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The *International Journal of Mormon Studies* is a European based internationally focused, peer-reviewed online and printed scholarly journal, which is committed to the promotion of interdisciplinary scholarship by publishing articles and reviews of current work in the field of Mormon studies. With high quality international contributors, the journal explores Mormon studies and its related subjects. In addition, *IJMS* provides those who submit manuscripts for publication with useful, timely feedback by making the review process constructive. To submit a manuscript or review, including book reviews please email them for consideration in the first instance to submissions@ijmsonline.org.

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EDITORIAL

David M. Morris
Editor

Welcome to the inaugural issue of the *International Journal of Mormon Studies (IJMS)*. Traditionally an editor of a new academic journal justifies the need for further scholarly publications and of course this endeavour is no different.

The study of Mormonism, whether historical, theological, literary, sociological, anthropological, or political has grown over recent decades and become a diverse, even eclectic field of enquiry. Consequently a number of outlets have emerged that are synonymous with the publication of Mormon Studies, such as the handful of printed journals, formal associations with accompanying conferences or the 'blogs' or websites that are found on the Internet. While the *IJMS* takes nothing away from these resources, a more internationally focused publication is needed. It is therefore the intention of the *IJMS* to explore the international experience of Mormonism. We will look for submissions of interesting and important contributions from a multi-disciplinary perspective.

Published twice a year as an open access publication and limited print run peer-reviewed journal, *IJMS* encourages emerging and established authors to discuss issues of importance in their own disciplines. The peer review process will match knowledgeable reviewers with submitted manuscripts to produce high quality feedback and articles of interest. Our aim is that this journal will become a pre-eminent repository of knowledge for Mormonism in the international arena. This becomes poignant as scholarly associations increase in number and consider neglected areas of interest.

One such emergence is the *European Mormon Studies Association (EMSA)* founded in 2006 by three doctoral students, Ronan James Head, David M. Morris and Kim B. Östman. *EMSA* have raised the profile of European scholarship by sponsoring an annual conference

and an online presence including an informative website. This inaugural issue consists of a selection of papers presented as part of the *EMSA* 2007 conference in Worcester, England. Armand L. Mauss, who incidentally was the keynote speaker, addresses implications and issues of a “Second Harvest?” in Europe. Fred E. Woods reviews migration through Liverpool, while Warrick N. Kear revisits his doctoral thesis on an “LDS Sound World in the Twenty-First Century.” Ronald E. Bartholomew discusses “Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth-Century Buckinghamshire, England.” Kim B. Östman considers the regional impact of the recent open house and dedication of the Finnish LDS temple. David M. Morris concludes with the “Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion 1831-1920.”

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the many individuals who contributed to making it possible to launch this journal. Particular thanks go to editorial board members and all the reviewers for their careful reviews to ensure the quality of the papers presented here. We are also grateful to the authors for their responsiveness to the final manuscript preparation.

CAN THERE BE A “SECOND HARVEST”? : CONTROLLING THE COSTS OF LATTER-DAY SAINT MEMBERSHIP IN EUROPE¹

Armand L. Mauss

*The Church in Europe must live again. The work of the Church has run on the backs of its European Saints since the beginning. Don't think that you are just minding the shop waiting for the Savior to come. Don't think that the great days of gathering in Europe are over. This is our time. . . .*²

*Most of the world today is certainly not secular. It's very religious. So is the U. S. The one exception to this is Western Europe. One of the most interesting questions in the sociology of religion today is not, How do you explain fundamentalism in Iran? but, Why is Western Europe different?*³

*European exceptionalism [must be seen] in the proper perspective. As long as their religious markets are highly regulated, the apparent secularization of many European nations will be sustained. But should significant and authentic competition arise, it seems likely that other Europeans will embrace religion*⁴

¹ This is a revised and expanded version of the keynote address delivered at the inaugural conference of the European Mormon Studies Association held at the University of Worcester, England, August 2 - 4, 2007.

² Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, as quoted from a 1995 seminar for stake and mission presidents in Paris by Hoyt W. Brewster, Jr., *The Promise: The Prophesied Growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Netherlands and Belgium and All of Western Europe* (Netherlands Mission, Amsterdam, November, 1998). Brewster, then President of the Netherlands Mission, also quotes a comparably optimistic prediction by Elder Henry B. Eyring made two years later at a similar meeting in Rome, and still another made by President Hinckley himself in 2000 about a “second harvest” soon to come in Sweden (Erik Nilsson, “Göteborg, Sweden: A Second Harvest,” *Ensign* 30[7]: 77 [July 2000]).

³ Peter Berger, “Epistemological Modesty: An Interview with Peter Berger,” *Christian Century* 114:974 (October 29, 1997). In the 1960s, Berger had been among the most confident social theorists predicting the final decline and fall of religion in Europe and elsewhere in the face of the inevitable onslaught of modernism and secularism (see, e. g., his *The Sacred Canopy* [New York: Doubleday], 107-08).

⁴ Massimo Introvigne and Rodney Stark, “Religious Competition and Revival in Italy: Exploring European Exceptionalism,” *Interdisciplinary Journal of Re-*

INTRODUCTION

It is not often that we see a convergence in predictions between apostles and sociologists, though, to be sure, this is not the first prediction from Rodney Stark that has proved pleasing to the LDS leadership.⁵ Yet, for today's LDS members in Europe, the coming "great days of gathering," or, in President Hinckley's terms, the "second harvest," must seem as far off as the Millennium itself. And certainly the earlier projections by Stark of enduring Church growth have proved rather optimistic so far, as the influx of new converts has barely kept pace with the defection of unconverted or disillusioned members. The seemingly static Church membership size in Europe (at least in Western Europe) is no secret, nor is the ongoing struggle of the Church to retain its members. Well-researched articles on such topics have been appearing for more than a decade, and in 2005 a series of articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune* brought the problem starkly to the attention of the general Church membership.⁶ More recently, a devout and energetic young LDS scholar has established a website rich in data about the nature, distribution, and retention of the membership, and he has published a telling critique of the LDS missionary program, along with many suggestions for improving both the conversion and the retention rates.⁷ On balance, the prospects so far seem quite mixed for the future of the LDS Church as a worldwide religion in a meaningful sense, especially in Europe.

search on Religion 1(1):14 (2005, Article 5). Berkeley Electronic Press (www.bepress.com/ijrr).

⁵ I have in mind here primarily Stark's predictions during the past two decades of gigantic Church growth (compiled and updated most recently in his *The Rise of Mormonism* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2005]), edited by Reid L. Neilson, as well as certain other observations in that same book.

⁶ The series ran for several issues in the SLT during the summer of 2005. See, e. g. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Keeping Members a Challenge for the LDS Church," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 26, 2005.

⁷ Both the website (www.cumorah.com) and the book have been produced by Dr. David G. Stewart, Jr., a pediatric orthopedist. The book, privately published, is *Law of the Harvest: Practical Principles of Effective Missionary Work* (Henderson, NV: Cumorah Foundation, 2007).

In this paper, I propose first to review what seems to me the most important deterrents to the growth of the LDS Church in Europe, and then to identify both a theoretical basis and some operational developments that nevertheless might justify the optimism of the Church leaders cited above (Note 2). This approach will give my paper a kind of “bad news vs. good news” bifurcation, with the “bad news” reviewed first.

I will concede at the outset that my own *personal* knowledge about the Church membership in Europe is quite limited, based mainly on 1) some fairly extensive study of membership data; 2) first-hand accounts from informed European members (to be cited as I go along), and 3) some interviews and other communications with knowledgeable Church leaders and members in Europe.⁸ In travels during the past decade or so, I have also attended perhaps a dozen ward meetings of the Church in England, Belgium, and Sweden. I’m well aware that this record does not make me a great expert, but it has left me with some experiences and impressions, both cognitive and emotional. I should emphasize, furthermore, that my observations and generalizations apply mainly to the LDS experience in *Western* Europe. Some of these will be far less applicable to Eastern Europe, where the religious and political histories are quite different, and where a significant LDS presence is more recent. From my reading and observations, I have concluded that it is not easy to be an active Latter-day Saint *anywhere* in Europe, for there are many costs of membership, both obvious and hidden, costs which most American members can scarcely appreciate or even imagine. Some of these costs can be mitigated by creative changes in the Church program itself (to be addressed later), but many of them cannot be, for

⁸ I want to acknowledge with deep appreciation how much I have benefitted by the information and advice offered by many colleagues who have read and criticized earlier versions of this paper. Deserving of special mention in this regard are Drs. Wilfried Decoo, Bruce C. Hafen, George K. Jarvis, and O. James Stevens. I alone am responsible, of course, for whether and how I have made use of their suggestions.

they are built into the cultural and political contexts of European societies.⁹

II. SECULAR CULTURE AND THE REGULATION OF RELIGION

Social scientists have been predicting the decline and fall of religion ever since at least Auguste Comte almost two centuries ago. So far, however, historical developments during those centuries, and especially the periodic religious resurgences, have proved to be obstinate counter indications of secularization. Nevertheless, many scholars and commentators have observed that contemporary Europe, especially as contrasted with the United States, is permeated with a secular culture of disbelief in traditional religion and with moral permissiveness toward a variety of personal behaviors once regarded as major vices.¹⁰ The con-

⁹ As I explain later, the term “cost,” as used here, does *not* refer primarily to financial cost.

¹⁰ See, e. g., Walter Van Beek, “Ethnization and Accommodation: Dutch Mormons in Twenty-First Century Europe,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29(1): 119-27 (Spring 1996); and his “Mormon Europeans or European Mormons,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38(4):27-32 (Winter 2005); also Gary C. Lobb, “Mormon Membership in Europe among People of Color: Present and Future Assessment,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33(4):62 (Winter 2000). Incidentally, I do not mean to insist that religious disbelief and moral permissiveness are always causally connected, though historically the morality of a culture has usually been “enforced” by some sort of supernatural beliefs. A recent Pew survey found that many people in the U. S., and most people in the rest of the industrialized world, do not believe that morality is necessarily connected to religion. Public opinion is not necessarily empirical reality, and in any case such opinion in secularized societies could be expected to deny a connection between religion and morality. Also, much depends on how “morality” is defined, and, in particular, on whether the issue is civic morality or personal (especially sexual) morality. See the article about this survey (and about secularism in general) in *The Christian Post* (http://www.christianpost.com/article/20071105/29971_Survey:_Wealthier_Nations_Less_Religious.htm). I am grateful to Dr. Wilfried Decoo for calling this article to my attention. On the other hand, Stark and Bainbridge have found empirically that in a society with high religious participation, rates of crime, delinquency, and other deviance are lower *even* among those who are *not* religious or do not attend Church. See Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York: Routledge, 1997)..

trasting persistence of religious belief in the United States has tended to be regarded, somewhat dismissively, as “American exceptionalism.”¹¹

POST-WAR TRENDS IN THE EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS SCENE¹²

European observers seem astounded that surveys find belief in God and an afterlife among Americans so much higher than among Europeans, at least in Western Europe. Furthermore, such religious belief as there is does not seem to be accompanied by Church going in Europe nearly as much as in the United States. Depending on the survey and the region, one finds a majority of Americans in Church on Sunday, compared to around 20% or less in Europe – a situation leading British scholar Grace Davie to see a theme of “believing without belonging” in her study of religion in contemporary Britain.¹³

Large-scale cultural trends, however, are rarely self-generated. They are likely to follow upon important political developments that seem to call for new norms and values, and which render the old ways impractical, irrelevant, or at least “politically incorrect.” In the case of Europe, these political developments have included fundamental changes in the relationships between the traditional religions and national governments since the Second World War. Though a certain amount of disillusionment with religion in general probably followed that war (given the seeming inability of any deities to prevent such disasters), the main impact upon Church-state relationships was the attenuation, or even elimination, of government sponsorship for reli-

¹¹ See, e. g., the discussion in Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 220-23; and the analysis by Edward A. Tiryakian, “American Religious Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 527 (1993):40-54.

¹² In the preparation of this paper, I wish to acknowledge gratefully the informative documents shared with me by two scholars connected with the International Center for Law and Religion Studies at Brigham Young University: Dr. W. Cole Durham Jr., Director of the Center, and Dr. O. James Stevens, Fellow of the Center, and currently working in Brussels with his wife Joan as a service couple.

¹³ Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (UK: Oxford, 1994).

gion, including the traditional state Churches. In the Soviet-controlled east, of course, this meant the emergence of officially atheist states. In the west, however, under the influence of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed in Geneva by much of the world in 1948, an increase in religious freedom was gradually institutionalized. The derivative European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) was signed in Strasbourg in 1950.¹⁴

Further institutional backing for these documents came in 1962 through a multilateral treaty establishing the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), also in Strasbourg. This court has issued many efficacious judgments against member nations for various violations and state persecutions of minority religions, often resulting in the re-writing of national laws. Not all European nations are signatories to the ECHR, but as one after another has signed on, Europe has come increasingly to share an ideology of "human rights" where religion is concerned. In this ideology, each individual is to be guaranteed freedom of conscience – that is, freedom to choose any religious belief or tradition – or none whatever.¹⁵ Starting in the 1990s, after the fall of the Soviet Union, religious freedom came to be a principal concern also of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE),

¹⁴ Comprehensive reviews of the contemporary religion-state relationships around the world will be found in James T. Richardson (ed.), *Regulating Religion: Case Studies from Around the Globe* (New York: Springer-US, 2003); and in Phillip Charles Lucas and Thomas Robbins (eds.), *New Religious Movements in the Twenty-First Century: Legal, Political, and Social Changes in Global Perspective* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006). Religious freedom for the *individual* had varied in extent among European nations for more than a century. The ECHR had the effect of bringing all member nations under one juridical "umbrella," legitimating such personal freedom where it was already established and pressing for change in nations where it was minimal.

¹⁵ Lasia Bloss, "European Law of Religion: Organizational and Institutional Analysis of National Systems and Their Implications for the Future European Integration Process" (New York: NYU School of Law, *Jean Monnet Working Paper 13/03*, 2003). This is among the many sources cited here that Dr. O. J. Stevens brought to my attention.

with 56 member states, as it has struggled to bring peace and security to the newly emerging states of Eastern Europe.¹⁶

As liberating as all this might seem at the level of *individual conscience*, however, the same ECHR also guarantees each member state the ultimate right to *grant or deny the status of “legal entity” to any religious body*.¹⁷ Thus legal entity status must be sought and granted in accordance with the laws of each country. The ECHR Court at Strasbourg, with some success, has attempted to require that legal status be granted in a fair and neutral process, without arbitrary delays or restrictions, without considering the preferences of the traditional state religions, and without any judgment about the religious doctrines of the applicant bodies. Yet the same jurisprudence permits a state to deny or restrict legal entity status wherever, in its judgement, the application for such status raises questions about public safety, order, health or morals.¹⁸

In Western Europe, generally speaking, the UK has been among the most liberal in granting legal entity status and France among the least liberal, with most other countries in between.¹⁹ Although the ideal of equal treatment is everywhere espoused rhetorically, *actual implementation* turns out to be quite complicated by a variety of competing traditional values in the various states, and more recently by the increasing assertiveness of Islam in many European countries.²⁰ Most of the

¹⁶ See the OSCE website: <http://www.osce.org> ; also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/osce#history> .

¹⁷ Silvio Ferrari, “New Religious Movements in Western Europe,” Milano: University of Milan, 23 October 2006, published by *ReligioScope* (www.religion.info).

¹⁸ W. Cole Durham Jr., “Re-Evaluating Foreign Evaluations of the 1997 Law on Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Organizations: The Perspective After Ten Years” (Provo, UT: BYU International Center for Law and Religion Studies, 16 February 2007), unpublished paper presented at a conference of the J. Reuben Clark Law Society.

¹⁹ Ferrari, “New Religious Movements . . .”

²⁰ Marco Ventura, “Equality in the Regulation of Religion,” in M. L. P. Loenen and J. E. Goldschmidt, eds., *Religious Pluralism and Human Rights in Europe: Where to Draw the Line?* (Antwerp/Oxford: Intersentia, 2007). The intertwining of religious and ethnic prejudice is another complicating factor.

former Soviet states in the east, meanwhile, have proved quite restrictive, especially after their traditional religious bodies began to re-establish the old ties with their governments and to push back against the initial successes enjoyed by Mormons and others after the Soviet collapse. Yet, even in those countries, the ECHR Court in Strasbourg has had some impact with a succession of rulings upholding access to legal entity status.²¹

In sum, there are at least three implications of the current jurisprudence governing religious association in most of Europe: 1) As important as are the principles of freedom of religion, or freedom of association, the *legal entity status* for any religion, so essential for even the most basic legal and social privileges, ultimately depends upon the laws and their interpretations in each nation; 2) therefore, there is considerable variation from one nation to the next in both the process and the obstacles involved in gaining legal entity status; and 3) each nation may retain a state Church or otherwise privilege traditional religious bodies over newer ones, and may continue to extract a religious tax from its citizens.

RELIGION IN EUROPE AS SEEN BY SOCIOLOGISTS AND PSYCHOLOGISTS

In most of Europe, all of this has led to a “two-tiered” (or even multi-tiered) system of religious registration and recognition, according to which the conventional religions in each nation are privileged not

See, e. g., Fact Sheet No. 34, “Religious Discrimination and Legal Protection in the European Union,” issued in October, 2007, jointly by the European Network Against Racism (ENAR), www.enar-eu.org, and the Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe (CEJI), www.ceji.org, both based in Brussels. ENAR is a network of some 600 European NGOs working to combat racial and religious discrimination throughout the European Union. The Fact Sheet concludes (22) that much remains to be done in establishing equality even in *individual* freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, to say nothing of *legal entity status* for religious organizations. Once again, I am grateful to Dr. O. James Stevens for calling my attention to these and many other documents referenced in this paper.

²¹ W. Cole Durham Jr., “Re-Evaluating Foreign Evaluations . . .”

only by tradition but also by cooperative – even organic – relationships with the government.²² These integrated relations between governments and the traditional religions had, of course, already existed for centuries, comprising what some sociologists have called “pillars,” by which social and civic life in Europe was carried on. Thus Catholic citizens had their births, schooling, employment, marriages, and funerals through institutions provided by the Catholic “pillar” and Protestants received the same through a Lutheran, Reformed, or other traditional “pillar.”²³ Where conventional religious “pillars” proved insufficiently inclusive, eventually secular pillars were created, such as a socialist, a liberal, or a union “pillar.” In this system, religious institutions had vital secular, civic functions, supported by public taxes, whether or not citizens were Churchgoers.

To be sure, my description of this process here is very superficial and, indeed, somewhat obsolete, for the religious “pillars” have eroded considerably in more recent years, partly because increasing numbers of citizens, especially immigrants, have been difficult to assimilate into one of the traditional religious pillars, and partly, perhaps, under the influence of changes encouraged by the spreading ECHR regimen in Europe. The necessary social services and amenities are increasingly available outside the religious “pillars,” so that religion is less salient as an organizational basis for society. At the same time, the more ancient spiritual functions do not seem to have been sought by the citizenry in any greater numbers, so Church attendance remains very low. Having been themselves secularized through years of integration with governments, the traditional Churches seem to have lost their *raison*

²² W. Cole Durham Jr., “Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief through Religious Association Laws,” Chapter 15 (321-405) in *Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief*, edited by Tore Lindholm, W. Cole Durham Jr., and Bahia Tahzib-Lie (Leyden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004).

²³ Karel Dobbelaere and Lillian Voyé, “From Pillar to Postmodernity: The Changing Situation in Belgium,” *Sociology of Religion* (formerly *Sociological Analysis*) 51 (Supplement 1990): S-1–13; Walter Van Beek, “Ethnization and Accommodation,” 121-24, and “Mormon Europeans or European Mormons,” 27.

d'être and their power to provide meaning in life.²⁴ Recognizing that “believing without belonging” leaves the actual functions of traditional Churches somewhat ambiguous, Professor Grace Davie has more recently suggested the term “vicarious religion” to refer to religious institutions in which few citizens seek either social or worship services, but still hold to certain supernatural beliefs and still feel loyal to their religious traditions. In this conceptualization, the traditional Churches continue to *represent* even the large number of *non-participants*; for the latter still expect the Church to be available for occasions of celebration, bereavement, or crisis, and to be supported by public funds, but on Sundays they prefer only to have their interests “represented” vicariously by the more devout few.²⁵

Yet the basic two-tiered structure among religious communities still remains, such that the newer religions are marginalized, stigmatized (*de facto* if not *de jure*), and subject in many places to special surveillance and restrictions. Mormons share a place on this lower tier of religious respectability, along with Jehovah’s Witnesses, Pentecostals, and even some of the more “scary” new sects (or “cults” as they are usually called in the U. S.), such as Scientology, Unification Church (or “Moonies”), The Family (formerly “Children of God”), and followers of various eastern gurus.²⁶ All such “cults” (including the LDS) remain at varying degrees of disadvantage whenever they are involved in any transactions requiring government approval, ranging from access to desirable parcels of land for Church buildings all the way to child custody disputes. Indeed, there remains in many countries an official wariness about all “sects”, a pejorative term commonly used in Europe to refer to any and all religious communities not part of the immediate post-Reformation world.²⁷ The rising Muslim tide in Europe might be seen as even more

²⁴ Van Beek, “Mormon Europeans or European Mormons,” 27-31.

²⁵ Grace Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁶ Van Beek, “Ethnization and Accommodation,” 124-28.

²⁷ A knowledgeable Church spokesman in the Europe Central Area office finds my characterization of the LDS plight here to be somewhat exaggerated or outdated, at least in the northwest part of the Continent.

ominous than the “sects,” but the latter have apparently gained no comparative legitimacy in the process.

In general, sociologists in the U. S., the U. K., and most of Europe, have found no scientific basis on which to privilege the beliefs of conventional Christians over those of so-called “sects” or “cults.” Accordingly, most social scientists have long abandoned this pejorative, preferring instead the more neutral term “new religious movements” (or NRMs).²⁸ Certain *psychologists*, however, with their more therapeutic proclivities, have been unwilling to abandon altogether the suspicion that some religious beliefs must be considered *ipso facto* symptoms of dubious mental health. Governments in France, Belgium, and francophone Switzerland, for example, have all sought the assistance of psychologists to help them identify “potentially harmful sects,” of which well over a hundred have been compiled into official lists, often including the LDS.²⁹ In France, the “Interministerial Monitoring Mission Against Sectarian Abuses” (French acronym MIVILUDES), established in 2002, and largely financed by the French government, has been somewhat influential as a “watchdog” organization regularly advocating various kinds of regulations against “sect” activities, not only in France but elsewhere.³⁰ More recently, a team of Belgian psychologists reviewed the applicable literature of psychology on “contested religious movements,” and basically found no reliable evidence that such movements cause any harm.³¹ Nevertheless, through a complicated rationale, they

²⁸ Eileen Barker, *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982; and *Sects, Cults, and New Religions* (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 2007).

²⁹ Willy Fautré, Alain Garay, and Yves Nidegger, “The Sect Issue in the European Francophone Sphere,” Chapter 26 (595-618) in Tore Lindholm et al., eds. *Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief*.

³⁰ This organization is successor to an earlier one (MILS = Interministerial Mission on Sects) established with a similar purpose. See information about both in *Wikipedia*: <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miviludes>

³¹ Note that in using the term “contested religious movements” (CRMs), these psychologists used a more neutral term than the usual government designation “sectes” (or “cults”), but not as neutral as the term “new religious movements” (NRMs) preferred by most sociologists, at least in the U. S. and Britain.

still concluded that it would be well for the Belgian government to consider “precautionary” policies to protect its citizens from potential “moral harassment” by CRMs.³²

The high cost of being Mormon, then, for LDS families and individuals, comes fundamentally from being relegated both constitutionally and culturally to this lower tier or margin of religious respectability.³³ Until this situation can be changed, which I believe is possible in future generations, membership in the LDS Church will continue to carry a cost, heavier in some countries than in others, but a cost nevertheless, with respect to marriage opportunities, family lives, friendships, careers, and many other life-chances. As I mentioned earlier, the number and impacts of these costs can scarcely be appreciated by Latter-day Saints in the United States, where membership and activity in a given religious community rarely have any implications for other aspects of a person’s life. For that reason, American Saints (unless they have served missions elsewhere) tend to hold the naïve idea that retaining one’s religious faith (or “testimony”) is simply a matter of keeping the divine commandments and maintaining Church activity. Brought up on pioneer stories about their European forebears, who sacrificed all for the sake of gathering to Zion, American Saints do not adequately

³² Vassilis Saroglou, Louis-Leon Christians, Coralie Buxant, and Stefania Casalfiore, *Mouvements Religieux Contestés: Psychologie, Droit et Politiques de Précaution* (Gent: Academia Press, 2005); see summary by the same authors : “Contested Religious Movements: Psychology, Law, and Policies of Precaution” (University of Louvain, Center for the Psychology of Religion and Faculty of Law, 2006). On the consequences of such marginalization for Belgian Mormons, in particular, even in quite recent years, see Wilfried Decoo, “Feeding the Fleeing Flock: Reflections on the Struggle to Retain Church Members in Europe,” *Dialogue* 29(1): 101-04 (Spring 1996).

³³ One German scholar considers this factor as one of the three most important reasons for the continuing difficulty in keeping a “typical” German ward going (the other two being emigration and internal dissension). See Jörg Dittberner, “One Hundred Eighteen Years of Attitude: The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Free and Hanseatic City of Bremen,” *Dialogue* 36(1):51-69 (Spring 2003).

appreciate the huge difference in the cost-benefit ratios faced by today's European Saints compared to those of the 19th century.

