 'The Concept of Zion as Reflected in Mormon Song' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis: Brigham Young University, 1967).

Chard, Gary Ray, 'A History of the French Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1850–1960' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Utah State University, 1965).

Christensen, Marius Aldrid, 'History of the Danish Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1850–1964' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966).

John Cotterill, 'Midland Saints: The Mormon Mission in the West Midlands, 1837–1877' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Keele University, 1985).

Damron, Paul Edwards, 'A History of the Involvement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in the Tanning Industry in Utah from 1847 to 1973' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973).

Davies, Douglas J., 'The Mormons at Merthyr Tydfil', (Unpublished B. Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1972).

Erickson, Andrea, 'Doctrinal and Historical Analysis of Young Women's Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2009).

Esplin, Ronald K., 'Brigham Young and the Transformation of The "First" Quorum of the Twelve' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981).

Fales, Susan L., 'The Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era: A Study in Social Composition' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984).

Fielding, Robert Kent, 'Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana State University, 1957).

Fox, Michael Barry Holmes, 'The Theology, History And Organisation of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the British Isles', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1995).

Hawkes, John Douglas, 'A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Australia to 1900.' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965).

Hunt, Brian William, 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in New Zealand' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

Jenson, Robin Scott, 'Gleaning the Harvest: Strangite Missionary Work, 1846–1850' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2005).

Johansson, Carl Erik, 'History of the Swedish Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1905–1973' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973).

Johnson, Melvin Kay, 'A History of the Temple Square Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints to 1970' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

Kirby, Dale Z., 'History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Switzerland' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

Kunz, Calvin S., 'A History of Female Missionary Activity in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1898' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976).

Leese, R., 'The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1743–1860' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1972).

Macare, Helen Hanks, 'The Singing Saints: A Study of The Mormon Hymnal 1835–1950' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of California, Los Angeles, 1961).

Monson, Farrell Ray, 'History of the South African Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1853–1970' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

O'Bannion, Jan, 'The Convert as Social Type A Critical Assessment of the Snow–Machalek Conversion Typology as Applied to British Mormon Converts' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988).

Parkin, Max H., 'Conflict at Kirtland: A Study of the Nature and Causes of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio between 1830 and 1838' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966).

Petersen, Paul H., 'The Mormon Reformation', (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980).

Redd, Phyllip G., 'A History of Formal Religious Instruction by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Alberta, 1890–1960' (Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961).

Scarlett, Timothy, 'Potting in Zion: Craft and Industry in Utah, 1848–1930' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nevada, 2002).

Smart, Paul Floyd, 'The History of the Early Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Preston, Lancashire, England' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989).

Stevenson, Joseph Grant, 'The Life of Edward Stevenson: Member of the First Council of Seventy, Friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Three Witnesses' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).

Tagg, Melvin S., 'A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints in Canada, 1830–1963' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963).

Warner, Keith Crandall, 'History of the Netherlands Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1861–1966' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967).

Wengreen, A. Dean, 'The Origin and History of the Fast Day in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 1830–1896' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).

ELECTRONIC OR INTERNET SOURCES

Courtney, W. P., 'Aitken, Robert (1800–1873)', rev. I. T. Foster, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/256, accessed 25 Aug 2010]

Greenslade, M. W, D. A. Johnson, and C. R. J. Currie, *A History of Counties of England: Stafford*, 13 vols. (Stafford: Victoria County History, 1908–1984). [http://www.british–history.ac.uk].

LDS Collectors Library 2009 (Salt Lake City, Utah: LDS Media and Deseret Book, 2008)

Mormon Immigration Index CD–ROM (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, 2000).

Mormons and Their Neighbors [http://www.lib.byu.edu/Ancestry/].

Mormon Vital Records CDROM, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1998).

New Mormon Studies CD–ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith Research Associates, 2009).

Vital Records (UK & US Census, Births, Marriage, Deaths, Burials), *Ancestry.com*

[http://www.ancestry.com]