Precisely because they came out of humble origins and from countries with limited religious freedom, Mormon converts in Europe during most of that century could expect a net gain in life circumstances if they could emigrate to America - as thousands did, often with Church help.³⁴ This is not to gainsay any of the faithfulness or sacrifices of those early European Saints as they left loving friends and families for a new religion and a cruel and hazardous journey on sea and land. Yet they did have prospects, and their faith in those prospects was usually vindicated within a generation or two in the new land. LDS converts gathered, furthermore, to a new religious community in which their faith was regularly reinforced by a supportive network of friends and Church leaders. I am not unaware of cases in which immigrants to early Utah returned in disillusionment and bitterness to their homelands, but most of the transplanted Saints soon experienced a net improvement, materially and spiritually, over what they had left behind. For today's European converts, by contrast, though their situations would vary from one country to another, the cost of Church membership is likely to exceed the benefits, material and otherwise, for there is little to be gained by emigration, in most cases, even when it's possible; yet in the home country one's worldly prospects are more likely to be diminished than enhanced by membership in a stigmatized religion. Even in the spiritual part of the equation, while a convert might take

³⁴ As I read the consensus of historians about the social origins of 19th century Mormon converts from Europe, they would have been predominantly of the working class. The precise forms and degrees of religious freedom varied considerably in 19th-century Europe. Mormon missionaries had no trouble with public preaching and meetings when they arrived in the British Isles in 1837, but such was not permitted in Scandinavia until after 1850. For a useful summary of the changing relations between Church and state in 15 European countries across time, see "La Laïcité dans la Construction Européenne," published by La Ligue de l'Enseignement du Calvados at the University of Caen, in the year 2000. See www.fol14.asso.fr for access to the site for this organization. (Some expansion ["élargissement"] in religious rights apparently occurred in May, 2004, after this report was issued).

strength for awhile from a powerful personal conversion experience, there is usually not much spiritual support from family, friends, or large and thriving LDS congregations. Everything depends on one's own resources, insofar as these can be acquired through spiritual experiences and reinforced in the normally small LDS communities. Those European Saints who remain faithful and active today seem a tough breed indeed!

III. THE LDS RETENTION PROBLEM

There is recent evidence of some improvement in the retention of new converts in Europe, to which I will refer in the next section. First, however, it seems only realistic to acknowledge that European wards and branches are still struggling under the heavy burden of inactive members brought into the Church in recent decades - usually amounting to a majority of those on the membership rolls. I shall never forget the startling experience I had at a priesthood meeting in the Nottingham area in 1995, at which the entire business of the meeting was devoted to discussing which of the many inactive elders and high priests should be invited to apply for a cancellation of their Church membership! The dead weight of unconverted and disaffected members on Church rolls is another heavy cost to be borne by those who are still active - the more so in Europe than in America, for in Europe the member who drops out can seldom be brought back but is gone permanently, whereas inactive members in the U. S. more often circulate in and out of Church activity and can more often be reclaimed later in life.³⁵ No matter how it's measured, the attrition in both Europe and elsewhere has been discouraging: The national census data in some countries (in Europe and elsewhere) show that only *from a fourth to a half* as many citizens claim an LDS identification as appear on official LDS records. "Active" Church status, usually defined simply as attend-

³⁵ This observation about European Saints might be an overstatement, but most of my European informants concur with it as a generalization. For the more fluid situation in the U. S., see Tim B. Heaton, "Vital Statistics" in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992), Volume 4, 1525-27.

ing at least one Church meeting a month, remains at around a *fourth* of the members of record in most countries outside North America.³⁶

This situation can be understood as the *cumulative* consequence of thousands of unfavorable “cost-benefit analyses” by disaffected individuals, whose Church experiences have proved more stressful than gratifying. Of course, all new converts in all societies are likely to encounter stress as they transition into an LDS way of life. Some of the consequences of conversion, however, just in the normal daily experiences of the members, seem to exact a higher cost for European Saints than for their brothers and sisters in North America.³⁷ Here are just a few examples:

1) Much larger investments of time and energy are required simply for attendance at regular Sunday meetings, usually with travel over much longer distances, a burden greatly magnified with the additional meetings required for local ward and stake leaders (and, one might add, for seminary youth and teachers during the week).³⁸

2) Partly because of the time-consuming nature of LDS Church life, and partly because of a conservative LDS understanding of proper Sabbath observance, an active member in Europe is regularly forced to choose between Church activities and participation in recreational activities with his or her family, given that Sundays are the preferred and

³⁶ See reports from census data in Austria, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Chile, and Mexico: Rick Phillips, “Rethinking the International Expansion of Mormonism,” *Nova Religio* 10(1):52-68 (2006); and David C. Knowlton, “How Many Members Are There Really? Two Censuses and the Meaning of LDS Membership in Chile and Mexico,” *Dialogue* 38(2):53-78 (Summer 2005).

³⁷ Many examples have been recounted in the work of other scholars who have written on the LDS in Europe. See, e. g., articles by Decoo, Dittberner, and Van Beek cited earlier. I should concede that these generalizations are nevertheless being offered in the absence of systematic comparative data for European vs. North American members, which (if available) might show that I have exaggerated some of the differences, despite the reports cited here from European scholars.

³⁸ A similar situation obtains, of course, in some of the more remote regions of the U. S. and Canada, but not for the great majority of Church members in these countries.

usual days for family gatherings.³⁹ The families typically cannot understand the preoccupation of the convert with religion, and family relationships are often ruptured beyond repair, especially when the convert is young – for the youth in Europe are expected to remain longer under parental and family guidance than is common in the U. S. This strain in family relationships contributes to a common perception in Europe that Mormonism is just another “cult” stealing away the youth.

3) Like others in the “lower tier” of European religious legitimacy, the Latter-day Saints sometimes face legal discrimination (*de facto* if not *de jure*) in cases of divorce (where the religious “cult” participation of a spouse might even be cited as cause), in child custody cases, adoption applications, and sometimes even in access to employment. So far the Church itself has not been inclined to intervene in such cases on behalf of the aggrieved member, adding a touch of irony to this special cost of membership.

4) Tithes and offerings turn out to be a much larger proportion of disposable income for most European members than for Americans. Given the welfare state features of many European nations, the tax rates are already comparatively high, and contributions to the LDS Church are often not deductible as they are in the U. S.

5) Expectations for LDS members to participate in missionary work in various ways, though routine (if somewhat desultory) among U. S. members, are experienced as much more intrusive and objectionable invasions of privacy in most European societies. The pressure applied

³⁹ Since Sunday is also the preferred day in Europe for most activities of clubs, sports teams, and even volunteer civic organizations, an active LDS member is likely to be isolated as much from the local community as from the family itself. For an engaging and comprehensive historical review of the cultural varieties in Sunday Sabbatarian observances, see *Sunday: A History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Super Bowl* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), by BYU Professor Craig Harline, and the subsequent review and commentary of this book by Wilfried Decoo and others on the *Times and Seasons* blogsite. (www.timesandseasons.org/?p=3854). The influence of Puritanism on LDS conceptions of Sabbath uses is readily apparent from this study.

by succeeding waves of well-meaning American missionaries for local Saints to arrange visits and meetings with their friends simply increases the stress associated with their Church membership.

These conditions are not, of course, unique to LDS members in Europe, though they are almost certainly much greater *in degree* than for Church members in America. As members who are unable to endure unfavorable cost-benefit ratios drop out of activity, they produce also an *additional cost of membership for those who stay* and must therefore pick up the slack at the increased jeopardy of their own respective cost-benefit assessments. A vicious circle is thus set in motion. Especially in places where the men cannot be retained long enough to obtain the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Church cannot form new wards and stakes (or is forced to collapse and combine them).⁴⁰

Great as these costs to individual members might be, today's poor retention rates are attributable *less* to the struggles of *converted* members than decades of a proselyting methodology that emphasized numerical increases *in baptisms* over *enduring conversions* of new members who could add to the human and religious capital of the branches, wards, and stakes of the Church.⁴¹ Baptisms in the recent past have occurred disproportionately from among those with the least to lose, who are therefore the most readily “available” in a social sense – the young, the single, the modestly educated, non-European immigrants, and the lonely.⁴² The high costs of these earlier decades of inadequate convert

⁴⁰ Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, “Membership Growth, Church Activity, and Missionary Recruitment,” *Dialogue* 29 (1): 33-57 (Spring 1996), especially 45-52.

⁴¹ Departures still occur also from a continuing urge on the parts of faithful LDS Europeans to emigrate to locations where the Church is stronger. Though European emigration in total is not large, it can severely weaken an already struggling European ward or branch. See Dittberner, “One Hundred Eighteen Years,” 63-65, and Van Beek, “Mormon Europeans or European Mormons,” 19.

⁴² See Gary C. Lobb, “Mormon Membership in Europe among People of Color,” cited earlier. In the Europe Central Area, at least, according to a spokesman there, two-thirds of those joining the Church during 2006 had been baptized in the country of their birth, so a third had not been. There is

preparation and premature baptisms are evident not only from the low retention rates mentioned above, but also from the well-informed accounts by devout and active LDS scholars in England, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, among other countries.⁴³ Their work describes some of the serious – and often tragic – setbacks to Church growth and retention that have followed from large-scale baptisms of essentially unconverted new members in previous years. Even the latest program outlined in the new missionary manual envisions setting a date for the baptism of an investigator as early as a month or less after the first missionary contact.⁴⁴ To be sure, the manual emphasizes the need for investigators to understand at least the four basic lessons before they are baptized, but there is no requirement that they demonstrate an *enduring change*, prior to baptism, either in behavior or in commitment to Church activity.⁴⁵ Large wards, with plenty of

no separate record of converts from the second generation of immigrant families, which could constitute many of those in the first proportion. Immigrant converts have tended to come from southern Europe and from Africa, and have proved both highly mobile and difficult to assimilate. They are also stigmatized by the local Europeans, so their conversions do not help to make LDS congregations seem any more “normal” by local standards.

⁴³ See, e. g., the following articles in *Dialogue* 29:1 (Spring 1996), some already cited: Decoo, “Feeding the Fleeing Flock;” Van Beek, “Ethnization and Accommodation;” Marjorie Newton, “Towards 2000: Mormonism in Australia,” 193-206; Ian G. Barber and David Gilgen, “Between Covenant and Treaty: The LDS Future in New Zealand, 207-222; and Jiro Numano, “Mormonism in Modern Japan”, 223-235. See also more recent articles by some of the same authors: Van Beek, “European Mormons or Mormon Europeans;” and Jiro Numano, “Perseverance Amid Paradox: The Struggle of the LDS Church in Japan Today,” *Dialogue* 39(4):138-55 (Winter 2006); plus Lobb, “Mormon Membership Trends in Europe.”

⁴⁴ Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Preach My Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Intellectual Reserve, 2004).

⁴⁵ David G. Stewart, Jr., *Law of the Harvest: Practical Principles of Effective Missionary Work* See also this author’s extensive website, www.cumorah.com, where he has compiled an enormous collection of data on LDS Church growth, retention, and many other matters. Wilfried Decoo (personal communication, Dec. 2, 2007) has come to believe that readiness for baptism is not a function merely of the length of time since the first contact with mis-

leaders, home teachers, and visiting teachers, can encircle, sustain, and fellowship new converts, but especially in the struggling smaller wards and branches of Europe, the unconverted disproportionately tax the time and resources of the local members and leaders. For this reason, bishops and other local leaders will sometimes resist certain missionary baptisms (understandably so).⁴⁶

IV. BRIGHTER PROSPECTS ON THE EUROPEAN HORIZON

More recent data suggest that future attrition will no longer come so much from poor retention of new converts as from other factors over which the Church has but little control, such as 1) a reduced birth-rate among LDS parents (as among other Europeans); 2) continued emigration to the western hemisphere; and 3) a reduction in the U. S. military presence (especially in Germany), which has recently thinned out the numbers of both American and local Saints employed on military bases. There is some evidence, however, of improved retention of converts: In the Europe Central Area during 2006, the proportion of new converts who had attended Church meetings at least once in the previous month was 69% ~ higher than in many American wards.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the proportion of 20-year-old men holding the Melchizedek Priesthood rose from 31% in 2001 to 38% in 2006. Even more encouraging is the evidence of retention among the European youth in particular: From 2001 to 2006, the proportion of 20-year-old men who had served (or were then serving) missions increased from 13% to

sionaries but rather varies from one investigator to another. It seems important to Decoo that the individual investigator should be *self-motivated enough to ask* for baptism, rather than responding mainly to prodding from the missionaries.

⁴⁶ Interestingly enough, some knowledgeable critics who have read this paper have found my assessment here unduly pessimistic and somewhat outdated, while others have found it quite appropriate.

⁴⁷ Similar activity figures for LDS converts in Romania were reported to me by George K. Jarvis, who was mission president there during 1999-2002 (personal communication, January 14, 2008).

20%.⁴⁸ This increased success among youth and young single adults bodes well for producing a multi-generational membership in Europe.

Yet growth remains slow among the European LDS membership. The marginal status and image of the Church, and the pervasive secularized culture, still contribute to the high and varied costs of being an active LDS member in Europe today. Readers can perhaps recognize how such conditions can be costly in certain ways for the Church *as an institution* without appreciating how those costs are also translated to the level of the *individual* member. Institutional attrition, slow growth, and marginal status in a secularized society all bespeak a greater or lesser degree of *stigmatization* of the Church in European society, at least as *symptoms*, if not as causes. By extension, individual members share in this stigmatization, just as children do in stigmatized families.⁴⁹ Of course, many costs specific to the individual member also occur, as indicated above. Ultimately, individual costs cannot easily be distinguished from institutional costs, since the latter so often amplify the former.

What is occurring in Europe that might enhance the appeal, and/or help to reduce the costs of LDS membership, so that more members can be attracted and retained? Where can we see indications of the future “great days of gathering” envisioned by Elder Holland and others? I will offer three considerations that might justify such optimistic predictions. The *first* draws on contemporary sociological theory to identify some cultural and political changes in Europe that have the potential to increase the appeal of the LDS religion among some segments of the population. *Next* will be a glimpse at the promising international efforts so far by LDS professionals and public affairs mis-

⁴⁸ These data from the Europe Central Area were graciously provided me by an Area office spokesman.

⁴⁹ Any doubt about this extension of *institutional* stigmatization to the *individual* should be resolved by a study of the 2007-08 presidential campaign of Mitt Romney in the United States, which was constantly on the defensive from the flurry of misperceptions and canards about the LDS Church, stirred up by Romney’s detractors in this campaign (thereby giving LDS Americans a taste of what European members encounter with regularity!).

sionaries to improve the legal climate in each country for the operation of the Church and the enhancement of its public image. Then *finally*, in a separate section, I will consider some prospects and processes that might make the LDS Church and religion seem a little less “American” and a little more universal.⁵⁰

NEW THEORETICAL OUTLOOKS ON SECULARIZATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

As indicated earlier in this paper, many scholars, both LDS and others, have discussed the secularization process that has occurred in Europe and the implications of that process for the future of religion and religious belief. The process has been sufficiently complicated, and so variable from one European society to another that many different implications can be pointed out with some evidence for each – and some of them mutually contradictory. Indeed, the very definition of secularization, and the identification of its key indicators, remain matters of scholarly debate.⁵¹ At least one component generally considered part of the secularization process, however, is “detraditionalization” – the decline in the power of traditional norms and institutions to inform personal identity, choices, and behavior.⁵² As individuals are thus thrown back on their own intellectual and emotional resources, they will not all respond in the same way. Accordingly, despite what conven-

⁵⁰ In working on the second and third of these topics, I benefitted greatly from consultations with Elder Bruce C. Hafen, President of the Europe Central Area, and with Elder Marlin K. Jensen, formerly president of the same area and currently Church Historian, both of whom generously entertained a number of probing questions from me during the summer of 2007 and responded expansively. However, I alone am responsible, of course, for the accuracy of my understanding and interpretation of the information they provided.

⁵¹ See, for example, O. Tschannen, “The Secularization Paradigm: A Systematization,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30(4): 395-415 (Winter 1991).

⁵² P. Heelas, L. Woodhead, B. Seel, B. Szerszynski, and K. Tusting, eds., *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). I see “detraditionalization” as the equivalent, on the individual level, of “desacralization” on the institutional level, as defined by Stark and Finke (*Acts of Faith*, 200-201).

tional “secularization” theories have been predicting, not all “detraditionalized” individuals will necessarily turn to strictly rational, pragmatic, and materialistic epistemologies in their search for meaning. Some will remain open to spiritual understandings and interpretations of their existence and destinies. To be sure, terms like “spiritual” also can have many different meanings. Dutch sociologists Houtman and Aupers propose that in the “detraditionalized” context of modern Europe, we are seeing the rise of a “post-Christian spirituality,” based on a quest to “re-establish . . . contact with the divine self . . . to reconnect to a sacred realm that holistically connects ‘everything’ and thus to overcome one’s state of alienation” (307).⁵³

This is, they acknowledge, a kind of “romanticist conception of the self,” which “lays central stress on unseen, even sacred forces that dwell within the person, forces that give life and relationships their significance.”⁵⁴ Unlike traditional Christianity, which sees the divine as primarily transcendent, post-Christian spirituality sees the divine as essentially immanent; and it also rejects the premise of secular rationalism that if “truth” exists it can be discovered only by rational human faculties. Thus post-Christian spirituality is epistemologically a “third way” of *gnosis* – “rejecting both [traditional] religious faith and scientific reason as vehicles of truth”.⁵⁵ Importance is placed on trust in one’s “inner voice” or intuition. Or, in the words of Hanegraff, “truth can only be found by personal, inner revelation, insight, or ‘enlightenment’ . . . in contrast with . . . *reason* or *faith*. . . . This ‘inner knowing’ cannot be transmitted by discursive language [as is rational knowledge] . . . (n)or

⁵³ Dick Houtman and Stef Aupers, “The Spiritual Turn and the Decline of Tradition: The Spread of Post-Christian Spirituality in 14 Western Countries, 1981–2000.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46(3): 305-320 (September 2007).

⁵⁴ K. J. Gergen, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 19, as quoted by Houtman and Aupers.

⁵⁵ Much of this paragraph is either directly quoted or slightly rephrased from Houtman and Aupers, “The Spiritual Turn . . .,” 307. These paragraphs only sample the Houtman and Aupers explication of Post-Christian spirituality. Readers should consult the entire theoretical description which they offer (306-09) to appreciate their argument fully.

can it be the subject of *faith* . . . (for) there is, in the last resort, no other authority than personal, inner experience."⁵⁶ This description of the "post-Christian" mindset raises at least two derivative questions: (1) In the modern world, is there really a sizeable population embracing such a Gnostic epistemology? (2) Is the LDS gospel likely to appeal to such people?

In response to the first question, Houtman and Aupers draw upon the World Values Survey for 14 Western countries (1981-2000) with a careful sample of more than 60,000 cases. By a complicated statistical process of cross-classifying survey respondents according to their answers on five questions, the authors identified a sub-sample that could be considered neither traditionally Christian nor rationally secularist in orientation. Between 15% and 40% of this sub sample believes in life after death and in a life force or spirit, rejects atheism, and yet has but little confidence in traditional Churches and denominations to meet people's spiritual needs.⁵⁷ It is this population, neither traditionally religious nor secular, that the authors consider "detraditionalized" and "post-Christian." These people have not rejected religion *per se* but have relocated the sacred from religious institutions to an immanent spiritual force residing deep within oneself. The authors find, furthermore, that this spiritual orientation has actually been spreading in recent decades, particularly among the younger and better educated, and most notably among the inhabitants of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Sweden.⁵⁸

At first glance, this post-Christian segment of the population in Europe might not seem a very promising "market niche" in which Mormonism would have any appeal. The LDS Church, after all, makes

⁵⁶ W. J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (Leiden, Brill: 1995, 519), as quoted in Houtman and Aupers (italics in the original).

⁵⁷ Houtman and Aupers, "Spiritual Turn," 310-313.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* 313-316. Though this "post-Christian" orientation is sometimes subsumed under "New Age" spirituality, the authors also point out that the former has a more coherent, socialized, and less atomized quality than the fragmented variety of New Age thinking in general (306-07, 316-17).

claims about objective, transcendent truths which are outside the individual and available for individuals to discover for themselves through the promptings of the Holy Spirit. That does not seem quite like relying on the immanent divinity within oneself for discovering one's own path to truth and meaning. On the other hand, Mormonism has always encouraged a certain dependence on "personal revelation" in seeking the divine will, and this ideal has co-existed in some tension with a methodology of linear, deductive apologetics in quest of universal truths.⁵⁹ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, LDS preaching, proselyting, and pulpit discourse relied heavily on rationalistic Biblical arguments. Missionaries not only used such an approach in open public meetings and in the private homes of potential converts, but they distributed thousands of pamphlets or "tracts" based on such propositional arguments. In more recent decades, however, LDS preaching and proselyting have increasingly emphasized feelings over reason as the means of validating the truth-claims of the Church.⁶⁰ Moroni 10:4-5 in the Book of Mormon is understood primarily as a call for members and investigators to rely on the spiritual promptings that they feel when they pray for confirmation of the authenticity of LDS teachings and of the Book of Mormon in particular.

Mormons, of course, understand the promptings of the Holy Spirit to come from outside the individual, but there is no obvious distinction between internal and external origins of feelings in such matters. Both missionaries and their investigators are taught that "(i)n answer to our prayers, the Holy Ghost will teach us truth through our

⁵⁹ This is one of the themes prominent in Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), articulated especially in Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Elsewhere I have pointed to evidence that the LDS membership in recent decades has found greater salience in subjective, affective evidence (feelings), with less reliance on rationalistic discourse. See my *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (University of Illinois Press, 1994), 146; and my "Feelings, Faith, and Folkways: A Personal Essay on Mormon Popular Culture," 23-38 in Robert A. Rees, ed., *"Proving Contraries": A Collection of Writings in Honor of Eugene England* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).

feelings and thoughts. (These feelings) are powerful, but they are also usually gentle and quiet.”⁶¹ Yet Mormonism does not hold that *all* spiritual experiences come externally from the Holy Spirit: Some originate from a person’s *own inner promptings* called the “light of Christ.” This is an impersonal force that “giveth light to every man that cometh into the world” (D & C 84:46), “which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space . . .” (D & C 88:12). As Elder Packer explains, “A teacher of gospel truths is not planting something foreign or even new . . . Rather, the missionary or teacher is making contact with the Spirit of Christ *already there*. The gospel will have a familiar ‘ring’ to [an open-minded investigator].”⁶²

So we have the discovery of a “detraditionalized” population in modern secular Europe, dubbed “post-Christian” by Houtman and Aupers, because of its belief in an immanent divine power deep within each individual; and then we have a description in LDS scriptures of a divine light given at birth to every individual. Are these essentially the same powers or attributes? Such is, of course, a theological question, not an empirical one. What is important for purposes of the present discussion, however, is *not* whether either or both of these immanent qualities can be *empirically* demonstrated, but rather whether there is a segment of the modern post-Christian population that believes in such attributes *and might be attracted* precisely by the *non-traditional* nature of Mormonism. If so, such people will seek to authenticate LDS claims by resort to their own internal promptings, whatever these are called, and they will find increasing validation for their efforts as they associate with members of the LDS religious community, who are taught to recognize the “light of Christ” and the Holy Spirit in personal revelation. Such personal, subjective conversions, however, will not prove durable without some eventual support from the more rationalistic tradition in LDS discourse and teaching.

Houtman and Aupers reject the claim by such scholars as Steve Bruce that the radical individualism, fragmentation, and diffuseness of

⁶¹ Preach My Gospel: A Guide to Missionary Service (cited earlier), 39.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 90. Italics added.

“New Age” spiritual believers militates against their socialization into any kind of community. At the very least, such participants in new spiritual *milieus* will socialize each other in the quest for personal authenticity.⁶³ In other words, post-Christian spiritual experiences can be “socially constructed because people are socialized into a spiritual discourse about the self” – which, in Mormon parlance, might be rephrased as discourse about “gaining a personal testimony.”⁶⁴ Ultimately, only time will tell whether there is a segment of post-Christian believers that will constitute a promising niche for Mormon proselyting in the emerging religious market of modern Europe. It need not be a very large niche to be important. After all, the 19th-century niche where Mormonism took root in England, Scandinavia, and Germany was not large in absolute terms, but it produced half of the entire LDS membership by 1880.

CHANGING PROSPECTS FOR THE LDS POSITION IN EUROPE

Even if the secularization of Europe has produced a “detraditionalized,” post-Christian niche holding some promise for the “marketing” of the LDS faith, there remains the serious question of whether the Church as a *corporate institution* is in a position to appeal to that niche. It is apparent from the political and cultural conditions described earlier in this essay that the LDS Church retains a public image which places it at a serious disadvantage in the European religious marketplace. There is, of course, more than one way to portray the position of the LDS Church in the world. However, the context I find most useful and revealing is one that I have borrowed from contemporary American sociologists and economists who study religion.⁶⁵ As it has evolved over the past two decades, it has come to be called the “reli-

⁶³ Houtman and Aupers, “Spiritual Turn,” 316-17.

⁶⁴ I recognize the conjectural nature of the parallel that I am drawing here between LDS and “post-Christian” spiritual orientations. Ultimately there is no way to determine the validity of such a parallel. I can only leave it to the reader to judge whether or not I have reached too far.

⁶⁵ See the earlier application in my “Mormonism in the Twenty-First Century: Marketing for Miracles,” *Dialogue* 29(1):236-49 (Spring 1996).

gious economy model.”⁶⁶ This model postulates that the *potential* for a “religious market” is universal, since every society, implicitly or explicitly, holds out to its members the promise of happiness or fulfillment or success (however defined), contingent upon conformity to that society’s basic values and norms. Yet, it is inherent in the nature of human experience that no society “delivers” adequately on its promises to all or even most of its members.

It is from this gap between the ideal and the real that the market arises for the *other-worldly* products of religion (and a number of other markets, as well). The *main* products of the religion market are *supernatural*; the “goods” in this market are covenants or promises – certificates, as it were – available in this world but *redeemable* only in the *next* world. Because this redemption of “certificates” takes place at some future time, it must be accepted on faith in claims that are “unfalsifiable” – cannot be either proven or disproven – in the here and now. This means that each individual must make periodic cost-benefit assessments, the outcome of which will determine whether s/he continues to prefer products from the same religious firm or not.⁶⁷ Because this process for each individual is rationalistic, this theory is akin to so-called “rational choice” theories in contemporary economics, sociology, and political science.

In this religious economy model, the LDS Church is likened to an industrial and commercial corporation, with the corporate headquarters in Salt Lake City.⁶⁸ Like other corporations, the Church not only designs and produces certain products but also directs a worldwide marketing program intended to recruit a clientele of long-term custom-

⁶⁶ The fullest and most recent presentation of this model will be found in Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith*, cited earlier, Chapters 2, 4, and 5.

⁶⁷ This not so different from what people do in life more generally. We all put our faith in some unfalsifiable promises about future happiness or prosperity even in this world.

⁶⁸ Whether one takes this conceptualization literally or only analogically will probably depend on one’s appreciation, or lack of it, for the world of commerce!

ers who will continue to prefer its products over those of its competitors. Such a conceptualization encourages us to analyze the nature and appeal of the Church's products in various *niches* of the world market, and to see how the "packaging" of its products might need to be different for these different niches. Our attention is drawn also to the nature of the competition: In the U. S., we are used to seeing competition from other religious "firms" or organizations that are also in the business of marketing other-worldly products. Europe is different, however, according to the conventional wisdom, for the religious market is limited to that marginal fringe or lower tier of so-called "sects." Otherwise, there is no real competition in a highly secularized culture of moribund religious traditions sustained by the state.

This situation in Europe presents a challenge not only to the LDS Church but also to the religious economy paradigm that has emerged recently in the American sociology of religion.⁶⁹ According to this new paradigm, secularization is inherently a *self-limiting* process, for no matter how much comfort and security societies can deliver in this world, *fulfillment and contentment* must ultimately come from an *other-worldly* system of meaning that is not susceptible to the periodic setbacks, disappointments, and disasters that have always punctuated human experience. Theoretically, the more secular a society becomes, and the longer it has been undergoing secularization, the greater the proportion of its population that should be in the market for other-worldly meaning systems.⁷⁰ Of course, these other-worldly products *need* not, and often *do* not, come only from organized religion, which is in competition also with astrology, magic, and many other claimants to an ultimate reality.

⁶⁹ Defined as a "new paradigm" by R. Stephen Warner, "Work in Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1044-93.

⁷⁰ To the extent that this theory implies the rise and fall of secularized cultures, it parallels, interestingly enough, the cyclical theory underlying the historiography of the Bible and of the Book of Mormon.

The proponents of this new paradigm have long recognized that for the religious market to operate in this idealized way, it must be mostly free of constitutional constraints. *Regulation* of the religious market by state agencies or public interest groups can be expected to have the same effect as regulation has in other markets. Constraining market access for certain religious communities, or relegating them to a marginal niche, will not only place artificial barriers on their growth and development, but it will also tend to undermine the integrity even of the favored religious traditions, leaving them lazy and flabby and unable to compete if and when regulations of the market eventually erode in favor of real competition. Furthermore, when market constraints are finally removed, brand new religious firms can be expected to spring up, especially those of an unconventional or "fringe" kind. The general effect will be to increase the *total volume* of "customers" in the religious market as a whole, just as in any other market, according to "supply-side" economists. Certainly this has been the case in the recent history of religion in Latin America. The short-term and long-term consequences of market regulation, then, can be summed up in the following five propositions:⁷¹

1. If government regulation of religious markets suppresses competition, the authorized religious groups will make little effort to attract rank-and-file support or to meet religious "demand."
2. Moreover, the authorized Churches will tend to be controlled and staffed by careerists, who are often quite lacking in religious motivation.
3. The net result will be widespread public religious alienation and apathy.
4. In addition, lacking effective religious socialization and congregational support, religious beliefs will become tentative, vague, and somewhat eclectic.

⁷¹ Quoted directly from Introvigne and Stark, "Religious Competition and Revival in Italy," 2 (cited at the beginning of this paper).

5. However, deregulation will (at least eventually) produce a religious revival. As religious organizations begin to compete for public support, participation in organized faiths will rise, and religious beliefs will become more clearly defined and widely held.

One implication of that fifth proposition is that if and when conventional religious organizations revive and become more aggressive in the market, the newer, unconventional religions will be harder to sustain.⁷² Because the religious market in the U.S. has always had plenty of active conventional religions, the unconventional ones, such as the Mormons, have found it difficult to compete without becoming more “conventional,” as they did during the 20th century. In Europe, by contrast, since the conventional religions remain weak, the unconventional ones are actually more prevalent and noticeable than in the U. S. – or at least they seem so, given the amount of official animosity and “anti-cult” activity in Europe. In this difficult market, Mormonism will have to compete with many other unconventional or marginal religions, but its prospects for an increased market share against other religions will be directly tied the success of lawyers, public affairs experts, and scholars in combating the defamation and fear-mongering generated by the political establishments in much of Europe.

To be sure, this new paradigm has had its adherents and its critics, both in the U.S. and in Europe.⁷³ Its European critics, in particular, have pointed out that it has been derived mainly from the American historical experience and ideologies, with reference particularly to the market metaphor and to the notion of secularization as inherently self-limiting. Furthermore, although unconventional or “fringy” new religions in Europe might be numerous, their combined

⁷² Introvigne and Stark, “Religious Competition,” 8.

⁷³ Critics have most notably included Steve Bruce from the UK, Karel Dobelaere from Belgium, and Frank Lechner, writing on the Netherlands. Stark offered a rather stern rebuttal to these critics in his “Secularization, R. I. P.,” *Sociology of Religion* 60:249-73 (1999), updated as Chapter Three in Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, cited earlier.

membership remains very small. Much of the argument between American proponents and European opponents of this theory has to do with what counts as data or evidence, and with how “secular” Europeans really are as *individuals*. Given the general social, political, and ideological climate prevailing in most of Europe today, it might be difficult to see a large potential market for the products offered by the LDS “firm,” or by any other religion that demands costly investments of time, energy, wealth, and self-discipline in exchange for covenants and promises to be redeemed in the next world. Of course, only time can tell about the long-term efficacy of *any* investments and commitments – whether made for rewards in this world or for rewards in the next. The various supposed “guarantees” of ultimate security and happiness in *this* world are scarcely more reliable than the promises of ultimate salvation in the next. Both kinds of rewards are “products” that must be “sold” to more or less willing consumers, who accept them on faith in the future.

So what evidence have we that government regulation of religion is holding back a demand for other-worldly products that might be building up in Europe, either despite or because of the prevailing secular environment? One indication comes from a 2007 article in the *Wall Street Journal* by a Stockholm-based journalist, who finds various unexpected outbreaks of religious sentiment and “upstart Churches” in Sweden and other supposedly “secular” countries, precisely for the reasons postulated in the new paradigm outlined above.⁷⁴ Introvigne and Stark too offer a variety of evidence from various European countries to claim an inverse relation between religious participation and government regulation in any given society. Their showcase example, though, is Italy.⁷⁵ After 1947, all religions in Italy were supposedly equal before

⁷⁴ Andrew Higgins, “In Europe, God Is (not) Dead.” *Wall Street Journal*, July 14, 2007, A-1. Indeed, Higgins explicitly quotes Stark and others. This article appeared just after I had finished the original draft of the present paper. I am grateful to Dr. Hafen for bringing it to my attention.

⁷⁵ Introvigne and Stark, “Religious Competition and Revival in Italy . . .,” cited earlier. Stark has previously offered various recent examples, from his own work and from that of other scholars, to argue that the total religious activity in a given society is inversely related to the extent and severity of gov-

the law, but a series of Christian Democrat governments had always shown favoritism to the dominant Catholic religion. After Vatican Council II, however, and especially after the erosion of Christian Democrat political dominance in the 1980s and 1990s, the government entered into a series of new *concordats* with various religious communities, starting with the Vatican in 1984. Since then, Catholic priests have no longer drawn their salaries from the state.

However, the public still pays an amount of 0.8% of their total tax for purposes designated by law as “humanitarian or religious.” Taxpayers may direct their respective portions to the religious communities of their choice, which *need not be their own* religious communities; or they may opt to leave the allocation to the discretion of the government for a “general humanitarian” purpose. Baptists, among others, have declined to accept their designated portion of the allocation. What’s most interesting about this process is that it sets up an *annual competition* among the several religious communities, complete with professional ad campaigns, to attract these designated taxes from any and all of the tax payers without regard to what their actual Church memberships might be. Given that 89% of the Italian population claims to be “religious” (though only 40% are involved Church members), the designated Church tax has been going disproportionately to *non-Catholic* denominations.⁷⁶

This semi-deregulation process in Italy has opened up much more space for new Evangelical and Pentecostal groups, as well as for a growing number of so-called “para-Churches” (e. g. Campus Crusade) and for totally new religious movements (NRMs), which in Italy do not face a significant “anti-cult” campaign as in France or Belgium. So far, these non-Catholic bodies remain small, though by 2001 there were 120 independent Evangelical or Pentecostal groups and some 350 unconventional new religious movements. A major reason that the

ernment regulation. See Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith* (cited above), Chapter 9. Some of those examples are cited again in this essay on Italy.

⁷⁶ Introvigne and Stark, “Religious Competition,” 5-10. The figures on religious commitment come from the 1999 European Values Survey.

Protestants and NRMs are not growing faster is because of increased competition from a resurgent Catholicism, which itself is undergoing a certain amount of *internal* competition from segments such as *Opus Dei* and the Catholic Charismatic movement. Those claiming to be "active" Catholics rose from 33% in 1981 to 38% in 1999. In other words, deregulation has not only encouraged the rise and development of various competing religions, but Italy has actually become *even more Catholic* as a result, supporting the claim of Stark and others that deregulation brings an increase in the *total* amount of religious activity, not just in the number of new religions.⁷⁷

Finally, survey data show a general increase among Italians, across roughly two decades (1981 – 1999), in religious belief and participation: Those believing in life after death increased from 44% of the population to 59%; those believing in hell rose from 33% to 49%; those claiming to pray with some regularity went from 71% to 79%; and weekly Church attendance from 32% to 40%. Interestingly enough, these figures for the general population were replicated, for the most part, among those between 18 and 29 years of age (though with somewhat smaller figures). The authors go on to cite several other recent studies by scholars in Italy which have also shown a generally upward thrust in religiosity among Italians.⁷⁸ Nor is Italy unique in such trends. The Bertelsmann Foundation, a non-profit research firm doing periodic surveys in Europe, recently found that most Germans and Swiss, for example, claim to be "religious," and that more than a fifth of respondents in each of those countries actually claimed "deep religious convictions." These generalizations are qualified importantly by noting that such claims come disproportionately from women, youth, and Roman Catholics, and that "religious convictions" don't necessarily mean regular Church attendance or *traditional* convictions. Yet, neither do such findings bespeak a shrinking religious market in Europe.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Introvigne and Stark, "Religious Competition," 10-13.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* page 13.

⁷⁹ See www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de, especially the *Religion and Society* link. Some results from this foundation's 2007 *Religion Monitor* survey of some

Let me be clear about the contentions of this essay so far: I am not claiming to have demonstrated (1) that secularization (however defined) has reached its limits in Europe and is now in decline; or (2) that deregulation of the religious market in Europe has been rolled back enough to permit a major religious resurgence there; or (3) that a new and extensive “post-Christian” religious consciousness has arisen in Europe that will provide a fertile niche for rapid LDS growth. These three propositions would all require far more empirical evidence than I can adduce here. They are also developments that could occur independently of each other without any necessary causal relationships among them. Furthermore, even to the extent that they are occurring, they might be *necessary* conditions, but would not be *sufficient* conditions, for a new “second harvest” of the Church in Europe. Nevertheless, if they are considered in light of the general theoretical framework proposed here, they do seem to offer at least the prospects for a brighter Mormon future in Europe. But much remains yet to be done.

LDS EFFORTS TO REDUCE MARKET REGULATIONS IN EUROPE

It is not well known among the American Saints, though it might be better known elsewhere, that the LDS Church itself has been actively involved in political, legal, and diplomatic efforts to reduce restraints on the religious market all over Europe. This is not a new development, for the Church has had an effective international diplomatic program for decades. One need only recall the work of David M. Kennedy, of the international research center at BYU that bears his name, who was appointed by President Kimball in 1974 as a special envoy from the First Presidency to various governments, a post that he occupied until 1990.⁸⁰ Among his many accomplishments was gaining

21,000 European respondents are reported in WorldWide Religions News (WWRN) for 17 December 2007. See <http://wwrn.org/article.php?idd=27206>. I am grateful to Dr. O. James Stevens for calling these sources to my attention.

⁸⁰ See Kennedy's biography by Martin B. Hickman, *David Matthew Kennedy: Banker, Statesman, Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), especially

access for the Church and its members in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe to certain new opportunities, including the building of the temple in Freiberg, then East Germany (GDR), in 1985.⁸¹

More recently, the International Center for Law and Religion Studies (ICLRS) has been established at the J. Reuben Clark School of Law at BYU, directed by Dr. W. Cole Durham Jr. This Center describes its mission as working “with scholars, government leaders, nongovernmental groups, and religious organizations from a variety of countries and faith traditions, to promote religious liberty and study the relations between governments and religious organizations.”⁸² The work of this center is supplemented by a few skilled senior couples serving special missions and based in certain strategic locations such as Brussels and Geneva. Led by the globe-trotting Dr. Durham, this entire effort is devoted to reducing formal restrictions on religious activity and associations of all kinds, not just on the LDS, and improving the image of the Church and its members among the general public in every country. To use the language of the religious economy model again, all such efforts are aimed at *reducing the costs of membership* by improving the public image and legal status of the Church in the various countries.

Although based at BYU, the work of this International Center is multi-faceted and worldwide. It includes active participation in numerous conferences on religious regulation and freedom; cooperative projects with other centers having similar missions, such as CESNUR (Center for the Study of New Religions) based in Turin, and the Center for Human Rights at the University of Oslo; communications and ne-

Chapter 19. Kennedy had been U. S. Secretary of the Treasury and Ambassador at Large under President Nixon.

⁸¹ It must be emphasized that both President Henry J. Burkhardt of the Dresden Mission, and President Thomas S. Monson of the First Presidency, were also important players in the drama that eventuated in the construction of this temple. See articles by Raymond M. Kuehne, “The Freiberg Temple: An Unexpected Legacy of a Communist State and a Faithful People,” *Dialogue* 37(2):95-131 (Summer 2004); and “How Missionaries Entered East Germany: The 1988 Monson-Honecker Meeting,” *Dialogue* 39(4):107-37 (Winter 2006).

⁸² See statement on this Center’s website at www.iclrs.org.

gotiations with various governments, including occasional filings of *amicus* briefs, over issues such as legal status and privileges for various religious communities; and teaching courses in various universities and law schools on all such matters. For example, in 2007 Dr. Durham worked jointly with a colleague at the University of Oslo to prepare academic materials for a graduate course in religious freedom and comparative constitutional law – to be taught in Indonesia! Durham also spent a month teaching a course on similar topics at the Central European University in Budapest. At BYU itself, there is an ongoing program of summer fellowships to provide students with expertise in these legal and constitutional issues, after which they are stationed as “interns” at various locations to gain practical experience along with their academic training.

The periodic ICLRS symposia at BYU for the past dozen years have been especially impressive, for they have cumulatively involved hundreds of scholars and government ministers of religious affairs, among others, out of nearly every country imaginable from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe (to speak alphabetically, not geographically)! China, Russia, and Eastern Europe have been especially strongly represented; no doubt a deliberate strategy in the Center’s selection process. Among the participants in these symposia have been the Austrian justice of the European Court on Human Rights; the head of Belgium’s “Advisory Centre on Harmful Sectarian Organizations;” the chief justice of the Norwegian Supreme Court; various law professors; and several sociologists, including some well known to me, such as James Richardson at the University of Nevada and Eileen Barker at the London School of Economics. In looking over the entire list of past participants, one is struck by the obvious effort to establish relationships with government ministers and advisors likely to come bearing considerable prejudice. One hopes and assumes that they return home from these symposia

somewhat less prejudiced against the cause of religious freedom generally and the LDS religion in particular.⁸³

Yet, as effective as this Center at BYU clearly is, its efforts must be limited to the “softening up” process – to building friendships, to persuasion, remonstrance, advice, teaching, and setting good examples. It has no formal power, and it is not a political pressure group. For more direct and strenuous efforts, the Church must find its support from local Saints and friends with expertise in law, in public relations, and in lobbying. Some such experts are found in Area offices and in the various European stakes. Most of them are local Europeans, though some are special missionaries. Along with the constitutional changes promoted by the European Convention (and Court) on Human Rights in recent decades, discussed earlier, these efforts by hard-working European Latter-day Saints have helped greatly to create enough political space that the Church in most of Western Europe enjoys a level of legal recognition that is adequate for most purposes, though still not ideal. Its legal status still needs to be consolidated so that it will truly enjoy the rights and privileges accorded to the “recognized” religious organizations. Even though the Church can operate as a legal entity and carry on its program openly in most countries, to the general public, and to much of the officialdom, it is still treated as an obscure sect or “cult.”⁸⁴

In Eastern Europe, the situation is even less favorable : Certain restrictions remain against the LDS Church and the other newer religions, despite the provisions of the ECHR and the OSCE, which most countries of Eastern Europe have ostensibly either joined or aspired to

⁸³ This brief overview of the activities, past and current, of the BYU Center for International Law and Religion Studies has been taken from its website and recent Newsletters, q. v.

⁸⁴ Kim B. Östman has provided a fascinating review of the struggle of the LDS media in Finland with different segments of the print media there to define the image of the Church during the weeks prior to the dedication of the Helsinki Temple in 2006. See his “‘The Other’ in the Limelight: One Perspective on the Publicity Surrounding the New LDS Temple in Finland,” *Dialogue* 49(4):71-106 (Winter 2007).

join.⁸⁵ Some of these restrictions derive simply from the traditional Catholic and Orthodox outlooks on religion common to central and Eastern Europe, which have been embodied in the so-called “Austrian model” for implementing the ECHR. Serbia and Romania, for example, have recently adopted that model, which *permits* state discrimination in favor of the traditional religions, as well as restrictions upon unconventional and “foreign” religions.⁸⁶ Of course, whatever the laws of the various countries might provide, many restrictions also take the form of deliberate administrative delays, evasions, and even extra-legal intimidations.⁸⁷ Even in those cases, however, the Church’s efforts have sometimes prevailed through the work of Dr. Durham, of friendly local scholars and officials he has cultivated, of skilled legal counsel based in the Area Office, and of local LDS public affairs people. For example, after years of groundwork, in October, 2006, the Church finally got legal recognition for the first time in Slovakia. It wasn’t easy. Slovakian law required supportive petitions containing at least 20,000 valid signatures to be collected and submitted to the government within a ten-day period. This feat was accomplished with the help of the 70 LDS missionaries from the neighboring Czech Republic.

In another emerging eastern nation, Moldova, gaining legal status also required some political pressure from LDS legal counsel in Europe. For a while LDS missionaries had been permitted there unofficially, but a change of government brought a crack-down with some harassment, and the missionaries were soon ordered to leave. The Church filed for legal recognition more than once according to the pre-

⁸⁵ See Durham, “Re-Evaluating Foreign Evaluations,” cited above, which deals mainly with the situation in Russia and Eastern Europe.

⁸⁶ See various reports on Eastern Europe in the archives, www.forum18.org, during the first half of 2006. Forum 18, based in Oslo, promotes religious freedom throughout the world. Its regular news reports provide an ongoing record of gains and losses for religious freedom in various countries.

⁸⁷ A number of such instances were provided me in a personal communication of January 14, 2008, from George K. Jarvis, who was LDS mission president over Romania and Moldova during 1999-2002, and since then has been stationed with his wife in Geneva under auspices of the BYU Kennedy Center, the BYU CLRS, and the LDS General Counsel.

scribed procedure, but the government remained unresponsive. Then the Church filed suit and won favorable verdicts at successive levels of the Moldovan court system, but the government still failed to comply. Finally, five LDS members of the U. S. Senate sent a letter to the Moldovan President reminding him of the commitments his country had made under the new European legal framework for religious freedom, and he finally complied. And so it has been going, and will continue to go for some time, as the Church continues its struggle to increase its public presence and respectability in Europe and to reduce the costs of membership among its faithful adherents.⁸⁸

However, both the Moldovan example and the Italian situation (discussed earlier) present a public relations dilemma for the Church. In Moldova, the good news is that the Church was able to get five U. S. Senators to intervene to achieve the desired effect. But that is also the bad news, for it strengthens the perception that the Church in that country (and perhaps neighboring countries as well) is essentially an American Church, backed by the U. S. government, which is not likely to facilitate its acceptance as an authentic part of the Moldovan religious landscape. Meanwhile, in Italy, the LDS Church has applied for legal recognition under the new Italian system, but the Parliament has not yet approved this *intese*, as it is called.⁸⁹ LDS opinion in Italy is mixed as to how long the approval might take, but whenever it comes, the Church will be faced with the question of whether or not to accept its fair share of the *otto mille* tax. On the one hand, if the Church accepts the tax money, it will be violating its usual policy of remaining entirely independent of government funding. On the other hand, if it rejects the tax money, it is likely to be seen as deliberately opting out of "legitimate" Italian religious life, as though it is just another big, rich American outfit whose members don't need their share of community funds, given their connection to this "foreign" institution. Such are the

⁸⁸ Both the Slovakian and the Moldovan situations were described to me in communications from a spokesman in the Europe Central Area office.

⁸⁹ See Peggy Fletcher Stack, "LDS Church Wants to be Official in Italy." *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 9, 2000.

dilemmas encountered even when the Church gains some success in trying to reduce the costs of membership for its European Saints!⁹⁰

V. ADAPTING THE CHURCH TO THE EUROPEAN SETTING

Some of the costs of membership borne by the Saints outside the United States, including those in Europe, are unintentionally imposed by the Church itself as an essentially American organization. In countless ways, some subtle and some not so subtle, the Church gives expression to American cultural preferences and even to American interpretations of certain traditional teachings. Unlike the European legal arena that I have just discussed, the Church arena is one over which the Saints and leaders themselves have the ultimate power, through the process of revelation, to decide how the Church program should be adapted to the culture and traditions of each society. In making these adaptations, the Church, both at headquarters and through its leaders in each country, will be able to reduce the cost and enhance the appeal of membership *only* to the extent that local members and investigators can visualize how the Church program can be implemented or adapted in their lives - and without unduly increasing the *cultural tension* between themselves and their local families, friends, employers, and familiar traditions. Or, to resort again to the language of economists, members and investigators need to be able to see how they can “buy into” the Church program with a minimal loss or expenditure of the “cultural capital” that they have already accumulated in their respective societies.⁹¹

This is by no means to advocate a *cost-free* religion, either in Europe or anywhere else. Contemporary social science theory would

⁹⁰ This information comes to me from Michael W. Homer, long an informed observer of LDS affairs in Italy and a close colleague of Massimo Introvigne of CESNUR (personal e-mail message, July 12, 2007). This is Mike’s interpretation of the LDS dilemma in the Italian situation. He has been advising LDS leaders there to accept the *otto mille* if and when it is offered. Apparently even the Jehovah’s Witnesses, the most apolitical of all new religions, have seen fit to do so.

⁹¹ This would include “*religious capital*.” See discussion in Stark & Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 120-25.

agree with President Hinckley that a religion commanding the loyalty and commitment of its adherents must "stand for something".⁹² Put another way, the Church must "protect its brand" – it must always strive to make sure that the world knows what it stands for, and how it is distinctive. Ever since Kanter's 1972 study of religious and other utopian societies, social scientists have understood that organizational demands for conformity and sacrifice function as "commitment mechanisms."⁹³ More recently, Lawrence Iannaccone and others associated with the "new paradigm" have argued similarly that truly strong and enduring religions are "strict" – that is, they make demands on their members.⁹⁴

Yet the nature and degree of strictness of those demands must be commensurate with the perceived benefits enjoyed by the adherents in a particular "market niche." If the demands are too strict, they will be counterproductive and will strain the bonds of customer loyalty. If they are not strict enough, they will invite "free riders," who, if they become too numerous, will demoralize the more committed and undermine the

⁹² "Standing for something" is a key concept in more than one of the president's sermons. For a book-length treatment, see Gordon B. Hinckley, *Standing for Something: Ten Neglected Virtues That Will Heal Our Hearts and Homes* (New York: Random House/Three Rivers Press, 2000), with a Foreword by Mike Wallace. The ten virtues he discusses are not uniquely LDS virtues, of course, though in Part Two of the book he has a lot to say about LDS teachings and strictures about marriage and family.

⁹³ Rosabeth M. Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972. In somewhat different terminology, cognitive consistency theory makes the same claim; see Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957, the theoretical basis for which has been extensively critiqued and sustained for half a century.

⁹⁴ Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Why Strict Churches are Strong," *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (1994): 1180-1211. See also R. D. Perrin & A. L. Mauss, "Strictly Speaking . . . Kelley's Quandary and the Vineyard Christian Fellowship." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32(2): 125-35 (1993).

long-term viability of a “firm” or organization.⁹⁵ Some demands arising from the standard policies and practices of the Church require much more sacrifice in Europe and elsewhere than in the United States and might require selective adaptations to make them feasible. Still other organizational demands (e. g., the Word of Wisdom for Latter-day Saints) mark important behavioral boundaries that can create some tension between the organization and its surrounding culture – which is actually functional as long as the tension is moderate or *optimal* for the niche in question: If the tension is too great, the religious organization will be stigmatized and persecuted. With minimal or no tension, however, the organization will lack distinctiveness, or a clear “brand” that can attract and hold adherents looking for something special.⁹⁶

From this theoretical viewpoint, then, the strategy of the LDS Church would be to advocate and enforce doctrines and practices that would represent not maximal but *optimal* strictness *within*, as well as *optimal cultural tension* with the *outside*. However, this is obviously not a matter in which “one size fits all;” for what is “optimal” in one market niche or cultural setting will not necessarily be optimal in another – a predicament that is difficult to manage in an organization guided by correlation, standardization, and centralized control. Elder Oaks, of the Twelve Apostles, has attempted to define a “gospel culture” that is separate and independent of any of the cultures of the world, because it derives from the LDS Plan of Salvation and informs the “values and expectations and practices common to all members of the Church”⁹⁷ Elder Richard P. Lindsay, while President of the Africa Area, was

⁹⁵ Laurence R. Iannaccone, “Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-Riding in Cults, Communes, and Other Collectives,” *Journal of Political Economy* 100(2):271-92 (1992).

⁹⁶ For a creative theoretical analysis of “strictness” in the American LDS Church, with special reference to “free riders,” see Michael McBride, “Club Mormon: Free-Riders, Monitoring, and Exclusion in the LDS Church,” *Rationality and Society* 19(4): 395-424 (2007).

⁹⁷ That Latter-day Saints should embrace a “gospel culture” in preference to national or worldly cultures is a recurrent theme in Elder Oaks’s sermons, whatever their main topics. See, e.g., his *Ensign* articles, “Give Thanks in All

quoted in a 1993 article with a somewhat more expansive definition of the gospel culture as “transcend(ing) all boundaries and barriers.” Yet, he adds: “Building a gospel culture doesn’t mean the denial of everything in our separate heritages, although we must keep the doctrine pure and be willing to change certain traditions that aren’t compatible with the gospel.”⁹⁸ A still more expansive view can be seen in an earlier article by Elder Charles Didier, who described the gospel culture as “a vast amalgam of all the positive aspects of our cultures, histories, customs, and languages. The building of the kingdom of God is such an amalgam, and is the only place where these different values may and can coexist” – that is, an “amalgam” rather than something “separate and independent” of all the world’s cultures.⁹⁹ This definition seems to leave more room for adaptations across cultures, but a precise and common definition of “gospel culture” has not yet been embraced by all Church leaders.

SELECTIVE ADAPTATION OF DOCTRINES

Obviously a major component in the gospel culture would be the official doctrines of the Church, a category that is not itself without some ambiguity. A recent “LDS Newsroom” release on the official Church website attempts a rather parsimonious definition of what constitutes official doctrine, including only what’s in the Standard Works, official declarations and proclamations, and the Articles of Faith.¹⁰⁰ The same Newsroom document contains the following *caveats*: 1) even from those official sources, isolated statements should not be taken out of

Things” (May 2003), and “Priesthood Authority in the Family and the Church” (November 2005). In the former, he describes the gospel culture as a culture of “commandments, covenants, ordinances, and blessings,” expressed, for example, by the principles in the Proclamation on the Family.

⁹⁸ R. Val Johnson, “South Africa: Land of Good Hope,” *Ensign*, February 1993, 33-34.

⁹⁹ Charles Didier, in response to “I Have a Question,” *Ensign*, June 1976, 62.

¹⁰⁰ See www.lds.org/ldsnewsroom, link to “Approaching Mormon Doctrine,” 4 May 2007. The same statement concedes that the Mormon vocabulary and terminology are different in some ways from those of other religions, sometimes creating misunderstandings.

context; 2) not every statement made by a Church leader, past or present, constitutes doctrine, but might be just a personal opinion; 3) some doctrines (such as the atonement of Christ) are core doctrines and are thus far more important than other doctrines (such as the precise location of the Garden of Eden); and 4) continuing revelation is intended to be relevant to the circumstances of a given age or period, so that teachings and practices of the Church are subject to modification across time. Back in 1994, in a somewhat less public setting, the First Presidency defined the following as “fundamental”: a faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the atonement and resurrection; the apostasy and restoration; the divine mission of Joseph Smith; continuous revelation; the plan of salvation; and the priesthood with its ordinances and covenants. Even this relatively short list, of course, leaves room for a certain amount of interpretation, but it probably corresponds pretty well to what the Newsroom release means by “core doctrines.”¹⁰¹

From these various official statements, and the observations of Elder Oaks and others, we can infer that his concept of a “gospel culture” is limited to a certain set of “commandments, covenants, ordinances, and blessings,” as noted above. Yet there will be an investment or cost in time, treasure, energy, and moral courage entailed for anyone in any culture who strives to act on even this limited definition of “gospel culture,” which itself will by no means seem to non-Christians - or even to many Christians - as culturally neutral. The gospel culture, then, will inevitably exact *some* cost for those who undertake to live the LDS way of life, the more so the more exotic that way of life seems in a given traditional culture. Can anything be done with the doctrines and policies of the Church that might mitigate this cost and thus improve member (customer) retention rate?

Probably not much can be done with the fundamental or “core” doctrines outlined above, if the LDS “brand” is to be protected, and it is doubtful that many of the Saints would welcome an erosion or

¹⁰¹ “Fundamental Principles,” a statement from the First Presidency at a meeting of the All-Church Coordinating Council, 26 April 1994. Copy on file among my papers in the archives of the Utah State Historical Society.

abandonment of any of those core doctrines. Douglas Davies has argued that a major appeal of the LDS Church is its program for "transcendence over death," or (in more familiar LDS parlance) its "plan of salvation."¹⁰² Seekers open to such supernatural explanations for the purpose of life, whether in traditionally Christian or other cultures, will continue to investigate the core LDS claims, so it would be a mistake to abandon or "water down" these major products of the LDS brand. Nor would such a strategy be likely to appeal to committed secularists, who tend to avoid the theological marketplace altogether. Since the "LDS Newsroom" statement about Mormon doctrine reminds members that not all doctrines are of equal importance, one strategy for reducing the costs of membership, it seems to me, would be to de-emphasize certain doctrines selectively, and emphasize others, when "marketing" the religion to peoples of different cultures.¹⁰³

I can well understand, for example, why many European Saints these days might prefer that visiting authorities and Church publications would leave in the background such traditional doctrines as the location of the Garden of Eden, the divine status of the U. S. Constitution, and the oft-repeated folk prophecy that someday the elders of the Church will have to save the Constitution. Such seeming "Americanisms" have nothing to do with "coming unto Christ" or with the covenants made as part of the proffered "plan of happiness" for all of God's people. Even the designation of America as "a land choice above all other lands" in the Book of Mormon does not refer to the particular nation known as the United States of America. Not that there can be any doubt that historically (and perhaps even ontologically) the LDS Church is an American organization; but still, to the extent that any of these "Americanisms" are highlighted in LDS discourse, they imply invidious comparisons with European and other nations. This is bound

¹⁰² Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Co., Ltd, 2000). See especially Chapter 3.

¹⁰³ Elsewhere I have argued that LDS doctrines can quite easily be placed into four separate categories: canonical, official, authoritative, and folklore. See my "The Fading of the Pharaohs' Curse," *Dialogue* 14(3): 32-34 (Autumn 1981).

to exacerbate, not reduce, tension for European members, especially in an age when the foreign policy of the United States seems so troubling to Europeans and others.¹⁰⁴

Still more dubious are doctrines long taught by Utah leaders about the LDS people as uniquely “chosen,” not only for a special mission to the world in modern times, but also for a *special lineage assigned them in the pre-existence*, so that they could be born as literal Israelites, and particularly Ephraimites, in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁰⁵ Though lacking a canonical basis, these doctrines enjoyed widespread acceptance for a very long time, since they tended to favor the British and other north-western Europeans, from among whom most early Mormon converts had come. Such doctrines were also part of the same ideological framework that gave rise to restrictions on people of African ancestry and to the generally racist categorizations of humankind that have been common in both Europe and America for centuries. However valid it might have seemed to take such doctrines literally in the 19th century, contemporary LDS usage has been far more figurative or metaphorical, as were Paul’s original teachings to the Galatians. Yet, to the extent that contemporary American Saints and leaders insist on literal

¹⁰⁴ I am not in a position to estimate the frequency with which such Americanisms appear in European LDS literature or sermons. Anecdotally, several European Church members have mentioned this issue to me in conversations, but on the other hand, Elder Hafen, currently presiding in the Europe Central Area, told me that he had never encountered these Americanisms during many years of attendance at LDS sacrament meetings and conferences throughout Europe. George K. Jarvis (mentioned earlier) told me the same.

¹⁰⁵ This doctrine was advocated as recently as in the 1998 pamphlet by President Brewster cited in Note 2. According to Wilfried Decoo (personal communication, Dec. 2, 2007), the efforts by some local leaders (at least in the Netherlands) to effect a fulfillment of the prophecies about a “second harvest” among these modern European Israelites involved special pressures on the Saints to use certain proselyting tactics, along with specific promises of success with those tactics. When the promises were not fulfilled, a backlash of guilt and frustration occurred for a later mission president to deal with. Like so many other well intentioned but ill-advised proselyting tactics in 20th-century Church history, this one simply added an artificial and avoidable cost for faithful and compliant members.

understandings of invidious distinctions among peoples of different lineages, they will impose an unnecessary burden on the public image of the Church, thereby increasing the general costs of membership in Europe.¹⁰⁶

The recent modification of a certain phrase in an official Church document illustrates how easily a potentially troubling traditional doctrine might be set aside by minor textual changes. The document in question is the Introduction to the Book of Mormon bound with that book ever since 1981. Originally written by Elder Bruce R. McConkie, that Introduction contains a phrase describing the Lamanites in the Book of Mormon as “*the principal* ancestors of the American Indians;” but in a slightly revised version appearing for the first time in 2007, the corresponding passage now describes the Lamanites as “*among* the ancestors of the American Indians” (italics added).¹⁰⁷ Most Latter-day Saints, whether in Europe or anywhere else, probably paid little attention to this change in wording, but for the minority of members who have been paying attention to the scholarly literature on the Book of Mormon, the change is important.¹⁰⁸ Why? Because it relieves faithful scholars, apologists, and ordinary members of the need to defend the traditional belief that all the aboriginal peoples of the western hemisphere had descended from the small bands of

¹⁰⁶ This is, of course, a major theme in some of my earlier work, particularly in *All Abraham’s Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (University of Illinois Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁷ See www.lds.org >Newsroom link for 8 November 2007. See also two articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune* by Peggy Fletcher Stack, “Single Word Change in Book of Mormon Speaks Volumes” (8 November), and “The Book of Mormon: Minor Edit Stirs Major Ruckus” (9 November).

¹⁰⁸ Here I have reference to the controversies generated since 1980 by the work of FARMS, where scholars such as John L. Sorenson have advocated the “limited geography” argument that the entire Book of Mormon story probably took place within a radius of a few hundred miles in what is now southern Mexico; so that the overwhelming majority of aboriginal peoples in this hemisphere never were Lamanites. For an assessment of the implications of this controversy, see my *All Abraham’s Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (University of Illinois Press, 2003), Chapter 5.

Near Eastern Semites described in the Book of Mormon. A broader implication of the same change is that the Church now has no official doctrine describing *exactly* where the Book of Mormon story *did* take place, though some Western Hemisphere location is still the official understanding.

Many other examples of traditional teachings in the Church could also be cited in this connection, but perhaps these are enough to illustrate my main point that there are doctrinal issues outside the “core,” which the Church could review (and perhaps modify) to reduce some of the unnecessary costs of membership, especially in Europe.

LOCALIZING THE LDS PRESENCE

Aside from doctrinal issues, which, to be sure, can be quite sensitive, there are also many less sensitive issues that have implications for increasing or decreasing the costs of membership in the LDS Church. If the LDS religion is ever to become “normalized” in Europe – that is, to seem as though it really belongs, and is not just a foreign “cult,” it will have to be dressed as much as possible in the local garb of each nation – at least culturally and figuratively speaking. Actually, to some extent, this statement could even be taken literally, for the typical buttoned-down, dark suit, white shirt, and clean-shaven look, apparently *de rigueur* for priesthood leaders in every country, sends a mixed message about whether they are representatives of a local people or of an American corporate organization. In particular one wonders about the apparently official insistence on the clean-shaven look for stake presidents and other local priesthood leaders, especially in countries where beards are fairly common.¹⁰⁹ To be sure, though, there are far more important issues than dress and grooming in establishing an LDS presence, and in

¹⁰⁹ Choices and policies about dress and grooming tend to be guided by symbolic meanings that are culture-specific, and an exporting firm (in this case, an American Church) might not always be aware of the meanings conveyed to the local populace by the grooming standards of the Headquarters. On the other hand, such standards might carry a deliberately didactic function from Headquarters. The main thing is for all parties to understand the intended meanings.

many respects, Church leaders are already implementing changes that might help to “normalize” the LDS presence in European communities. Consider the following examples:

1) LDS leaders, male and female, are now typically local people, not only at the branch, ward, and stake levels, but also at the area level. Area Presidencies still tend to be sent mostly from Church Headquarters, on a rotating basis, but the time seems close that we will see Area Presidents themselves called from among the natives and permanent residents of European and other countries to serve indefinitely in such callings. As that occurs, these leaders will become the “faces” of the LDS Church in those countries, increasingly familiar to both members and non-members, somewhat like the resident prelates in the traditional Churches.¹¹⁰ The increasing proportions of non-Americans called to the First and Second Quorums of the Seventy seem to me to point in that direction. Of course, the paid employees of the Church in CES, Welfare, Translation, Facilities Management, and other roles have typically been locals for a long time. The same is true of those involved in Public Affairs for the Church at various levels.¹¹¹

2) Church leaders are striving to increase the “sense of ownership” that the Saints in various countries have toward Church publications. Of course, the translation of the Book of Mormon and other scriptures into various languages has been going on for a long time, and the same with hymnals to some extent. Yet the process of translation sometimes reflects competing interests between a Headquarters desire for staying as close as possible to literal renderings of the English originals and a local desire for a more colloquial and comfortable rendering – though even at the local level opinions will always be diverse.¹¹² The main Church magazine, *Ensign*, published in many lan-

¹¹⁰ A practice which can be a mixed blessing, of course, depending on the leadership skills and style of the long-term “resident prelate.”

¹¹¹ Of course, nothing bespeaks a permanent LDS presence as much as a temple, of which there are now ten in Europe, more than in the entire United States in 1950.

¹¹² See, for example, Van Beek’s account of his work on translation committees in the Netherlands, “Mormon Europeans or European Mormons” (cited

guages as *Liahona*, now contains a section of news about Church members in the various local countries. These inserted sections are produced, written, and edited by local members under the supervision of the Area Presidency. On the BCC “Blogsite” for June 9 of this year, both the UK edition and the Finland edition of the Church magazine received high marks from young LDS bloggers for such local coverage in their respective countries, hoping that they were seeing the beginning of a “decentralization” of Church supervision of such material “in favor of regional and local flavor” to help create “a Church identity less dependent on SLC.”¹¹³ General and Area authorities native to various local countries are already contributing to the official literature in those countries, as in the case of the article by President Patrick Kearon in the UK edition of the *Ensign* for June, 2007, but more might be done with articles that highlight the lives of faithful members and of key events in the LDS history of each country (in place of Utah’s Pioneer Day). Certainly the recently established LDS websites for the various languages and countries will also improve a feeling of connection to the Church for its far-flung members, though these sites are still in the early stages of development.

Beyond such official initiatives, translations of articles, or of collections of articles, from unofficial publications such as *BYU Studies*, *Dialogue* and the *Journal of Mormon History* also seem now in prospect. Bilingual LDS Church members with scholarly training and credentials

above), 20-22; and the account of the revisions of the Spanish hymnal in John-Charles Duffy and Hugo Olaiz, “Correlated Praise: The Development of the Spanish Hymnal,” *Dialogue* 35(2): 89-113 (Summer 2002). Interestingly enough, BYU Professor Roger R. Keller has raised the question of why LDS hymns even in non-Western countries should have to employ American LDS melodies, harmonies, and instruments. See his “India: A Synopsis of Cultural Challenges,” pages 87-90 in Douglas J. Davies, ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (London, UK: Cassell, 1996).

¹¹³ See www.bycommonconsent.com for June 9, 2007, followed by comments, some of which recognized the danger of “edgy theology” if there were too much “decentralization” but also pointed out that local “wackiness wardens” would not necessarily have to be in the headquarters of either the Church or the Area.

could assist greatly both in selecting material for translation into various European languages and in the translation process itself. Access to such publications in all the European languages would increase the sense of connection to the scholarly literature on Mormon culture, in addition to the official literature, among the European Saints of an intellectual bent.

Of course, literature from or about the Church for *internal* consumption, important as that is, will not help much to improve the LDS public image on the *outside*. There is a desperate need for reliable contemporary literature on the Church and the religion to be available to European journalists, scholars, and educators, preferably through their own local libraries. This need was brought starkly to my attention during 1999 when my wife and I visited a few local libraries in modest-sized cities and towns in the north of England. We were appalled at what the library patrons and local school children would have encountered in trying to study up on “the Mormons” in those towns. On returning to the United States, I reported on this situation to a friend in the leadership of the Seventy, who later notified me that “library kits” containing the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* and a number of standard “classics” by Talmage and others had recently been distributed to numerous libraries in all the English-speaking countries, as indeed they had been for years in the United States. I am reliably informed that a private group of members and returned missionaries, both in Utah and in Germany, are translating the *Encyclopedia* into German for posting on a private website. There are also a few, but very few, outlets from which the Saints in various countries can purchase Church-related books locally. One of these, serving German-speaking Saints, is *HLT Bücher* (LDS Books) located in Salzburg. These are promising developments, but bare beginnings.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ In January 2008, FAIR (Foundation for Apologetics Information and Research) began publishing its monthly e-journal in German. See <http://deutsch.fairlds.org/newsletter.php> and/or www.fairlds.org.

POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Every large, bureaucratic organization devises policies and practices which seem reasonable and efficient as applied to the organization in general but which produce unintended consequences and unexpected tensions up and down the various levels of the structure. I suspect that one of the constant sources of frustration for the American general authorities and officers of the LDS Church is trying to find adaptations of general policies and practices that will work in Europe, Asia, and everywhere else. If appropriate adaptations cannot be made, the demands of Church programs and policies often become too costly for the members to bear. Examples of individual cost-benefit dilemmas were mentioned early in this paper (e. g., Sabbath observance and semi-regular attendance). Any of the normal tensions over policies and practices in large organizations are simply exacerbated by cultural differences between the American headquarters and the local stakes. Again, a variety of instances might be cited in which expectations originating in Utah seem to clash with cultural preferences in Europe. Some of these have been discussed in the work of various scholars who are active members and leaders of the Church in Europe and in other countries.¹¹⁵ These clashes might arise from different political and economic traditions, or from differential cultural preferences in adapting the Church programs, or still others from the increasingly secularized and permissive local norms governing relationships between the sexes. For example, even though family law is very much in flux, both in Europe and in the U. S., the Church cannot be expected to accept homosexual relationships or even heterosexual cohabitation as normative.¹¹⁶ However, I can envision a policy that might recognize pre-conversion, long-term monogamous heterosexual relationships (i. e., “common law” marri-

¹¹⁵ See, for example, earlier citations to the work of Barber, Decoo, Newton, Numano, and Van Beek.

¹¹⁶ However, in some European countries, the Church’s legal status might well be jeopardized if it takes disciplinary action against members seeking homosexual marriages. This is a very “sticky wicket.”

es) for members who are otherwise living gospel standards and preparing for eventual temple marriages.¹¹⁷

One of the cultural differences that sometimes complicates relationships between American and European Latter-day Saints is the greater personal reserve and privacy expected in social interactions among Europeans. Thus traditional LDS practices such as home teaching and visiting teaching often come across as invasions of privacy or unwanted intrusions into the lives of members, especially those who are not very active in the Church.¹¹⁸ During the past few years, both the First Presidency and the European Area Presidencies have formally changed the home teaching policies in recognition *both* of this cultural sensitivity *and* of the practical difficulties in comprehensive home teaching where most of the membership is inactive in the Church, and most of the men fail to achieve the Melchizedek Priesthood. Accordingly, the latest policy calls for (1) limiting home teaching assignments to about five families or individuals for each pair of brethren willing to serve as home teachers; and then (2) assigning those home teachers in such a way as to give priority to (a) new members and (b) the most responsive among the less active, with (3) the use of missionaries to supplement the work of home teachers in both of those categories.¹¹⁹

This same basic cultural difference is greatly intensified when it is a non-member home being visited by uninvited Mormon missionaries doing their daily “tracting.” This method of seeking investigators and potential converts has always rankled Europeans (and those in many other cultural settings as well), who are likely to resent being accosted by

¹¹⁷ The policy of requiring the lapse of a year between a civil and a temple marriage - a continuing irritant for non-Mormon relatives of American members - is not an issue in Europe, where all marriages must be “civil,” and LDS temple marriages are not recognized.

¹¹⁸ Wilfried Decoo, “Feeding the Fleeing Flock,” 115-16, is among those who have commented on this problem. Indeed, in this essay he offers a number of useful suggestions for adapting the Church program to the European cultural setting.

¹¹⁹ Such is the gist of the information provided me by the Europe Central Area office. These are not all new ideas, of course, but apparently they have been more widely implemented lately as formal policy.

strangers wishing to discuss something as private as religious beliefs, especially when they are disturbed in their own homes. Actually, tracting has for some years been given the lowest priority among proselyting methods, considered a last resort when missionaries can't find other ways to make promising contacts. While missionaries might always do some tracting from time to time, the Church has been seeking a variety of alternative methods for finding and teaching investigators in ways that do not require the "frontal assault" of knocking on their doors. Indeed, in some of the more affluent neighborhoods people live behind locked gates, making tracting impossible. In some European missions, the missionaries now depend mainly on a system of "unplanned finding," which consists of watching for unobtrusive opportunities to greet people and engage them in conversations in random locations, such as bus stops and buses, trains and train stations, stores, markets, street displays, sports events, and other random times and places. The missionaries are urged to seek at least ten such opportunities every day, and thus to remain in a "mode of constant finding." During each such conversation, the missionaries will hand out "pass-along cards" with engaging pictures, the phone number of the missionaries, the address of the nearest LDS chapel, and the Church website in the local language.¹²⁰

It has long been well known that the likelihood of an eventual baptism is greatly enhanced the more that local Church members themselves are involved in the teaching process, so the preferred missionary method has come to be teaching investigators in the presence of, and

¹²⁰ Opportunities for these kinds of contacts, and receptivity to a subsequent visit from missionaries are greatly enhanced whenever a new temple is dedicated in a country. My granddaughter, who returned in 2007 from a mission in Finland, continues to rave about the opportunities that were opened to her from the publicity surrounding the open-house and dedication of the Helsinki Temple in the fall of 2006 - about which Kim B. Östman has written cogently. See his "'The Other' in the Limelight: One Perspective on the Publicity Surrounding the New LDS Temple in Finland," cited earlier.

with the participation of, members of the Church whenever possible.¹²¹ Various procedures for involving the members are laid out in the new (2004) missionary publication, *Preach My Gospel* (cited earlier). In some of the newly opened countries, where the members are too few and too new to help much in this way, the missionaries fall back on another time-honored method, namely offering English classes to bring in potential investigators. At the beginning of each class, the missionaries explain their ultimate purpose in offering these classes, so that there are no false pretences. They indeed do a conscientious job of teaching English, but then invite those who might be interested in their religious message to remain after the class for further discussion.

Among the most recent and effective method for involving members in the missionary program is one that was “pilot-tested” in 2003, with the encouragement of two apostles, and finally implemented during the next two years in all of the stakes of the Europe Central Area, and perhaps in other areas as well. This method uses the CES classes with their Young Single Adults as “Institute Outreach Centers.” Under the ultimate direction of the local stake and mission presidents, these YSAs join with full-time missionaries to invite and bring young people of the same general age range (18 - 30) to local LDS Church buildings for Family Home Evenings, Institute classes, cultural and intellectual events, socials, and sports activities. Through these events, missionaries get many opportunities to teach young investigators in the chapels with YSA members present. So far the results of this program have been promising, not only in conversions but in retentions, for 80% of those converted through the Institute Outreach Centers are still active a year after baptism. Social scientists have long known that people in this transitional age range comprise the “demographic” most likely to be open to new ideas and experiences, including religious ones, so this

¹²¹ For a discussion of this matter by a well-known social scientists, see Rodney Stark, “Extracting Social Scientific Models from Mormon History,” *Journal of Mormon History* 25(1): 178-83 (Spring 1999), and Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, “Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects,” *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1376-95.

approach appears to be a very effective “marketing strategy” for reaching the most likely “customers.”

The same approach has had some derivative and secondary applications: It is now being used in an effort to reactivate some of the less active YSAs themselves, and it was introduced among teenage youth as well through “Especially for Youth” (EFY) programs in Sweden and Germany in 2006. There are signs that the youth of all ages who get involved in this kind of outreach to their peers not only give the missionary effort a big boost but also are themselves more likely to go on missions and remain active in the Church. Meanwhile, the YSAs who participate also provide role models that encourage the younger set in their stakes to aspire to enter missions, higher education, and temple marriages.¹²²

Every device attempted by the Church to reach non-members is likely to produce an ambiguous cost-benefit (or risk-benefit) assessment. Probably the most serious problem for the public image of the LDS Church is simply that so few people, especially outside the U. S., have ever even heard of the LDS Church, to say nothing of having been exposed to a reasonably competent and accurate explanation of what it stands for. Mere publicity, however massive in scale, is not a solution in the absence of quality control – as is apparent from the mixture of the sublime and the ridiculous stirred up about Mormonism by the Romney presidential campaign in the U. S. Yet the one-to-one approach through tracting, “unplanned finding,” or bringing young single adults to Institute gatherings, is a “slow and steady” method, which is unlikely to produce rapid Church growth. The involvement of faithful members in the proselyting process, whether in their homes or in YSA events, has the advantage of increasing their personal investment in that process, and in the Church program more generally, but it also carries the risk of an excessive cost for the members when leaders apply too much pressure to participate. For the LDS religion to come to seem somewhat more normal and natural as part of the European setting, and thus less

¹²² This information about the mobilization of YSAs comes from a spokesman in the Europe Central Area office.

stigmatizing for its members and investigators, will likely require another couple of generations of these kinds of slow and steady efforts.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have been concerned mainly with the *differential* cost of LDS membership in Europe compared to North America, with special reference to what the Church can do to reduce the costs of membership among the European Saints. I reviewed three conditions that seem to me especially important as sources of these membership costs: (1) the secularized and regulated cultural and political environment throughout Europe, in which the LDS Church must operate; (2) the special costs to European members, collectively and individually, from various cultural, legal, and even logistical burdens that American members rarely face; and (3) the energy and resources that European leaders and members have had to devote to the retention and recovery of inactive members – with poor prospects of reactivating the latter. I turned then to developments that hold out the prospect for significantly reducing membership costs in the years ahead, especially: (1) the creation of a market niche of well-educated young Europeans with a non-traditional spiritual orientation, as a side-effect of the secularization of the traditional European religions; (2) the extensive campaign being waged by the Church itself to reduce the regulation and stigmatization of the LDS and other newer religions in Europe; and (3) the potential for local adaptations of general Church doctrines, policies, and practices that will make Church activity less costly and more appealing for European members.

There are good reasons to be optimistic about the future of the Church in Europe. Old traditions and restrictions on new religions are breaking down. The religious market is stirring, and the LDS brand, with its innovative combination of the familiar and the novel, will find new “customers” in the younger generations. The Church now has experienced local leaders in place and enough organizational stability to maintain successful “franchises” in many wards and stakes. As an Area President put it to me, “. . . recent developments in Europe can give our . . . members an increased level of confidence about their own

membership in the Church here. One . . . challenge (for all of us) is that they deserve to have more confidence than some of them feel.” For my own part, I see a new cohort of general authorities emerging in their fifties and sixties (and younger) who have more experience than ever before in countries outside North America, are more often native to those countries, and are more sensitive than ever to the inappropriate intrusions of American culture into LDS Church life in other countries. I see them also as more open than in earlier generations to the counsel and advice of local Saints and leaders living in Europe and elsewhere, despite the strictures of “correlation.”

I see that openness extending also to the work of scholars in the field of Mormon Studies, especially during the past decade or so when President Hinckley has been at the head of the Church. As recently as November 2007, the official LDS news bureau issued a statement supporting academic Mormon Studies at secular universities and referencing President Hinckley himself for its authority. Citing recent academic conferences on Mormonism, this statement declares that “. . . the Church encourages a deeper and broader examination of its theology, history, and culture on an intellectual level . . . [and] open dialogue and conversation between the Latter-day Saints and various scholarly and religious communities . . . [in the belief that] Mormonism has a depth and breadth of substance that can hold up under academic scrutiny.”¹²³

Mormon Studies programs and courses are gaining traction at various locations in the United States, and the organization of the European Mormon Studies Association bodes well for similar academic developments in Europe. The intellectual ferment, which Islam and various new religions have brought to Europe in recent years, has generated a variety of regular scholarly conferences on religion there, most of them under very respectable auspices, such as CESNUR and INFORM.¹²⁴ If LDS scholars will present papers and join in the conver-

¹²³ See www.lds.org/ldsnewsroom for 2 November 2007.

¹²⁴ CESNUR = Center for Studies on New Religions, based in Torino. INFORM = Information Network Focus on Religious Movements, based at

sations at such conferences, "they can bring especially fresh perspectives rooted in their [own] LDS experience in Europe . . . [and the day] may come . . . when there will be courses in Mormon studies at universities across Europe"¹²⁵ That might seem a far-fetched prospect in 2007, but no more so than a similar projection about Mormon Studies in American academia would have been in 1957.

the London School of Economics. I consider these organizations "respectable" because they are run by scholars who reflect the modern consensus in the sociology of religion - namely, that new religious movements (or NRMs, pejoratively termed "cults" in the U. S.) cannot be distinguished from traditional religions on *scientific* grounds, but only on *political* grounds. That is, the NRMs are not considered legitimate by the political and religious establishments in a given society. Of course, CESNUR, INFORM, and cognate organizations are opposed by thriving "anti-cult" movements in Europe and in the U. S., which tend to include Mormons among the dangerous "cults" that they target. As an example of an anti-cult ministry, see the *Apologetics Index* (www.apologeticsindex.org), based in Amsterdam and operated by Anton and Janet Hein-Hudson and Ruud Hein. I am grateful to Wilfried Decoo for calling my attention to this website.

¹²⁵ Quoted from a personal communication received by the author June 5, 2007, from Dr. O. James Stevens, Brussels-based spokesman for LDS Public Affairs.

THE TIDE OF MORMON MIGRATION FLOWING THROUGH THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND

Fred E. Woods

The year 2007 marked the 800th anniversary of the city of Liverpool.¹ Although the city's inhabitants were certainly aware of this monumental year of celebration, the vast majority were probably unaware that a chapter of Liverpool's history was created by nearly 90,000 Latter-day Saint (LDS) converts migrating through the city during the nineteenth century.² These European proselytes were heeding a call to

Fred E. Woods holds the Richard L. Evans Chair of Religious Understanding at Brigham Young University, Utah.

¹ Peter Aughton, *Liverpool: A People's History* (Preston, UK: Carnegie Press, 1990), 22, explains, "Although there may have been a peasant's hut or two on the peninsula or high ground next to the Pool, there was no established settlement until King John decided in 1207 to found a new borough. This was a common enough occurrence in the Middle Ages, with English kings establishing 'planted' or 'planned' settlements wherever they wanted to set up trading stations, strategic towns or military strongholds."

² It is also quite probable that most Latter-day Saints living outside the United Kingdom were unaware of Liverpool's anniversary. In addition, although many Mormon descendants are quite cognizant of their European ancestors launching hundreds of voyages through Liverpool, most are not familiar with the details. Furthermore, only one published article has been devoted exclusively to this subject, W. H. G. Armytage, "Liverpool, Gateway to Zion," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol. 48, no.2 (April 1957), 39–44. However, this very short piece deals only with Mormon missionaries in Liverpool (1837–57) and treats the issue of emigration in a very general way. One article that does treat this topic in a bit more detail is Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," unpublished paper delivered July 10, 1987 at a Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool (in author's possession) and Philip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), wrote a chapter titled, "Liverpool," 160–175. Thus, this important topic begs for more discussion inasmuch as it has been largely ne-

gather to America, where they could embrace the full blessings of Mormonism. The port of Liverpool was their launching point for what the Mormons referred to as Zion (America), a promised land for a modern-day covenant people.

THE GATHERING OF MODERN-DAY ISRAEL

Shortly after the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the founding Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., received a revelation which focused on the doctrine of the gathering of Israel in modern times:

And ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect; for mine elect hear my voice and harden not their hearts. Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.³

Joseph Smith later explained the primary reason for the gathering. He asked an assembly of Latter-day Saints rhetorically, "What was the object of gathering the Jews, or the people of God in any age? . . . The main object was to build unto the Lord a house whereby He could reveal unto His people the ordinances of His house."⁴ This understanding propelled him to action, and throughout his life he emphasized the importance of gathering Israel, or in other words, teaching all people the message of what he saw as the restored gospel of Jesus Christ and gathering them to a location where they might receive eter-

glected. The author wishes to thank Dave Mead, who spent many hours gathering information for this paper.

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

⁴ *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding McConkie, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 307-8.

nal blessings. This Latter-day Saint prophet proclaimed, “Don’t let a single corner of the earth go without a mission.”⁵

Yet the gathering of foreign converts from abroad did not commence until the necessary priesthood keys were restored to the earth. The designated time and place for such a restoration occurred April 3, 1836, just one week after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. In this sacred edifice the ancient prophet Moses appeared and restored to Joseph Smith Jr. and Oliver Cowdery “the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth.”⁶

The following year, Joseph Smith charged his trusted associate Apostle Heber C. Kimball with the assignment to open missionary work in Great Britain. Elder Kimball was joined by fellow apostle Orson Hyde of the LDS Quorum of the Twelve, along with five other missionaries.⁷ These elders were instructed to teach the message of the restoration, and also warned by the Prophet Joseph Smith before their departure “to remain silent consider the gathering . . . until such time as the work is firmly established, and it should be clearly made manifest by the Spirit to do otherwise.”⁸

During the space of just nine months (July 1837 - April 1838) these missionaries obtained over fifteen hundred converts.⁹ Their success was augmented less than two years later when the bulk of the

⁵ Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. 2nd rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 5:368.

⁶ D&C 110:11. In D&C 20:2-3, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were designated by revelation as the first and second elders of the Restored Church.

⁷ James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed, rev. and enl., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 127, notes that the other missionaries were Willard Richards, a dear friend of Heber C. Kimball, as well as four Canadian missionaries: Elders Fielding, Goodson, Russell, and Snyder.

⁸ Joseph Smith Jr., *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 4th ed., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1965), 2:492. Hereafter cited as *CHC*.

⁹ James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission 1837-1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 53. Apostles Kimball and Hyde left England on 20 April 1838.

Quorum of the Twelve embarked on another mission to Great Britain (January 1840 - April 1841). These LDS apostles came not only to expand the work, but also to revive a lethargic spirit, which had crept in among some of the British converts.¹⁰ The Twelve reaped great success in the British Isles, and by the spring of 1840, the Church was firmly established in the land. It was in this season when they decided that it was time to commence sending the British converts to America.¹¹

RAILWAY TRAVEL FOR BRITISH SAINTS TO LIVERPOOL

However, before setting sail, most British converts made their way to the port of Liverpool by rail. For the duration of the Nauvoo, Illinois years (1840-46) and throughout the nineteenth century of Mormons gathering to Utah (1847-1900), Liverpool remained the main port of embarkation for the European Saints. Bound for Nauvoo in 1842, a silk manufacturer who converted to Mormonism wrote of his journey by rail from Staffordshire, England to Liverpool: "We were booked for railway for Liverpool which cost us 10/- each second class, they charged us 1/6 per cwt for luggage above a hundred weight for each passenger. . . . Were kindly treated by Mr. Woods at the station house at Liverpool."¹²

During the mid-nineteenth century several British emigrant accounts mention their rail travel to the Lime Street Station in Liverpool before they transported their belongings to the docks. For example, in 1856 Daniel Spencer wrote, "Started from Leeds for Liverpool, . . . went to Lime Street Station."¹³ About a decade later Richard

¹⁰ For more information on the mission of the Twelve to the British Isles see James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840 - 41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975):499-526; James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whitaker, *Men With a Mission*.

¹¹ HC 4:119. By this time the total membership of the Church in the British Isles was reported as 1,631, including 132 priesthood leaders. See Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 278.

¹² Journal of Richard Rushton, January 30, 1842, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

¹³ Diary of Daniel Spencer, March 12, 1856, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

Egan recalled, “at noon I went down to Lime Street Station to meet the Birmingham Saints. Found they had arrived ok & were well. I hired [-] cabs to take their luggage down to the Princes landing stage for ten schillings.”¹⁴

LDS SCANDINAVIAN TRANSMIGRATION THROUGH HULL TO LIVERPOOL

Other European converts also used the port of Liverpool, but next to the British proselytes, it was the Scandinavians who responded best to heed the call to come to Zion which thus brought them through the Liverpool docks. These Scandinavians went through a series of journeys which generally began in Copenhagen before they transmigrated through the port of Hull, on the eastern coast of England and took the rail to Liverpool.¹⁵ Between 1852 and 1894, over 24,000 Scandinavian Mormons traveled to Utah through England. Nearly two hundred vessels carrying Latter-day Saints left Scandinavia bound for Hull. From Hull they traveled by rail to Liverpool.¹⁶

¹⁴ Journal of Richard E. Egan, July 27, 1869, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵ Andrew Jenson, “Church Emigration,” *The Contributor* XIII, no. 4 (February 1892):181. William Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration,” *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 237.

¹⁶ See Gordon Jackson, “The Ports,” in *Transport in Victorian Britain* (edited by Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 218-252. The city of Hull is officially styled *Kingston upon Hull*, derived from the fact that Hull was founded by King Edward I and was situated upon the River Hull. During this period, Copenhagen was the headquarters for the Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Mission. This information has been culled from the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000), compiled and edited by Fred E. Woods. British and Scandinavian Mission Records were also used, as well as Customs Bills of Entry in the City of Hull. For information concerning vessels carrying Mormon Scandinavian converts from Copenhagen, see Shauna C. Anderson, Ruth Ellen Maness and Susan Easton Black, *Passport to Paradise: The Copenhagen “Mormon” Lists* vols. 1-2, covering the years 1872-1894, (West Jordan, Utah: Genealogical Services, 2000).

A fifteen-year-old LDS youth who traveled in 1888 described how the train he rode was an improvement as compared with trains he had previously ridden:

The passenger trains were different than any I had seen before. The coaches were divided into compartments that would accommodate from 6 to eight passengers; they would be locked in. A running board on the outside of the train that the conductor used to go from compartment through the whole train. I thought it a practical way to check all passengers without disturbing those already checked.¹⁷

Rail services from Hull to Liverpool began in 1840 when the rail line between Liverpool and Selby was extended all the way to Hull.¹⁸ The North Eastern Railway (NER), which took control of this route in 1851, chartered emigrant trains from Hull to Liverpool when trade necessitated. The journey lasted up to seven hours. In 1854, one Scandinavian convert described his night time rail journey: "In Hull we were but three hours. We went the same evening by train to Liverpool. . . It was bad, we went through England in the night, as we passed many trains and cities and through tunnels and over rivers and lakes. We rode 44 miles in 7 hours and arrived in Liverpool 3 o'clock a.m."¹⁹ The rail route out of Hull varied according to arrangements made in advance between the railway and steamship companies and the agents for the Latter-day Saints; and as the scale of transmigration grew, so the local rail line facilities improved. The majority headed on the NER's

¹⁷ Autobiography of Frederick Zaugg, 25, original in private possession.

¹⁸ Edward Gillett and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1989), 303.

¹⁹ Journal of Rasmus Neilsen, January 7, 1854, typescript, translated from Danish by his son C. E. Neilsen, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Rasmus is about one hundred miles off his calculation of rail travel when it mentions it was 44 miles. It was actually about 140 miles by rail from Hull to Liverpool. Rasmus never made it to Salt Lake City. After burying his wife on January 26th along the Mississippi River, his last entry the following day was "Lord have mercy on me and my children." His son (who translated the account) then recorded this editorial note: "The next day on the 28th he died." Both appear to have died from cholera.

trains via Leeds, Manchester, and Bolton before arriving at Liverpool's Lime Street Station. Most transmigrating Saints saw little of the port of Hull. One passing Saint recorded:

I did not see anything of Hull beyond the streets through which we went to reach the railway station. The railway station itself was beautiful and imposing. We left for Liverpool on a special train at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and came through the towns of Howden, Selby, Normington [Normanton], Brandford [Bradford], Leeds Hudbersfild [Huddersfield], Manchester and Bolton to Liverpool. But as it became dark at an early hour, I saw little or nothing at all of the cities and the country we passed through. The country around Hull was pretty, flat and fertile. Farther away it was more mountainous. The railway was frequently on a higher level than the towns and villages, and sometimes it also went along below the surface at considerably long stretches.²⁰

Regardless of the route they took, all migrants traveled the 140-mile journey to Liverpool by steam train. The scenery they passed through varied as greatly as the diverse backgrounds of the passengers on board. From the flat hinterlands of the Humber to the rugged terrain of the Pennines, the journey was an experience they would never forget—especially to those like a father and his son Joseph Hansen, who wrote that “this was the first and only time that my father rode in a railway train.”²¹

DEPARTING FROM LIVERPOOL TO NAUVOO (1840-1846)

The British Saints launched their first maritime immigration to Nauvoo, Illinois (via New York) with the voyage of the *Britannia* on 6

²⁰ Diary of Hans Hoth, typescript, December 27, 1853, translated from German script by Peter Gulbrandsen, 3-4, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²¹ Joseph Hansen, Hansen Family History, December 1852, 7, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. For a complete overview of the story of Scandinavian Mormon transmigration through the British Isles, see Fred E. Woods and Nicholas Evans, “LDS Migration through Hull, England,” *BYU Studies* 41, no. 4 (2002): 75-102.

June 1840, with English convert John Moon leading a group of forty Saints from the port of Liverpool.²² This maiden voyage would be followed by over four hundred additional voyages carrying Latter-day Saint passengers which continued to embark from Liverpool from 1840-1890.²³ Yet these voyages (especially in the early years of sail) did not come without an emotional price. Reflecting on her journey, which commenced at the docks of Liverpool in 1841, British convert Priscilla Staines wrote:

I left the home of my birth to gather to Nauvoo. I was alone. It was a dreary winter day on which I went to Liverpool. The company with which I was to sail was all strangers to me. When I arrived in Liverpool and saw the ocean that would soon roll between me and all I loved, my heart almost failed me. But I had laid my idols all upon the altar. There was no turning back.²⁴

²² *CHC* 4:134. This maiden voyage ended in New York. The migrants then traveled by rail and steamboat to Nauvoo. This was the first of thirty-four chartered voyages to Nauvoo. In addition, at least thirteen nonchartered LDS voyages consisted of small groups of families or individuals. For a list of each voyage and the story of their maritime journey, see Fred E. Woods, *Gathering to Nauvoo* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, Inc., 2002).

²³ *Mormon Immigration Index* CD. With the exception of a few LDS voyages out of Southampton in 1894, the Mormons continued to use Liverpool as their main port of embarkation throughout the nineteenth century. Additional research reveals that the LDS Church also continued to keep a record of voyages from Liverpool to America until 1925. During this first quarter of the 20th century, Liverpool continued to be the main point of embarkation for European converts voyaging to America. These voyage and passenger records are contained in the British Mission Register (Church Archives, Salt Lake City) which the author has been compiling and analyzing since 2000.

²⁴ Priscilla Staines, in Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (1877; reprint, Salt Lake City: n.p., 1975), 288. Jane C. Robinson Hindley, "Journals 1855-1905," vol. 1, 11-14, (Church Archives, Salt Lake City), who experienced the challenge of leaving her home and gathering a decade later than Staines (1855), also seems to have experienced the magnetic pull of the gathering and therefore left England with, as she noted, "the fire of Israel's God burning in my bosom."

Although voluntary, the anguish of embarkation wrenched many heartstrings. Seventeen-year-old Mary Haskin Parker Richards remembered with pain the trial of leaving her family and friends before climbing aboard the *Alliance* in December of 1840: "Never shall I forget the feeling that shrilled through my bosom this day, while parting with all my dear Brothers & Sisters. and all my kindred who were near & dear to me by the ties of nature."²⁵

Such farewells often created heightened emotions. Twenty-one-year-old convert Thomas Callister left his homeland, the Isle of Man, 9 January 1842, to embark for Nauvoo. He wrote, "I left all my relatives and friends for the gospel sake."²⁶ Although his parents were not alive to bid him farewell, one sibling decided he would see him off. "His brother John went with him to the ship and there offered him half of all he owned if he would only give up going to America. When he refused, his brother said he would be happier if he could lay him away on the hill with his parents."²⁷ For most, economics determined if and when one was able to gather to Zion. Sometimes families were temporarily divided. In the fall of 1841, Robert Pixton determined that notwithstanding being separated from his wife, he would lead the way to Zion. He wrote, "I spoke to my wife about it and she was willing that I should go and leave her behind until I could send for her as we had not sufficient means for both to go. . . . This was a sad parting but I was reconciled to go."²⁸

Many sincere Saints longed to set sail for America, where they could consecrate their talents and labor towards the building of a Mormon temple, but the cold reality of procuring sufficient funds for the journey froze them to their present circumstances. George Cannon,

²⁵ Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winter Quarters: The 1846-1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 60.

²⁶ Collection of Reminiscences and Autobiographical Notes of Thomas Callister, Reminiscences, fd. 1, 1; Autobiographical Notes, fd. 2, 8-9, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

²⁷ *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughter of the Utah Pioneers, 1952-57): 16:505.

²⁸ Autobiography of Robert Pixton, 19, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

voyaging on the Sidney in 1842, wrote, "Nothing caused me so much regret as leaving so many of the Saints behind, anxious to go but without the means to do so."²⁹ Some, such as Robert Crookston, a fellow passenger with Cannon, exercised considerable faith and sacrificed greatly. He recalled, "We had to sell everything at a great sacrifice. But we wanted to come to Zion and be taught by the Prophet of God. We had the spirit of gathering so strongly that Babylon had no claim on us."³⁰

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS' MILLENNIAL STAR

One important component which helped the British Mormon converts through this transitory stage of their travels was the LDS periodical *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. This Mormon publication was established in Manchester (April 1840) just two months before LDS emigration was first launched from Liverpool. However, just two years later (April 1842) it began to be published from Liverpool which then became Church headquarters.³¹ The first editor of the *Millennial Star* was Elder Parley P. Pratt. Among other things, Pratt indicated in his prospectus issued May 27, 1840 that the purpose of the periodical was to spread the truth, gather Israel, and be as a star of light for the faithful to prepare for the second coming of Jesus Christ.

Within its pages, the *Star* created the feeling that the second coming [of Christ] was nigh at hand. The first article of the opening issue dealt with the doctrinal topic of the Millennium and reviewed the teachings of ancient prophets regarding the restoration and gathering of

²⁹ George Cannon, *George Cannon, The Immigrant* comp. John Q. Cannon (n.p.: privately printed, 1927), 110.

³⁰ Robert Crookston, *Autobiography of Robert Crookston*, 5, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Note that Babylon, once a cosmopolitan city in the ancient world, became a symbol to Latter-day Saints for the world and worldly influence. See for example D&C 1:16.

³¹ *Millennial Star* volume two, issue number twelve (April 1842) indicates the change in publication from Manchester to Liverpool. This move certainly made it much easier for Church leaders and LDS agents to supervise emigration affairs which were often tied in with news from the *Star*.

Israel in the last days.³² This LDS periodical was an essential instrument for Church leaders and LDS agents in providing continual information and direction to the passing migrants. These emigration agents chartered vessels each year, and departure times were published regularly in various editions of the *Star*.

Continual guidance was given in minute detail for each and every aspect the emigrants faced on their journey to Zion. For example, in August 1841, the *Star* published an article entitled “Information to Emigrants.” After furnishing several pages of general information regarding immigration to North America, the following practical counsel guided the Latter-day Saint emigrants on what they should take on their voyage:

We shall now proceed to give such particulars in regard to the journey as may be needful. Those intending to emigrate will do well to take no furniture with them except the necessary articles of beds, bedding, wearing apparel, pots, cooking utensils, &c., which will come in useful both on the ship and on the steam-boat, and after they arrive. Do not be encumbered with old bedsteads, chairs, tables, stands, drawers, broken boxes, worn out bedding, soiled clothings, rusty tools, &c., but provide a great plenty of good and substantial wearing apparel, bedding, &c., consisting of every necessary article of manufactured goods both for men and women, because these things are much dearer in Western America than

³² Alan K. Parrish, “Beginnings of the *Millennial Star*: Journal of the Mission to Great Britain,” in *Regional Studies in LDS Church History: British Isles*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon, (Provo Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990), 135-39. Parrish, (133) also notes that the *Millennial Star* was “published as a monthly, biweekly, or weekly publication for 130 years, . . . the longest continuous publication in the history of the Church, terminating in 1970, along with *The Improvement Era*, *The Instructor*, and *The Relief Society Magazine*. It is also of interest to note that the name of the periodical certainly fits the scriptural theme contained in D&C 29:8, wherein it is stated that one purpose of gathering the faithful to one place is “to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.”

in England, and no duties will be charged by the American government of wearing apparel already made up, even if each passenger has several suits of clothes. Every thing which is not designed for use on the passage should be carefully packed in strong boxes or trunks. Emigrants will not have to pay anything for freight of their usual household goods and furniture on the ocean; but it will cost something for freight up the Mississippi River for every article except a certain quantity which is allowed each passenger free as travelling luggage.

Advice was also given on the best route to take, including specific guidelines for purchasing tickets, travel costs, and how to avoid extra lodging costs:

New Orleans is by far the cheapest route for emigrants to Illinois; and emigrating in large companies may save much more money. Those who wish to avail themselves of these advantages, and who are intending to emigrate this autumn, are informed that the name and age of each passenger, together with money to pay their passage to New Orleans and to purchase provisions, must be forwarded . . . at least 10 days previous to the time of sailing, so that a ship may be chartered and provisions purchased according to the number of passengers, and thus avoid all hurry and confusion. The money and names being forwarded ten days previous to the time of sailing, the passengers and goods need not arrive till two or three days before the time of sailing. Thus when all things are prepared, they can go immediately on board, and begin to arrange the berths, beds, provisions, &c., and avoid the expense of living a while in the town of Liverpool. Perhaps the passage money and provisions for each passenger from Liverpool to New Orleans will be not far from four pounds. Children under fourteen years of age, half-price; under one year nothing . . .

When the ship arrives in New Orleans the company will need to send their foreman, or leader, or committee, to charter a steam boat for Nauvoo or St. Louis, which will probably

be from 15 s. [shillings] to 25 s. per head, and provisions to be purchased for about two weeks; so the whole passage money from Liverpool to Nauvoo will probably be from £ 5 to £ 7.³³

The *Millennial Star* also encouraged immigration with reports by those who had reached America. For example, an article titled “Emigration” commented, “The news from the emigrants who sailed from this country last season is so very encouraging that it will give a new impulse to the spirit of the gathering.”³⁴ In addition, Church leaders also provided written instructions that encouraged immigration to Nauvoo in order for the Saints to build the Mormon temple and partake of its blessings.³⁵ British converts were also influenced by the excellent organization and dependability of their Church leaders, both at Liverpool, Nauvoo, and later from Salt Lake City.

Not only did the *Millennial Star* provide useful instructions to departing LDS emigrants, it also published the dates when various trans-Atlantic voyages would depart. In addition, an emigration agent was selected by Church leaders to carry out arrangements at Liverpool. As early as April 1841, the *Millennial Star* published an “Epistle of the Twelve” regarding the appointment and advantages of having an LDS agent:

We have found that there are so many “pick pockets,” and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as agent of the Church to superintend the fitting out of Saints from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations of the voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding at Liverpool, as their first

³³ Parley P. Pratt, ed., “Information to Emigrants,” *Millennial Star* 2 (August 1841): 55-61. On instructions to emigrants for the years 1840-1854, see Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. by James Linforth (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards; London L D S’ Book Depot, 1855), 19-22.

³⁴ “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 1 no. 10 (February 1841): 263.

³⁵ HC 4:186; HC 5:296; D&C 124:25-7.

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. A word of caution to the wise is sufficient. It is also 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. The 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.³⁶

However, such an assignment certainly had its challenges for the Mormon agents who were selected. For example, one agent had this to say concerning this opportunity for growth:

There is much to do when a vessel is preparing to sail for some days; from ten to twenty emigrants coming to the office; one wants this and one wants that, and the third wants to know where he shall sleep all night, with a dozen or more women and children in the office to run over; one wants tin ware, another is short of cash and their children are hungry.³⁷

Following the Nauvoo exodus, which occurred a few years later (1846), the Saints began to stream into the Salt Lake Valley (1847) instead of Nauvoo. During this emigration period the agents continued to provide valiant service, and the *Millennial Star* continued to offer instruction to emigrants:

³⁶ "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* 1 no. 12 (April 1841): 311.

³⁷ Cited from the *British Mission History*, January 16, 1844, in P.A.M. Taylor, "Mormons and Gentiles on the Atlantic," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24:3 (July 1956):204).

We beg to inform the Saints intending to emigrate that we are now prepared to receive their applications for berths. Every application should be accompanied by the names, age, occupation, country where born, and £ 1 deposit for each one named, except for children under one year old. . . . Passengers must furnish their own beds and bedding, their cooking utensils, provision boxes, &c. Every person applying for a berth or berths should be careful to give their address very distinct, in order to insure the delivery of our answer to them by letter carriers.

The article also noted,

By reference to STAR no. 32, it will be seen that £10 each was named as the lowest sum upon which single persons or families could be encouraged by us to emigrate from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake City. . . .

Our first vessel will sail in the fore part of January 1853; and as soon as our arrangements are complete, the passengers for that ship will be notified when to be in Liverpool, and receive all further necessary information; the same routine will be observed in reference to the succeeding ship. Deposits may be forwarded until the close of the year, or later, as may hereafter be noticed.³⁸

DESCRIPTIONS OF LIVERPOOL

Mormon maritime historian Conway Sonne observed that not only was Liverpool located between the British Isles and Ireland, it was also augmented with rail connections to the eastern ports of Hull and Grimsby. In addition, the Mersey River was easier to navigate than the Thames, and it was a day closer than London. Sonne further notes, “Most important in Liverpool’s growth was a 200-acre dock system,

³⁸ “Notice to Intending Emigrants, *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 14, no.39 (November 20, 1852): 618.

forming a belt along the waterfront that extended three and eventually seven miles.”³⁹

Latter-day Saints enjoyed an extra blessing in that during the latter half of the nineteenth century Liverpool served as headquarters for both their European and British Missions and therefore created an additional reason to focus migration efforts from this important communication center. By 1851, the British census noted that Liverpool had a population of 367,000, the second largest city in all of England.⁴⁰

Upon arriving at Liverpool, Mormon converts were greeted by the agents of the shipping company with which they had booked to cross the Atlantic, as well as LDS appointed emigration agents and Church leaders. As the primary port of Mormon embarkation, Liverpool provided a view of a variety of scenes to many who had never been to a metropolis. By mid-nineteenth century, it was considered the most active international port of emigration in the world. With more than two thousand pubs, it was considered a sailors’ paradise.⁴¹ “Liverpool was a sailors’ town. Dockside pubs were everywhere . . . The sound of . . . sea shanties was heard from the tavern doorways as the sailors spent their few days’ leave and their hard-earned money on beer, women and song. Prostitutes roamed the streets and solicited the mariners.”⁴² Yet to the Mormons and other reputable emigrants, such scenes were repugnant. Historian Terry Coleman explains, “Away from the handsome classical buildings and houses of the merchants, the rich city

³⁹ Conway B. Sonne, “Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration,” unpublished paper delivered July 10, 1987 at a Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, 4-5.

⁴⁰ Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 63, 258.

⁴¹ Sonne, “Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration,” 4. Sonne, appears to be drawing on Coleman, *Going to America*, 66, in which Coleman states “Sailors loved Liverpool, and on long voyages constantly talked about its charms and attractions. It was a sailors’ paradise.”

⁴² Aughton, *Liverpool: A People’s History*, 142-43.

of Liverpool was narrow, dirty, and infested, and itself a great inducement to emigration.”⁴³

Nathaniel Hawthorne, Liverpool’s American consul in the mid-nineteenth century (1853-1857), knew something of Liverpool’s filthy environment. Coleman succinctly described Hawthorne’s dismal view of the socioeconomic condition of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century:

Almost every day Hawthorne walked about the city, preferring the darker and dingier streets inhabited by the poorer classes. Women nursed their babies at dirty breasts. The men were haggard, drunken, care-worn, and hopeless, but patient as if that were the rule of their lives. He never walked through these streets without feeling he might catch some disease, but he took the walks all the same because there was a sense of bustle, and of being in the midst of life and of having got hold of something real, which he did not find in the better streets of Liverpool. Tithebarn Street was thronged with dreadful faces - women with young figures but with old and wrinkled countenances, young girls without any maiden neatness, barefooted, with dirty legs. Dirty, dirty children, and the grown people were the flower of these buds, physically and morally. At every ten steps there were spirit vaults. Placards advertised beds for the night. Often he saw little children taking care of little children. . . . At the provision shops, little bits of meat were ready for poor customers, little heaps and selvages and corners stripped off from joints and steaks.⁴⁴

Hawthorne vividly described in a single sentence the deplorable conditions that existed during his stay: “The people are as maggots in cheese; you behold them, disgusting, and all moving about,

⁴³ Coleman, *Going to America*, 66.

⁴⁴ Coleman, *Going to America*, 65-66.

as when you raise a plank or log that has long lain on the ground, and find many vivacious bugs and insects beneath it.”⁴⁵

Hawthorne’s descriptions of Liverpool are remarkably similar to those of Mormon converts who likewise passed through Liverpool during the mid nineteenth century. For example, Latter-day Saint German migrant Hans Hoth wrote in December 1854, “Saw adults and children go around barefoot, and frequently almost quite naked.”⁴⁶ Two years later, an LDS British couple noted, “Liverpool is the dirtiest place we ever saw.”⁴⁷ Hans Peter Lund later wrote, “We saw . . . poverty.”⁴⁸ One female convert remembered, “Liverpool was a smoky, dirty looking place.”⁴⁹ In 1876, Thomas Griggs wrote, “Liverpool is dirty and disorderly, large numbers of barefooted women & girls, many bruised faces.”⁵⁰

Others described the port of Liverpool as a “noisy, smoky, city of ships.”⁵¹ Robert Schmid remembered its “cobble rock streets.”⁵² Some, finding occasion to do a bit of sightseeing, found pockets of Liverpool a step above Hawthorne’s description. For example, Thomas Atkin wrote, “We got our luggage on board [but were delayed,] which afforded us a splendid opportunity to visit some of the many places of interest in the town of Liverpool.”⁵³ Andrew Gowan added, “Went to the Botanical Gardens which was a treat to behold to see everything is

⁴⁵ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941), 18.

⁴⁶ Diary of Hans Hoth, December 27, 1853, typescript, translated from German script by Peter Gulbrandsen, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁴⁷ Letter from James and Elizabeth Bleak dated July 24, 1856, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁸ Journal of Hans Peter Lund, March 15, 1858, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁹ History of Barbara Sophia Haberli Staheli, 1861, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁰ Journal of Thomas Griggs, June 28, 1876, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵¹ Autobiography of Alma Ash, July 31, 1885, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵² Journal of Robert Schmid, May 17, 1886, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵³ Autobiography of Thomas Atkin, January 18, 1849, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

so fine, arranged in order.”⁵⁴ Amos Milton Musser said he took advantage of a chance to visit “the circus with several of the brethren.”⁵⁵ Others found time to buy books and to take “a good look at the city.”⁵⁶ David H. Morris noted, “Went to the Alexandria theater where the ‘Harbor lights’ was presented in fine style.”⁵⁷ As far as the harbor itself was concerned, William Davidson remembered, “Its harbor is six miles long, constantly filled with ships from every country of the world.”⁵⁸ Andrew Gowan explained by letter, “As for the shipping of Liverpool, it is like a dense forest for miles and the steamers running up and down the river and every moment which is pretty to behold. Some very splendid vessels here.”⁵⁹

LODGING AND PROVISIONS IN LIVERPOOL

Evidence reveals that Gowan had plenty of time to see this maritime metropolis as this letter notes he “stayed in Liverpool seven days then stayed in the ship two days.” During this time of transition before embarkation, Mormon emigration agents tried to ease the transition process as much as possible. For example, they directed converts to appropriate temporary lodgings to await the departure of vessels that would transport them across the Atlantic. When possible, the agents made arrangements for the emigrants to sleep on the vessel on which they would soon depart in order to minimize the time spent in this unsanitary, crime-ridden city.

⁵⁴ Letter of Andrew Gowan, April 9, 1855 (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, SLC).

⁵⁵ Diary of Amos Milton Musser, March 20, 1857, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁶ Diary of Andrew Amundsen, April 8, 1884, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁷ Journal of David H. Morris, October 19, 1888, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁸ Reminiscences of William Davidson, February 1848, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁹ Letter of Andrew Gowan, April 9, 1855 (Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, SLC).

For example, Frederic Gardiner remembered, "We arrived in Liverpool the same night it being Aug. 30th [1849], and stopped at the Music Hall, which had been rented for the reception of the ship's passengers, until it would be ready to receive us on board. . . . Sept. 1st we all shipped on board the ship James Pennell."⁶⁰ Thomas Evans Jeremy, the appointed the LDS agent over emigration for the Welsh Saints, further noted, "I settled my accounts with President Cameron with regard to emigration from Wales. I am his agent in emigration, matters in Wales. . . . The Saints came to Liverpool and I took them all to comfortable lodgings in Hunter Street." The following day the Welsh Saints went on board the ship General McClellan, "as also did the English, Danish and Scots."⁶¹

Church leaders and LDS emigration agents were keenly aware of the groups of Saints who would be passing through Liverpool and therefore were in position to assist them with lodging as well as food. For example, the first large group of Scandinavians to transmigrate through Hull to Liverpool arrived December 29, 1853, "where lodging and meals, previously ordered, were prepared for them." Three days later, they went on board the packet ship *Forest Monarch*.⁶²

In 1868, another convert explained that although there was assistance for another group of transmigrant Saints, some had better luck than others: Hans Jensen Hals wrote, "We passed safely at Hull and went by train to Liverpool, where we arrived about midnight and were taken to several hotels by the brethren from the mission office in Liverpool." Two days later he added, "Visited the emigrating Saints who were stopping at seven different hotels. Some were comfortably

⁶⁰ *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner* edited and introduction by Hugh Garner (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Library, 1993), 10.

⁶¹ Journal of Thomas Evans Jeremy, May 18-20, 1864, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶² Andrew Jenson, "Sixtieth Company," *The Contributor* XIII, no. 10 (August 1892), 458. Jenson further notes that they were delayed fifteen days due to storms and contrary winds.

located, while others were dissatisfied because they had next to nothing to eat.”⁶³

Depending on the circumstances, some emigrants even stayed temporarily at mission headquarters. For example, George Dunford recalled, “I took leave of our good brothers and sisters of the Birmingham Conference and we stayed the latter part of the above day in the Church office in Liverpool and on the following morning . . . we went on board the steamship.”⁶⁴ Some slept on beds, while others slumbered on stone near the docks. One Danish LDS emigrant lamented, “We arrived in Liverpool before night and here we were to lay upon the stone pavement but as far as I remember it was under a sort of a shed by the dock where cargoes from the vessels were unloaded.”⁶⁵

Many Saints simply found lodgings for themselves. For example, James Farmer wrote in 1853, “Procured good lodgings at Robinson’s Temperance Hotel. . . . They treated us kindly and we were well situated.”⁶⁶ Such kind treatment would have certainly found its way to the ears of the LDS agents and thus other Mormon converts who needed lodging. Some were fortunate to receive such kindness with a fellow Church member who owned a hotel or lodging facility. For example, Ann Prior Jarvis noted, “We arrived at Liverpool and Brother Budge had a nice lodging house.”⁶⁷

GUION SHIPPING LINE

The Mormon emigrants’ stay in Liverpool was often shorter than that of their non-Mormon counterparts. When Morris & Co.

⁶³ Journal of Hans Jensen Hals, June 15,17, 1868, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁴ Reminiscences and journal of George Dunford, October 12, 1886, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁵ [Reminiscences of H. N. Hansen, Spring of 1864] in “An Account of a Mormon Family’s Conversion to the Religion of the Latter-day Saints and their Trip from Denmark to Utah, *Annals of Iowa* 41, no. 1 (Summer 1971), 715.

⁶⁶ Journal of James Farmer, January 7, 1853, typescript, 77, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁷ Autobiography of Ann Prior Jarvis, March 1857, 10-11.

(based in Hamburg) had the Mormon contract, the emigrants usually spent anywhere from a few days to a few weeks there. Once the Guion Line (based in Liverpool) had taken over the business of shipping LDS emigrants, this period was reduced to a day or two, and the service was most exemplary.

The Guion Line became the most important shipping company to the Saints. It shipped over forty thousand Mormon immigrants from Liverpool to New York (1867-1890), the vast majority of LDS steamship passengers in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

The successful partnership between the Latter-day Saints and the Guion Line lasted for a quarter of a century. The relationship of Guion agent George Ramsden with the Mormons was extraordinary. In praise of the trust he enjoyed with the Saints, British Mission President Anthon H. Lund pointed out that Ramsden worked for decades with the Church without a written contract.⁶⁹

The Guion Line treated the Saints a cut above other emigrants. One Mormon convert named Alma Ash explained:

At the Guion Office we were told that it was too late to go aboard and they would find us lodgings for the night for a reasonable sum. It was evident to us that the agents were looking more after the money they could get out of the emigrant than his comfort and well being. We informed them that we wanted to find the docks and go aboard that night if possible and asked them to direct us to 42 Islington, the office of the Church in Liverpool, and which the Guion company were very familiar with. Just as soon as we men-

⁶⁸ Conway B. Sonne, *Saints of the High Seas* (SLC: University of Utah Press), 117.

⁶⁹ Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone," *Millennial Star*, 58 (4 June 1896): 360-62. For an excellent discussion of the Guion Line see Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869-1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982), 4-8. Herein, Jensen also refers to an article on the Guion Line in a British journal titled, *Sea Breezes* 19 (1955):190-216.

tioned 42 Islington they changed their tune and treated us very politely and directed us where to go.⁷⁰

Having gathered their luggage from a railway station or a lodging house, Mormon migrants like Ash soon found their way to the mission headquarters on Islington Street, where they joined other European Latter-day Saint converts, who soon boarded vessels that would transport them across the Atlantic. It was also here at mission headquarters that Mormon elders were often assigned to oversee LDS converts throughout the duration of each voyage. For example, one returning Mormon missionary wrote:

Made my way to 42 Islington where I was made welcome by President Carrington and others. . . . Then returned to 42 where I had the privilege of a very agreeable interview with President Carrington in which he spoke very commendably of my labors and he here appointed me to take charge of the Saints while journeying to Zion.⁷¹

Before disembarking, the Mormon passengers also received counsel to obey all rules and follow their designated Church leaders. For example, John Williams wrote:

⁷⁰ Autobiography of Alma Ash [August 1885], 27, Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁷¹ Journal of George Lake, June 19, 1871, Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Note that upon completing the voyage across the Atlantic, LDS voyage leaders often wrote back to Liverpool, describing their passage to Zion. Such letters were usually published in the *Millennial Star*. Dozens of accounts contain such statements as “with kindest regards to all at ‘42’” in reference to those who oversaw the Church and emigration matters in Liverpool at mission headquarters located at 42 Islington. See letter of George Stringfellow, president and Charles B. Felt, clerk, “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 44:47 (November 20, 1882), 749. See also a letter dated November 20, 1884 from George Goddard: “Kind remembrance to the elders at ‘42’ “Incidents of Travel,” *Millennial Star* 46:50 (December 15, 1884), 798, or the October 30, 1887 letter from John V. Long, “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 49:45 (November 7, 1887), 716, “with kind regards to all at ‘42.’” N.C. Flygare and leadership staff additionally wrote June 29, 1876, “All join in love to you and all at ‘42,’” “At Sea,” *Millennial Star* 38:38 (July 10, 1876), 445.

Before leaving Liverpool, Elders Calkin and Williams, from the *Millennial Star* office, came on board, and exhorted the Saints to observe cleanliness and order during the voyage, promising that, if they would obey the counsel and carry out the instructions given them by those who presided, they should have a prosperous voyage, and not one soul should be lost.⁷²

It is most interesting to note that during the entire nineteenth century, no vessel carrying LDS emigrants was ever was lost crossing the Atlantic.⁷³

LDS PASSENGERS AND AGENTS SET A HIGH STANDARD

Those who worked in the maritime emigration business observed the fruits of the Mormon mode of operation throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Mormon passengers and their LDS agents received high marks in ports on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, two Liverpool shipping agents interviewed in 1852 had this to say about the passing Saints: "With regard to 'Mormon' Emigration, and the class of persons of which it is composed, they are principally farmers and

⁷² Letter by John Williams to the Latter-day Saints' *Millennial Star* 19:7 (February 14, 1857) 106.

⁷³ In stark contrast, Terry Coleman, drawing on the "Fourteenth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, H. C., 1854, Vol. 28, notes in *Going to America*, 120, "Fifty-nine emigrant ships to America were lost in the years 1847-53."

⁷⁴ For a succinct LDS account of the mode for conducting Mormon emigration, see Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *The Contributor* XIII, no. 4 (February 1892): 181-85. In this narrative Jensen relied heavily on Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. by James Linforth (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards; London L D S' Book Depot, 1855), chapter Eight, "Mode of Conducting the Emigrating, 17-19. For a general account of Mormon emigration throughout the nineteenth century, see British historian Philip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburg: Oliver & Boyd, 1965; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966) and Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

mechanics, with some few clerks, surgeons, &c. They are generally intelligent and well-behaved, and many of them are highly respectable.”⁷⁵

Two years later (1854) a London newspaper correspondent reported how a Mormon emigration agent (Samuel W. Richards) had been interviewed by the House of Commons concerning the agents’ success in bring Mormon converts across the Atlantic:

I heard a rather remarkable examination before a committee of the House of Commons. The witness was no [none] other than the supreme authority in England of the Mormonites, and the subject upon which he was giving information was the mode in which the emigration to Utah, Great Salt Lake, is conductedAt the close of the examination, he received the thanks of the committee in rather a marked manner. According to his statements, about twenty-six hundred Mormonite emigrants leave Liverpool during the first three months of every year, and are under the care of a president. On arriving at New Orleans they are received by another president, who returns to Mr. Richards an account of the state in which he found the ship, etc. . . . At any rate there is one thing which, in the emigration committee of the House of Commons, they can do - viz., teach Christian ship owners how to send poor people decently, cheaply, and healthfully across the Atlantic.⁷⁶

75 Charles Mackay, *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints*, (London, 1852), 244-245. In addition, although the *Liverpool Mercury* published several negative reports about the Mormons during the early 1840s (October 12, November 4, 1842 and February 23, March 22, 1844), one article appearing in the *Liverpool Albion* in September 1842 stated, “The emigration of the Mormons . . . is daily increasing. . . . The class of persons thus emigrating are in appearance and worldly circumstances above the ordinary men of steerage passengers.” This article is cited in W. H. G. Armytage, “Liverpool, Gateway to Zion,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol. 48, no.2 (April 1957), 39.

⁷⁶ London correspondent of *Cambridge Independent Press* (May 24, 1854) concerning Mormon emigration agent Samuel W. Richards, See “Missionary Experience,” *The Contributor*, XI, no. 4 (February 1890): 158-159). Pages 155-9 of this article also contains a firsthand account of this unusual evidence by Richards himself.

The following year (1855) a writer for the *New York Tribune* wrote about the excellent condition of the ship *S. Curling* when its cargo of Latter-day Saints disembarked at New York:

The vessel was the cleanest emigrant ship we have ever seen; notwithstanding the large number of passengers, order, cleanliness and comfort prevailed on all hands, the between decks were as sweet and well-ventilated as the cabin. . . . It would be well if the packet ships that ply between this port and Liverpool were to imitate the system of management that prevailed on this ship.⁷⁷

Upon disembarking at New York, the Saints were then met by an LDS emigration agent who assisted them with temporary employment or lodging. Each voyage that left Liverpool was carefully provided for.⁷⁸ This meticulous organization was often crafted by LDS Church president Brigham Young, who carefully selected the right men to assist with this important mission of gathering the Saints to America.

For example, in the mid-nineteenth century President Young appointed Elder John Taylor to serve from New York and oversee the LDS Eastern Mission; and Elder Franklin D. Richards to be stationed in Liverpool to oversee the European Mission. Each was heavily involved with migration matters and was in contact with each other as well as President Young. In a letter from John Taylor to Franklin D. Richards, Taylor explained that he was aware of the emigration instructions which President Young and his counselors had sent to Elder Richards, which were then published in two LDS periodicals: *The Mor-*

⁷⁷ P.A.M. Taylor, "Mormons and Gentiles on the Atlantic," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24:3 (July 1956): 204.

⁷⁸ For more information on the role of LDS emigration agents at New York, see Fred E. Woods, "The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents at New York," *Regional Studies in Church History: New York*, vol. 3, Alexander L. Baugh and Andrew H. Hedges, eds., (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2002), 103-24.

mon, published in New York (edited by Taylor); and the *St. Louis Luminary*, published in St. Louis:

I find also in your instructions from the Presidency as published in the *Luminary*& *The Mormon* the following expressions: Whenever you ship a company, whether it be small or large, be careful to forward to Elder John Taylor, at New York City, a correct list of the names of the persons in each company with their occupation and approximate amount of property or means, & forward it in season for Elder John Taylor to receive it before the company arrive in port, that he may be so advised as to be able to meet them, or appoint some proper person to do so & counsel them immediately on landing as to the best course for each and all in every company to pursue; viz, whether to tarry for a season, to work in the place, or immediate neighbourhood of their landing or to proceed.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

Liverpool was the primary port of embarkation for the European Saints throughout the nineteenth century. During this period, nearly 90,000 Mormon converts on over four hundred voyages made their way (often by rail) to this important port, which during this century was the most important point of embarkation from Europe.

In addition, this maritime city served as the headquarters for both the British and European LDS Missions. Here carefully selected Church leaders and emigration agents paid careful attention to each passing emigrant and every other detail. With such dedicated service it is no wonder that the tide of Mormon migration flowing through the port of Liverpool and across the Atlantic arrived safely in Mormon havens throughout the nineteenth century.

⁷⁹ Letter of John Taylor to Franklin D. Richards, March 4, 1856 (Brigham Young Correspondence, Church Archives, Salt Lake City).

AN LDS SOUND WORLD FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: A THESIS REVISITED

Warrick N. Kear

As part of the background to my 1997 Doctoral thesis with Professor Douglas Davies at Nottingham I conducted a nationwide survey of the musical practices and attitudes of 12 to 18 year old Latter-day Saints in the British Isles. Significant findings from that survey were:

1. A wide discrepancy between the qualities of religious, musical experience of LDS young women as compared with that of the young men.
2. 85% of young women aged 12 to 18 said they enjoyed singing, compared with only 65% for young men.
3. 53% of the young men in the sample admitted to hardly ever singing the hymns in Church.
4. A definite support for my pro-feminization hypothesis.

These findings¹ informed and reinforced my subsequent theories of a musical feminization and further ideas about the dysfunctional use of silence in LDS music culture.

Recent experiences in my family and Church life have served to strengthen a belief in those initial findings and also to reinforce ideas about their increased relevance to today's LDS youth. I believe there is an imperative to redress the balances in favour of the musical activities of young men in the Church, but more on that later.

¹ Warrick Kear, PhD Thesis 1997: *Music in Latter-day Saint Culture*, page 303.

My paper will, of necessity, be concise and my ideas condensed. A more detailed account of these theories is to be found in my doctoral thesis and my paper in the *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.²

Firstly, let me explain the historical origins and reasons for my use of the term “musical feminization” in LDS culture. Admittedly, these artificial designations might be regarded, in today’s world of gender equality, as being a little out-dated. However, in the more conservative world of religious music the characterization of music in terms of masculine and feminine does apply. I chose to employ melodic characteristics stereotypical of maleness and femaleness. I have designated three categories³.

1. LDS Church Music with a **masculine** nature is energetic, with a strong pulse, jaunty rhythms, and wide-ranging melodic lines whose lyrical content is generally appealing to the young male. For example: “Let Us All Press On” (243)
2. Music of a **feminine** nature is gentler in rhythm and pulse, slower tempi, less angular with more flowing melodic lines. The lyrics would tend to be more introvertly personal and appealing to females. For example: “Where Can I Turn For Peace?” (129)
3. Music that cannot be placed easily in either of the above categories.

In 1985, after a decade of research and preparation by the Church music committee under the direction of Apostle Boyd K. Pack-er, the new hymnal entitled “Hymns” was published. I compared the hymns in this new hymnal with those of its predecessor which had been published in 1948, and found, as I had expected, a significant shift in

² *The LDS Soundworld and Global Mormonism* in “Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought” 2001, Vol. 34, 3/4

³ *Ibid.*, 82

favour of a feminization of both the music and the hymn texts. The following diagram summarizes these findings:

HYMNS DROPPED FROM THE 1948 HYMNAL TOTAL=70		
Masculine	Feminine	Ambiguous
26 (41%)	18 (29%)	19 (30%)
HYMNS NEW TO THE 1985 HYMNAL (TOTAL=92)		
Masculine	Feminine	Ambiguous
13 (14%)	59 (64%)	20 (22%)

Table 1 Hymns Dropped from the 1948 & 1985 Hymnal

Historically speaking, the first evidences for an LDS Church musical feminization appeared not long after the Second World War. It was manifest as a reaction to the dramatic and relatively sudden revolution in youth culture. Perhaps significantly the Rock/Pop explosion was a phenomenon, at its outset at least, chiefly in countries and populations where the Church was present. The magnitude of this socially revolutionizing event cannot be underestimated. It was perceived as threatening the values upon which western civilization was built and continues to undermine the LDS Church’s code of morality. The following table will, I think, show the trends in music culture to which I refer. I have chosen to use a metaphor that is both contextually apt and apposite - that of a Tsunami.

MUSICAL TIMELINE FOR MORMONISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY					
META PHOR	PEOPLE	GENRE	YEAR	EVENT	EFFECT
Tremors	American Black	Jazz	Pre-1stt to 2 nd World War		Mainly American Adults
	American Whites and blacks	Blues	1 st half 20 th century		
Earthquake	Mainly American	Blues and Rock	1952/3	Elvis's first recordings	American Teenagers and Adults
			1957	"Jailhouse Rock"	
			1960	Movie: "G.I. Blues"	American and some British Youth
Tsunami	Teenager Youth Culture	Rock	1962	"Love Me Do" by the Beatles	All British Youth
			1963	Cliff Richard: Movie "Summer Holiday"	British Youth
			1964	Beatles Hit America	American Youth
			1965	Rock music temporarily banned on BYU Campus	LDS Young Adults in Utah

		Rhythm and Blues. Rock and Roll.	1965	Rolling Stones “I Can’t Get No Satisfaction”	First “wild boys” band hits UK No.1. Then No.1 in US
		Pop Musical	1968	“Joseph And His Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat” gets first performance in England	All ages, but especially youth
			Oct 1971 & Dec 71 Ensign	LDS Church President Benson speaks: “Satan’s Thrust – Youth”	
After-Shocks	A Religious Rock Music Culture		12 Oct 1971	“Jesus Christ Superstar” hits New York	All ages but especially Youth
	An LDS Soft Rock Musical		1973	“Open Any Door”	LDS Young Adults in America
	An LDS Rock band		1973	The Osmonds’ “The Plan”	A Best-selling Album in America and Britain
			1974	“Saturday’s Warrior”	Popular with American and British LDS

Table 2 Musical Timeline for Mormonism in the Twentieth Century

The effect upon Latter-day Saints of this musical and cultural tsunami with its after-shocks was swift and pervasive. In contrast, the reactions of Church leaders were considered, cautious and, with hindsight, surprisingly slow.

As my chart indicates LDS musicians were swift to bring out an LDS version of the Pop religious musical. In doing so they created a new LDS musical sub-genre we might call the LDS Ballad. Many LDS composers in the 1970's and 80's such as Newell Daley, Lex D. Azevedo and later Janice Kapp Perry, to name just three, composed Ballads that were, after some initial scepticism, acceptable to the LDS hierarchy, and were permitted, for several years, to be sung in Church services. LDS composers softened the Rock style of the world – shall we say feminized it – by slowing the pulse, reducing the volume, and softening the instrumentation - amplified instruments were not allowed in Church services. In effect, feminizing the Rock Ballad.

Following two decades of relative silence on the subject – the 1950s and 60s, the Church's leadership at last began to speak out against what were perceived as raucous and objectionable elements of the emergent youth culture. One or two articles in the *British Millennial Star* from the 1960s tended to condone the more acceptable elements of blues and rock music, but protested against excessive loudness, heavy rhythm and licentious lyrics. Then, in the LDS October General Conference of 1971, for the first time, an LDS leader respected as a Prophet spoke out against these things. Around the same time as the launch in New York of the musical "Jesus Christ, Superstar" Church President Ezra Taft Benson spoke out against the whole spectrum of standards and ethics embodied in the new Pop culture that were repugnant to LDS values, including the use of tobacco, coffee, alcohol, obscenity in music and the arts and even the miniskirt.

His sermon was entitled: "Satan's Thrust – Youth". In particular he commented upon the new phenomenon of the Religious Rock Musical:

And now a music scholar points to "a new direction in the rock-drug culture [which is] hailed by many ministers and the music industry as

a silver lining in the clouds of gold. Religious rock is climbing up the “Top Ten” charts. The growing resistance to the rock-drug scene is being diverted by this wholesome-appearing retreat from the new morality. But a review of religious rock materials unmasks an insidiously disguised anti-Christ. By reducing revealed religion to mythology, rock assumes the mantle of righteousness while rejecting the reality of sin....By reversing the roles of Jesus and Judas, one fast-selling album fits perfectly the warning of Isaiah - ‘Woe to them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness’.⁴

In 1974 Apostle Boyd K. Packer said: “In our day music itself has been corrupted. Music can, by its tempo, by its beat, by its intensity, dull the spiritual sensitivity of men.”⁵ And from a more recent publication produced especially for LDS young people entitled *For The Strength of Youth* we can read:

Whatever you read, listen to, or watch makes an impression on you....You cannot afford to fill your minds with unworthy music. Music is an important and powerful part of life. ...You should be willing to control your listening habits and shun music that is spiritually harmful. Don’t listen to music that contains ideas that contradict principles of the gospel...Use careful judgement and maturity to choose the music you listen to and the level of its volume.

All the direction the leaders were giving throughout the 70s and 80s gave legitimacy to the efforts of the LDS composers in providing many examples of a soft and practicable musical option for LDS youth. The young women of the Church took up the new genre with fervent zeal and performed the ballads of Janice Kapp Perry and others regularly in LDS Church meetings. Whereas, in general, the Young Men eschewed this soft and gentle genre. The Young Women of the Church now had an alternative, feminized, collection of music from which they could derive spirituality as well as enjoyment. The Young men were, to all intents and purposes, musically disenfranchised. That

⁴ Ensign, December 1971, 53

⁵ Ensign, January 1974, 25: Inspiring Music - Worthy Thoughts

status quo remains, I believe, to this day. You will search in vain to find a musical composition in LDS Sheet music stores specifically written for 12-17 year old young men, whereas there are countless such items both written for and attractive to young women.

To paint the full picture of this era, the musical disenfranchisement of young men has also to be seen in the light of a contemporaneous movement within the LDS institution. In the early 1970s the Church began an all-encompassing operation called **“reduce and simplify”**. The reason for this is graphically in this picture:

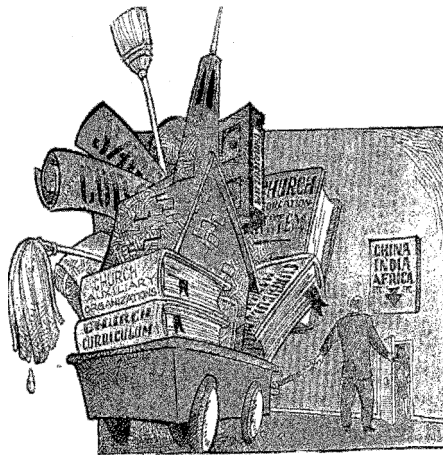


Figure 1 "Reduce and Simplify"

To put it in simple terms, the LDS leadership in the early 1970s felt that the Church could not and should not take the relatively luxurious trappings of an affluent Utah culture into poorer nations. Speaking at a satellite broadcast on the new and related budget programme, Elder Boyd K. Packer, one of the Church's leading Apostles, quoted from a letter of the First Presidency, that said: "We are very anxious that the cost of participation in Church activities not become unduly burdensome to our members....Particularly the youth pro-

grammes of the Church should be so managed that all of our young people may enjoy full participation.”⁶

The ultimate and most overt manifestation in all of this movement, apart from the radical slimming down of curriculum materials, was the inauguration of the Sunday 3-hour block in 1980 that reduced two main sessions of meetings per Sunday down to just one block of three hours. The family was then free to enjoy the rest of the Sabbath Day at home. Additionally all official Church music publications were reduced down to the Hymn Book and the Primary Song Book. Families were encouraged to use these books as the musical basis of their family life. Youth and Young Adult songbooks, that included many camp-fire type songs appealing to young men in the past, were discontinued, along with the practice of a Sunday School song practice. In contrast the composition of increasingly feminized music moved on apace with a proliferation of LDS ballad collections and Cantatas that are now available as CDs, DVDs and MP3 downloads on the Internet.

In the last few years there have been some indications of a slight redress in favour of compositions that might appeal equally to young men. The collection of ballads for the 2004 and 2005 “Especially For Youth” conventions⁷ contain one or two such numbers from a total of 25 compositions. Notably, from the 2004 collection the song “These Are The Days” and from the 2005 collection “I Will Be Ready”, both by Tyler Castleton and Staci Peters. But these are two drops in a very dry and empty desert.

I referred earlier to some recent personal experience that has refocused my attention on this matter. I must get a little personal for a moment in order to explain.

My wife and fellow musician has produced for us four wonderful children - a daughter, followed by three boys. The boys grew up as typical LDS boys in a typical LDS ward in the Bristol area. All three boys went through adolescence displaying the usual “effervescence” of

⁶ Boyd K. Packer, Satellite Broadcast on the new Budget Programme, Feb 18, 1990.

⁷ Stand In The Light - EFY 2004; A More Excellent Way - EFY 2005

hormones. Around the age of 13 they each rejected piano lessons from their parents in favour of football or tennis, and have each regretted that action in later years. They were subjected to a great variety of musical styles in the home and all chose mostly the music of the world for their personal listening. All the boys later served a 2-year mission for the Church and were all married within three years of returning from their missions. All three are now experiencing the joys and challenges of family life. However, our third son, upon his return, was immediately employed as a teacher at the Missionary Training Centre (MTC) in Chorley, England adjacent to the Preston England LDS Temple. Two years later he became the MTC Supervisor and served in this capacity for three years. As such, he was in a perfect position to observe the musical predilections of today's LDS young men as they entered missionary service. During those 3 years approximately 1,500 would-be missionaries passed under his watchful eyes.

From his observations to me I noted the following. Only about 20% had had some experience with music beyond Church services, usually playing the piano or another instrument. They tended to find the transition to listening exclusively to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir easy. The vast majority of new recruits found the sudden withdrawal of their favourite method of relaxation, i.e. listening to worldly music, somewhat disturbing and often frustrating. He observed that female missionary recruits had no problems adjusting to the new musically ascetic environment. Also, to use his own words, "Missionaries had little appreciation or understanding of the powerful role music, particularly the LDS hymns, could play in inviting a spirit of reverence and spirituality into their teaching and meetings."

I also took the liberty, recently, of interviewing two young men who were serving a full time mission in my own LDS congregation in Surrey. One was English and the other an American from Idaho. Their remarks bore out John's observations. Both missionaries had listened avidly to Rock music before going to the MTC just prior to their mission, and both confessed they did not choose to listen to any LDS music outside of Church services before coming on their mission. Nei-

ther elder had ever participated in the group-singing of any LDS music in Church other than congregational hymns on Sunday, and, unsurprisingly, both spoke spontaneously of their struggles at the MTC with the sudden and required withdrawal of their favourite music, finding it difficult at first to unwind and relax, having used rock music to do so before.

In conclusion I would say this. The above comments concerning musical feminization and disenfranchisement of young men give rise to some profound concerns. My apprehensions are over the possible reduction of readiness of our young male missionaries before they enter the MTC and of their overall effectiveness whilst performing their missionary labours. Perhaps LDS leaders and composers can do more to recapture the musical hearts of the pre-missionary young men. Phenomenologically speaking, such observations and concerns for individual purity and power also connect with the LDS Church's use of silence. The following chart points out gravitation towards the non-use of music as LDS functions become more sanctified.⁸

DIFFERENTIAL VALUES FOR THE USE OF MUSIC			
FUNCTION	ACCESSIBILITY	USE OF MUSIC	SANCTITY
Auxiliary Organisation	Very open to visitors	Vitally important	Low
Sacrament Meeting	Open to investigators	Important	Reverential
Conference	Generally for the member	Desirable	Impressive
Solemn Assembly	Usually by invitation	Not important	Deeply solemn
Temple Ceremonies	Restricted Access	Unnecessary	Supremely worshipful

Table 3 Differential Values for the Use of Music

⁸ Warrick N. Kear PhD Thesis 1979 *Music In Latter-day Saint Culture* 88, 89.

When we connect these observations with Apostle Packer's point, made earlier - "Music can, by its tempo, by its beat, by its intensity, dull the spiritual sensitivity of men" raises concerns over the challenge to LDS young men as they prepare for missionary service is brought into even sharper focus.

The six years between 12 and 18, for the LDS male, are a period of intense preparation for missionary service. Ideally this ought to include exposure to and participation in the best of LDS music. The culmination of their teenage years, prior to going on a mission, is to attend the Temple. Within the LDS temples a sacred silence prevails as the noise of the world is shut out. To put the matter straightforwardly, the young men have probably been listening with their personal MP3 players to worldly music since they were about 12 years old with very little, if any, spiritually uplifting music making throughout that time. So it is not surprising to learn that they often find the sanctified and ascetic atmospheres of the temple and the MTC somewhat difficult to adjust to.

A musical feminization has served LDS young women well but has disenfranchised the young men from what could and should be a musically attractive and spiritually rewarding part of their preparation for a mission. Consequently, they go to the temple with the music of the world loudly ringing in their ears, rather than the songs of Zion urging them on!

THE PATTERNS OF MISSIONARY WORK AND EMIGRATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, ENGLAND

Ronald E. Bartholomew

Jeremiah, speaking of a Latter-day gathering of scattered Israel, prophesied that the Lord would send “for many fishers... and they shall fish them; and after will I send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks” (Jeremiah 16:16). This prophecy could well be applied to scholarly work undertaken to date on the rise and fall of LDS missionary work, convert baptisms, and emigration from Britain in the nineteenth century. The main emphasis has been on relatively ‘large scale’ aspects of the “gathering,” including the Apostolic Missions of 1837-1838 and 1840-1841. Some have focused on specific geographic areas, either because of the prominence of the missionaries that served there, or because of the sheer number of people who joined the LDS Church and subsequently emigrated to help “build Zion” in the United States. Other historical and sociological studies have investigated wider issues, such as the Victorian context of the gathering, the organizational development of the British Mission and the Church, missionary work and opposition to it, and the make-up and experience of Church members themselves.

Jeremiah also prophesied that, in some places, the gathering would be on a much smaller scale: “The Lord... will take one of a city, and two of a family, and [bring them] to Zion” (Jeremiah 3:14). This description certainly applies to LDS activity in many other parts of Britain. However, whether due to small numbers, paucity of data or the relative obscurity of missionaries or members, such areas have been neglected. Any attempt to remedy this neglect faces formidable difficulty. When I suggested the idea of this paper to a widely published Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University, Provo,

Utah, he replied, “That would be like trying to find a needle in a haystack.” The research and writing of this paper represents an attempt to find that needle and hence fill a gap in our knowledge of the Latter day Saints in one particular English county: Buckinghamshire.

This county experienced few of the direct effects of the Industrial Revolution that transformed many other parts of Britain in the nineteenth century. This was probably due to a lack of natural resources, such as coal and iron,¹ and relatively poor communications. There was no major industrial center to attract large numbers from elsewhere—a pattern typical of areas where missionary work, convert baptisms, and emigration have been more closely examined. Yet it is clear the LDS missionaries did penetrate the Eastern and Southern borders of Buckinghamshire in the 1840s and 1850s.

This paper tells an untold story and attempts to answer the following questions:

- Who were the first Mormon missionaries to serve in Buckinghamshire in the nineteenth century? What was the result of their labors in terms of convert baptisms and emigration?
- Who were the first Buckinghamshire natives to join the LDS Church, how did they come in contact with the Church, and what role did they play in the growth of the Church in Buckinghamshire?
- What role did these members play in missionary work and convert baptisms?
- What transient or lasting contributions did these missionaries and converts make to the Church?
- At what specific locations did missionaries and members meet and worship?

¹ Michael Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1993), 114.

THE GENESIS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY
SAINTS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: THE FIRST BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
NATIVES TO JOIN THE CHURCH

On July 31, 1837, one day after the first Mormon² baptisms in England, the original seven missionaries to proselyte in England held a council in Preston. It was decided that Elders Willard Richards and John Goodson should go to Bedford,³ “There being a good prospect, from the information received, of a Church being built up in that city.”⁴ They left on 1 August and arrived at Bedford the following day. Work progressed quickly. The first baptisms occurred on 10 August⁵ and by December a Bedford Branch had been organized.⁶ Berrill Covington, later to play an important role in the beginnings of the Church in Buckinghamshire, was baptized in 1838 by Elder Willard Richards.⁷ He was instrumental in the conversion of two of the first nine Buckinghamshire natives⁸ and later became a member of the first branch organized on Buckinghamshire soil.⁹

² The term “Mormon” is the most frequently used reference to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and its members, for their acceptance of an additional book of scripture beyond the *Holy Bible*, entitled “*The Book of Mormon*.” The book takes its name from a man named Mormon, who according to the book was an ancient prophet-historian who abridged one thousand years of the religious history of the natives of the American Continent (600 BC through 400 A.D.).

³ “History of Brigham Young,” *Millennial Star*, March 4, 1865, 135.

⁴ Heber Chase Kimball, *Journal of Heber C. Kimball, an elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of latter day saints: giving an account of his mission to Great Britain, and the commencement of the work of the Lord in that land* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Robinson and Smith, 1840), 20.

⁵ “History of Brigham Young,” 135.

⁶ Samuel George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: S. George Ellsworth, 1987), 20.

⁷ Manuscript History of the Bedfordshire Conference, CR mh 607, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

⁸ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

⁹ Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

The first Buckinghamshire native to join the Church, based on extant baptismal and membership records, was a man named Samuel Smith.¹⁰ Samuel grew up in Sherington, Buckinghamshire. In 1837 he married Mary Ann Line from Hemel Hempstead.¹¹ They remained in Hemel Hempstead for the first year of their marriage. Their first child was born there but did not live. However, the Smith's first living child was born in Sherington, placing them there in 1839.¹² Records indicate they moved to London shortly thereafter. In London they met future LDS Apostle and Church president, Elder Lorenzo Snow, who was then a proselytizing missionary. Elder Snow baptized Samuel on December 26, 1841.¹³ Samuel's parents, Daniel William Smith and Sarah Wooding Smith, received religious instruction from the missionaries with him and were also baptized by Elder Lorenzo Snow at about the same time.¹⁴ His wife was baptized later, in June of 1842.¹⁵ These two couples and their children subsequently moved to Liverpool to prepare for emigration,¹⁶ and in 1843 they left England to join the Mormons in Nauvoo, Illinois.¹⁷

¹⁰ *Box Elder Lore of the Nineteenth Century* (Brigham City, Utah: Box Elder Chapter, Sons of Utah Pioneers, 1951), 75.

¹¹ Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 1169.

¹² "Samuel Smith and Mary Ann Line Family Group Record," ancestral file numbers 2CGD-XQ and BQ58-RF, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.

¹³ Calvin N. Smith, *The History of Samuel Smith of Sherington, England, His Five Wives and their Posterity*, accessed online, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~rhutch/famhistory/d&ssmith/samuel_smith_history_long.html>, July 23, 2007, 4.

¹⁴ Elsie May Smith Larsen, *History of Samuel Smith*, accessed online, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~rhutch/famhistory/d&ssmith/samuel_smith_history.html>, August 2, 2007.

¹⁵ Smith, *The History of Samuel Smith of Sherington*, accessed online, July 23, 2007, 4.

¹⁶ Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "The First London Mormons, 1840-1845," (MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), 48.

¹⁷ *Mormon Immigration Index*, LDS Family History Library. Salt Lake City, Utah.

The fourth Buckinghamshire native to join the Church came from the same family. George Smith, also born and raised in Sherington, was Daniel and Sarah's eldest son.¹⁸ He was baptized into the faith on January 30, 1842, at Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, by Elder John W. Lewis. He was confirmed¹⁹ a member by Elder Berrill Covington.²⁰ George's baptism followed that of his younger brother Samuel and his parents by five weeks.²¹

George Smith married Caroline Harrison in Hemel Hempstead on Christmas Day in 1835. Their first child was born there in 1837. They moved to Great Missenden, Buckinghamshire shortly afterwards; family history records indicate their next two children were born there in 1838 and 1840. However, George and Caroline Smith soon returned to Hemel Hempstead, where they had six additional children between 1841 and 1850. It appears from these records the family was living in or around Hemel Hempstead during most of the 1840s—and certainly in 1842 when George joined the Church.²² His wife Caroline finally joined the Church on May 20, 1845, when she was baptized by Berrill Covington.²³ In April of 1846, George was appointed President of the Hemel Hempstead Branch.²⁴ Shortly after, the family again relocated to Great Missenden and became members of the Aylesbury

¹⁸ "Daniel Williams Smith and Sarah Wooding Smith Family Record," ancestral file numbers 1FR9-CF and 1FR9-DL, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, July 23, 2007.

¹⁹ Joining the Mormon faith consists of receiving two ordinances: baptism by immersion, following the New Testament model of Jesus' baptism by John in the Jordan River, and an ordinance referred to as "confirmation," following the Apostles bestowing the "gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands" as recorded in Acts 8:15-17.

²⁰ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

²¹ Larsen, *The History of Samuel Smith*, accessed online, August 2, 2007.

²² "George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record," ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.

²³ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

²⁴ Robert Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, call no. BX 8670.1 .H664h, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

Branch, where they remained until they emigrated in 1854.²⁵ Consequently, the first four natives of Buckinghamshire to join the Church were all members of the Daniel William and Sarah Wooding Smith family from Sherington.

The next Buckinghamshire native to join the Church was George Coleman. George, who was also from Sherington,²⁶ married Elizabeth Bailey from Olney, Buckinghamshire, in 1834. They established a family home in Sherington from 1835-1840, and their first three children were born there. They relocated to Hemel Hempstead sometime after the birth of their third child in Sherington. Family records indicate their next eight children were born in or around Hemel Hempstead between 1842 and 1859.²⁷ George joined the Church in 1845, and was also baptized by Berrill Covington. His wife was baptized later by George Smith in 1849.²⁸ George Coleman played a prominent role in the growth of the Church at Hemel Hempstead, with many of the baptisms in that branch being attributed to him.²⁹

James Hawkins, from Pitstone, Buckinghamshire, also joined the Church in Hemel Hempstead. He was baptized in October 1845, just a month after George Coleman, by Elder Elisha Hildebrand Davis. In 1846 Brother Hawkins became the first person to represent the Hemel Hempstead Branch at a Church conference held in London.³⁰ He owned a bakery and a grocery store, which he sold to Samuel and Joy Claridge, thus enabling his family to emigrate to America in 1849.³¹

The first six Buckinghamshire natives to join the Church were not converted within the county, but in places to which they had relocated—either Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire or London. Four of

²⁵ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

²⁶ Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 814.

²⁷ “George Coleman and Elizabeth Bailey Family Group Record,” ancestral file numbers 1FFH-ZB and 1FFJ-OG, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, May 5, 2007.

²⁸ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

²⁹ Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 15.

³⁰ Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 11.

³¹ Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 7.

these men, Samuel and George Smith, George Coleman and James Hawkins were baptized prior to their wives and children, but all of their family members eventually joined the Church³² and emigrated with them to America to help build Zion.³³ Five were brought into the Church through the efforts of elders sent from America, Lorenzo Snow, John W. Lewis, and E.H. Davis—while one of their conversions was brought about through the efforts of Berrill Covington, a recent and local convert. The involvement of recent converts in missionary activity established a pattern that continued in Buckinghamshire throughout the nineteenth century—a phenomenon that will be more closely examined throughout this paper.

THE GENESIS OF THE CHURCH IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: 19TH CENTURY BRANCHES OF RECORD

At the British General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held on April 6, 1844, it was reported that there was a branch of eight members at Wolverton, Buckinghamshire.³⁴ As we have seen, the first three families with ties to Buckinghamshire to join the Church came originally from Sherington, which is only six miles from Wolverton. It is tempting to assume the membership of the branch at Wolverton, reported in 1844, was largely composed of the ‘Sherington group’. Unfortunately, this appears impossible. The Daniel and Samuel Smith families emigrated in 1843,³⁵ and hence could not have been in Wolverton in 1844. The George Smith family was in Hemel Hempstead in 1844,³⁶ and the George Coleman and James Hawkins families were not baptized until 1845.³⁷

³² See Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

³³ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

³⁴ “General Conference,” *Millennial Star*, April 1844, 195.

³⁵ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

³⁶ “George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record,” ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.

³⁷ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

Apart from the reference to Wolverton at the Church's General Conference of 1844, no other evidence of the existence of this branch has yet come to light. Assuming the Conference was correctly informed and there was a branch at Wolverton, who could have belonged to it? Rapid social and economic change caused a good deal of internal migration in Britain. In 1836, Wolverton became the site of the locomotive works of the London & Birmingham Railway, mainly because it represented the mid-point between these two cities.

The works grew rapidly and eventually employed over two thousand men. By 1845, the railway had built some two-hundred houses for its workers, along with schools, a Church and a market.³⁸ A thorough investigation of the activities of LDS missionaries reveals no evidence of any missionaries in the area around Wolverton and Sherington at this time. Of course, much missionary work was taking place in London and Hemel Hempstead. The most likely—though still speculative—explanation of the Wolverton Branch is that it must have consisted of a single family who joined the Church earlier, perhaps in London or Hemel Hempstead, and then relocated to Wolverton. They could have possibly come from even further a-field, since some of the more highly skilled workers at Wolverton would have come from the North of England.

It was not until five years later, on April 1, 1849, that the first two branches of the Church in Buckinghamshire were established in Edlesborough and Simpson.³⁹ There is no historical evidence the organization of these two branches on the same day was other than coincidental. However, the geographical location of these branches is significant. Missionaries had been laboring in the neighboring county of Bedfordshire since 1837,⁴⁰ and, although in Buckinghamshire, both Edlesborough and Simpson lie very close to its border with Bedfordshire. One unanswered question—one that will require further

³⁸ Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire*, 111.

³⁹ See Edlesborough Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12 and Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.

⁴⁰ See "History of Brigham Young," 135.

exploration—is why it took twelve years for Mormonism to take root in Buckinghamshire considering its rapid growth in the neighboring county of Bedfordshire. This question is particularly interesting when considered in conjunction with the fact that straw-plaiting was a major cottage industry in both Eastern Buckinghamshire and western Bedfordshire.⁴¹ In fact, the chief center of commerce for this industry was Luton,⁴² Bedfordshire, where there was a robust branch of the Church, only seven miles from Edlesborough and the county boundary.⁴³

The Edlesborough Branch was actually a reorganization of an existing branch. A branch at Whipsnade, Bedfordshire was organized on February 27, 1848,⁴⁴ but became the Edlesborough Branch on April 1, 1849 after its relocation.⁴⁵ Edlesborough, right on the boundary between Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, is less than three miles from Whipsnade. Eaton Bray is directly next to Edlesborough, though on the Bedfordshire side of the boundary. Maps of the period suggest Eaton Bray and Edlesborough really formed one community⁴⁶ and it seems that, whatever the case elsewhere, the county boundary bore little significance. In many missionary and member journals the entire area is referred to as “Eaton Bray,” even though a portion of it is technically Edlesborough. This can make it difficult for researchers to be sure exactly which village and county is being referred to, although most official Church and government publications do make the distinction.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire*, 117.

⁴² Data obtained online, <<http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/occupations/straw-plait.htm>>, July 25, 2007.

⁴³ See Luton Branch Record, Film no. 87106, Items 17-20, FHL.

⁴⁴ “Conference Minutes—London,” *Millennial Star*, May 15, 1848, 148.

⁴⁵ Edlesborough Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁴⁶ Ordinance Survey plan, 6-inch scale, Buckinghamshire sheet XXV.SW [i.e. 25 SW], 2nd edition, Archives, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, Buckingham, England.

⁴⁷ See Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, call no. BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, BYU. Elder Hodgert records that a decision was made at the January 5, 1850 Special General Conference in Liverpool to move the “Eaton Bray” Branch to the Bedfordshire Conference. However, official notes from

On April 4, 1846, Elder Elisha Hildebrand Davis, an American missionary and the President of the London Conference, baptized Benjamin Johnson, a native of Northall, Buckinghamshire, in the small community of Whipsnade, Bedfordshire.⁴⁸ Whipsnade was less than eight miles north of Hemel Hempstead where Davis worked during the previous six months.⁴⁹ Benjamin's wife, Charlotte, also a Buckinghamshire native, was baptized three weeks later, on April 27, 1846,⁵⁰ by Elder Thomas Squires, another local convert.⁵¹ Squires had been serving in the Hemel Hempstead Branch Presidency as a counselor to George Smith.⁵²

The Johnsons were somewhat atypical converts, with an unusually high social status. It appears they were both educated and refined. Benjamin purportedly graduated from Oxford and Charlotte from a girls' finishing school. Benjamin loved music and often earned money playing the bass violin. He also played other stringed instruments, the flute and the clarinet.⁵³ Charlotte was known for her passion for reading the classics and memorizing and reciting poetry.⁵⁴ Benjamin and Charlotte became the founding members of the Eaton Bray Branch,⁵⁵

that conference in "Special General Conference," *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1850 refer to the same branch as the "Eddlesbro" branch.

⁴⁸ Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁴⁹ Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.

⁵⁰ See Eaton Bray Branch Record, or Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁵¹ John Paternoster Squires, *Diary Excerpts, 1848-1900*, MSS 976, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

⁵² Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

⁵³ Wayne Rollins Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson, 3 June 1774-9 Oct. 1934*, (Centerville, Utah: W. R. Hansen, 1993), call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, 25 and 33.

⁵⁴ Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 25.

⁵⁵ See Eaton Bray Branch Record; Film no. 86996, Item 12. Note: Eaton Bray is less than 1 mile from their first residence in Northall, only 1 mile from their

and, with the exception of the traveling Elders, they remained the only members of the Church in the area for over five months.⁵⁶ On December 1, 1846, Elder Squires ordained Benjamin an Elder, and Benjamin later served as the president of that branch.⁵⁷ As the Church began to grow in the area, the branch was divided and the Johnsons became the founding members of the Whipsnade Branch, and Benjamin again served as president.⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that the subsequent change in the Whipsnade Branch's name and its relocation to Edlesborough occurred at about the same time the Johnsons moved back to Northall, a hamlet of Edlesborough.⁵⁹

Unlike all other areas in Buckinghamshire, the Church grew quickly in the Eaton Bray-Edlesborough area. At its peak the Eaton Bray Branch consisted of seventy-seven members⁶⁰, and the Edlesborough Branch, under the leadership of Benjamin Johnson, became even larger. It became the largest branch in nineteenth century Buckinghamshire, with over 160 members at its peak.⁶¹ The Edlesborough Branch was also the only LDS congregation in Buckinghamshire listed in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship. The Census record states:

second residence in Totternhoe, and just over three miles from their residence in Whipsnade.

⁵⁶ Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁵⁷ Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 28. See also Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography, 1849-1877*, call no. MSS 881, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

⁵⁸ British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, Whipsnade Branch, London Conference, Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 6, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁹ Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 30.

⁶⁰ Eaton Bray Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁶¹ Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

170. Edlesborough Latter Day Saint Meeting Place. Erected before 1800.... On the 30th march Afternoon General Congregation 90; Evening General Congregation 100. Dated 31st March. Signed Benjamin Johnson, Presiding Elder, Northall Bucks. ⁶²

According to local histories⁶³ and historians,⁶⁴ the building mentioned in the census record was actually a public house called “The Good Intent.” An adjacent pond was used for baptisms by immersion. The building is still standing and has since been converted into two private houses. The pictures following (Figures 1, 2 and 3), taken by the author, show the placard that still exists by the building, the building itself, and an adjacent gravel area reported to be the site of the former



Figure 1 Signage
Figure 2 The "Good



"Good Intent"
Intent" Building



Figure 3 Former Pond Area

⁶² Edward Legg, ed., *Buckingham Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*, (Aylesbury, England: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1991), 45-46.

⁶³ Beryl Wagstaff, *The Romance of Edlesborough*, (Edlesborough, England: Carrie Cardon Lovell), 31.

⁶⁴ From an interview with the publisher of *The Romance of Edlesborough*, Carrie Cardon Lovell, at her home in Edlesborough, April 28, 2007.

It seems the real key to the rapid growth of the Church in Edlesborough and Eaton Bray was not so much the impact of the American Elders, but rather the enthusiastic work of the locals who had themselves only recently joined the Church. In less than seven years (April 4, 1846 – March 27, 1853) Benjamin Johnson helped to bring more people into the Church than anyone else in nineteenth century Buckinghamshire.⁶⁵

However, Johnson was only one of several local convert missionaries, all of whom enjoyed almost as much success. It seems that once the American or local missionaries had organized a small branch, they appointed recently baptized converts as lay ministers, and relied on them to bring in additional converts. Thus, Benjamin Johnson was the only person the American Elder, Elisha Hildebrand Davis, actually baptized and confirmed in any of the three branches the Johnsons belonged to.⁶⁶ In other words, the Edlesborough Branch continued to grow and prosper because of the efforts of recently baptized members who began serving as missionaries, some immediately following their baptism.⁶⁷

In the Edlesborough Branch alone, Benjamin Johnson baptized thirty people, Robert Hodgert twenty-three people, George Smith fifteen, Berrill Covington twelve, John Mead, a priest, nineteen, and Samuel Impey, also a priest, twenty-six.⁶⁸ These missionaries did not

⁶⁵ See Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL. See also Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 363-365 for a list of persons baptized, confirmed, and ordained to priesthood offices by Benjamin Johnson.

⁶⁶ See Eaton Bray Branch Record, or Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

⁶⁷ For example, while the elders were confirming Thomas Squires, they ordained him an elder “before taking off their hands.” In John Paternoster Squires, *Notes of interest to the descendents of Thomas Squires*, (Salt Lake City: Eva Beatrice Squires Poleman, 1970): 139.

⁶⁸ Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.

confine their efforts to the Edlesborough Branch; Benjamin baptized nearly twenty people into the Eaton Bray and Studham Branches,⁶⁹ and all of the other local missionaries baptized members in nearby branches.⁷⁰ This paper will show the heavy involvement of newly baptized converts was crucial to the growth of the Church throughout Buckinghamshire.

The Edlesborough Branch grew to be nearly four times larger than any other nineteenth century Buckinghamshire branch, and the extant records only span the years 1846-1849. Elder Robert Hodgert, a local convert who became a missionary, wrote of the success of the Church in this area: "The work continued, steadily increasing; truth was triumphant; the word was confirmed with signs following, much to the astonishment of the people. The Truth had now taken deep root... Nothing else was talked about except this new doctrine and these men who are turning the world upside down."⁷¹ By 1850, the growth of the Church in this area was formally recognized by Church leaders in London, and on 5 January of that year, Elder John Banks, then President of the London Conference, transferred the Luton, Edlesborough, Flamstead, Hemel Hempstead and Studham Branches from the London Conference to the Bedfordshire Conference.⁷² Interestingly, this formal action, recorded in the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, is the last men-

⁶⁹ See Eaton Bray Branch Record; Film no. 86996, Item 12. See also Studham Branch Record, Film no. 87035, Items 10-11, FHL. It is important to note that some of these individuals' Church membership records were later transferred to the Edlesborough Branch; Benjamin Johnson baptized a total of 36. See, Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 30.

⁷⁰ See Eaton Bray Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Studham Branch Record, Film no. 87035, Items 10-11; See also Kensworth Branch Record, Film no. 87007, Items 10-12, FHL.

⁷¹ Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

⁷² "Special General Conference," *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1850, 26-27.

tion made of the Edlesborough Branch in any extant official or other historical document.⁷³

This could well be the result of the large number of Edlesborough Saints who emigrated from 1851 through 1868. Of the 163 names found on this branch record, seventy-seven can be identified as emigrants, which was 47 percent of the Branch's total membership. Most of these families emigrated through the Church's official emigration offices located in Liverpool.⁷⁴ One noteworthy exception, the George Cheshire family, emigrated through London on the famed sail ship *Amazon*,⁷⁵ and an account of their emigration was included in Charles Dickens' *The Uncommercial Traveller*.⁷⁶

The other Buckinghamshire branch that was organized on April 1, 1849 was located at Simpson. Elder Reed⁷⁷ formally organized this branch on the same day he baptized William Luck, his mother, Rosannah Button Luck, and Ellen Briant.⁷⁸ William's father John Luck and David Cowley were baptized shortly after,⁷⁹ and Cowley was called as the first Branch President.⁸⁰ This branch was unlike the one based at Edlesborough in two significant ways. Although Simpson was less than three miles from the Buckinghamshire/Bedfordshire boundary, there is no evidence its origins had any links with LDS activities in the neighboring counties. Furthermore, the Church in the Simpson area was

⁷³ See British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, "Eddlesborough Branch, London and Bedfordshire Conference," Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 2, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. There is no mention of this branch after 1850 in the *Millennial Star* or any other public or private document cited in this work.

⁷⁴ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL. See also Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868, Database, accessed online, <<http://www.lds.org/Churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>>, April-July, 2007.

⁷⁵ "George and Elizabeth Cheshire," Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

⁷⁶ Dickens, *The Writings of Charles Dickens*, 27:202.

⁷⁷ See "Conference Minutes," *Millennial Star*, August 15, 1847, 247.

⁷⁸ Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.

⁷⁹ Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12 FHL.

⁸⁰ Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography, 1849-1877*, call no. MSS 881, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT., 123.

severely hampered by intense opposition from local landowners who did everything possible to frustrate missionary activities, trying to prevent the holding of public meetings and the establishment of a meeting place. Simpson's contrast with Edlesborough, where success must have owed something to the high status of the Johnson family, is striking.

Elder Job Smith, the President of the Bedfordshire Conference wrote of the difficulty encountered by members of the Church: "proceeded next day to Simpson. Here is a small branch of the Church under the presidency of David Cowley. I staid at the house of William Luck. The landlords of all the saints houses here positively forbid any meetings being held therein, consequently I had to get the saints together in a covert manner and teach them."⁸¹ (Original spelling retained). Although Elder Smith and other missionaries sought to minister to the saints in this branch, the continued opposition to the Church is reflected in later journal entries. On December 5, 1852, Elder Smith wrote, "Called at Simpson and comforted the few saints there,"⁸² and on May 30, 1853 he penned, "I... privately visited the Saints at Simpson."⁸³

Despite intense opposition from local landlords, the Simpson Branch grew from the original three members to thirty-eight, with most of that growth occurring between 1849 and 1850.⁸⁴ As with the branches in the Edlesborough area, newly baptized convert missionaries made a significant contribution. One notable example was William Luck, a young man who did not marry until after he immigrated to 'Zion' (Utah). Of the original thirty members of this branch, thirteen came into the Church as a result of Luck's efforts.⁸⁵ Although the extant record of the Simpson Branch only spans the years 1849-1853, other records of members in this area have been located.⁸⁶ An unprecedented twenty-nine of the eventual thirty-eight people recorded as

⁸¹ Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 123.

⁸² Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 178.

⁸³ Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 186.

⁸⁴ Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.

⁸⁵ Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.

⁸⁶ Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.

members of this branch emigrated—an astoundingly high 76 percent compared to the emigration rates of other Buckinghamshire branches, which ranged from 37 percent to 47 percent.⁸⁷

One of the families that joined after 1853 was the Alexander George Sutherland family, of Stony Stratford. They converted in 1862 and emigrated the same year, eventually settling in Springville, Utah. Shortly before they left England, Alexander's wife, Frances, gave birth to a son, George Alexander Sutherland. Although George never embraced the faith, he later established himself as an attorney and politician in the state of Utah, and became the only Utahn to ever be appointed as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.⁸⁸

The third nineteenth century Buckinghamshire branch was established at Wooburn Green. Although this branch was not officially organized until August 22, 1850,⁸⁹ it had its beginnings in 1849, just like the Edlesborough and Simpson Branches. Unlike those branches, however, this branch was located on the south-western side of Buckinghamshire. It did resemble the Edlesborough Branch in that its ultimate origins lay outside the county, in this case in Berkshire rather than Bedfordshire.

The first converts to move to the Wooburn Green area were Thomas Tanner and his family, who had joined the Church in 1843, in their hometown of Newbury, Berkshire.⁹⁰ Shortly after the Tanner family arrived in Wooburn Green in 1849, Thomas followed the pattern established by many other Mormon converts; he began to share the message of the restored gospel with anyone who would listen. His efforts eventually led to the conversion of the first Wooburn Green natives: William and Susan Beesley and their son Ebenezer, who were

⁸⁷ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

⁸⁸ See: <http://historytogo.uth.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/georgesutherland.html>, accessed April 23, 2007.

⁸⁹ British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 6, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

⁹⁰ Newbury Branch Record, Film no. 87020, Items 17-20, FHL.

all baptized by Tanner in September of 1849.⁹¹ Initially, the Wooburn Green Mormons were attached to the Newbury Branch, but substantial distance led to the establishment of a separate branch.⁹²

By 1850, membership of the Church in Wooburn Green had risen to thirty.⁹³ Many came into the Church through the efforts of American missionaries, but Tanner was responsible for ten conversions – thus following the model already seen at Edlesborough and Simpson.⁹⁴ Although Tanner had more experience in the Gospel, William Beesley was appointed as the first president of the Wooburn Branch.⁹⁵ This further illustrates the point that the involvement of recent converts was not only the pattern, but one of the keys to the growth of the Church in Buckinghamshire.

Even though the Mormons at Wooburn Green experienced serious opposition, similar to those at Simpson, the Wooburn Branch was able to meet in public. Although a meetinghouse was not reported in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship,⁹⁶ a local trade directory of 1853 indicated that among the other Churches in Wooburn Green, the Mormons also had a place of worship.⁹⁷ It was identified as a “Mormon Chapel.”⁹⁸ However, historical evidence indicates there was no dedicated Church building in Wooburn Green, and the trade directories do not include a location of the building. However, the name of Henry Hancock, the second branch president of the Wooburn Branch, does

⁹¹ Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.

⁹² Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.

⁹³ British Mission historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.

⁹⁴ See Newbury Branch Record, Film no. 87020, Items 17-20, and Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.

⁹⁵ British Mission historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.

⁹⁶ See Edward Legg, ed., *Buckingham Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*, (Aylesbury, England: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1991).

⁹⁷ *Mussen and Craven's Commercial Directory of the County of Buckinghamshire*, (Nottingham, England: Stevenson and Company, 1853), 90. Information obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan of Wooburn Green.

⁹⁸ *Mussen and Craven's Commercial Directory*, 99.

appears in the Wooburn Green Census Records for the years 1851 and 1861.⁹⁹

By carefully calculating the route taken by the census taker and using known landmarks that existed then and still exist today (for example, “The Red Lion Inn” Public House pictured below)¹⁰⁰ it was possible to establish the residence occupied by Henry Hancock and his family during that time period. This information became increasingly interesting because the 1861 census records that a “Minister of the Latter-day Saints” named George Alfred Wiscombe was also residing with the Hancock family. This led to the notion that an official minister of the Church residing in the home might indicate the home may have been used for Church meetings, and may have even been the “Mormon Chapel” reported in the local trade directories of 1853.

This was confirmed when an entry in Henry Hancock’s eldest daughter Sarah’s life history was discovered which states “Church leaders in Wooburn held meetings in the Hancock home.”¹⁰¹ Fortunately, this home is still extant today and is included in the local Historical Site index as “No. 36” on “The Green” in Wooburn¹⁰² verifying that it did

⁹⁹ Wooburn Green, Buckinghamshire County, England, 1851 British census, record H.O. 1071719; Wooburn Green, Buckinghamshire County, England, 1861 British census, record R.G. 9/857.

¹⁰⁰ The building which was crucial to establishing the site of Calico Square and the building the census taker went into after leaving Calico Square was the ‘Anchor’ public house rather than the Red Lion. The ‘Anchor’ is now a private dwelling called ‘the Anchor House’. The Red Lion was also useful in establishing the position of the ‘Anchor’ public house because it is still externally labelled such. I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence Linehan for making the painstaking efforts to calculate this using the 1861 census returns and period maps of Wooburn Green.

¹⁰¹ Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 696.

¹⁰² The home is referred to as “Clematis Cottage,” reference number SU 98 NW, 6/180 in the historical site index. The ‘Department of the Environment List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, Borough of High Wycombe, Bucks’ was published by the Department of the Environment under the terms of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1984 in London. A version of the list, updated in February 1989, is in High Wycombe Reference

in fact exist at the time a “Mormon Chapel” was listed in *Mussen and Craven’s Commercial Directory* noted above. Pictures of the Hancock residence, which doubled as the “Mormon Chapel” (No. 36 on The Green), as well as the “Red Lion Inn,” are displayed below.



Figure 3. Hancock residence, which doubled as the “Mormon Chapel



Figure 4. Red Lion Inn

Life for members of the Church in Wooburn Green was not easy. For a while, at least, they had to contend with aggressive anti-

Library, which I visited on 4 August, 2007. The list shows that the building at 36 on The Green is not a later replacement - it can only be the building where the Reverend Wiscombe was a guest of the Hancocks in 1861. Information obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan.

Mormon campaigns. Reverend F. B. Ashley, Vicar of Wooburn, wrote in his *Personal Memoirs*:

The Mormonites were very active long before I came, in the neighbourhood and in the parish, and at that time a priest used to preach on Sundays for three-quarters of an hour at the sign-post between the Vicarage and the Church. I cautioned all I could not to stop or take any notice, but it was a real nuisance when the Holy Communion was administered, for his voice was strong, and he supposed all had left the Church.... I heard one day that the Independent minister... went up to him; the result was a challenge to a public discussion on Wooburn Green the following Thursday. I was sorry, and called a meeting of teachers and communicants for that evening and put a sketch of the subject before them. Platforms were erected on the Green, four Mormon preachers were brought from London, and my fears were realized. The well-meaning challenger was a novice in the matter; the Mormons had a happy hit in reply to anything he said; he appeared to be beaten, and two houses for Mormon preaching were opened on the Green for week-days as well as Sundays.

My policy had been not to notice the subject, it was so unworthy, but the new revelation took readily; numbers joined, and the crowds that came could not be seated. As general attention had everywhere been drawn to the movement, it would not do to appear blind. The next Sunday morning ... I went to Church not having made my mind what to do, but after the service I gave notice that I would give a lecture on Mormonism in the school-room the following Thursday. It caused great excitement... I sallied out on Thursday evening, and found the road and the room blocked with people. A mill-owner who was amongst them came to me and offered his Sol-room, which was perfectly empty, and would hold a great number standing... By the time I got to the Sol-room it was... crammed to the door. With difficulty a small table and a cask to put on it got inside. I then mounted, and kept them listening for two hours. The quiet was intense, and I could hear nothing but now and then a gasp of sensation and the scratching of the Mormon reporters' pens.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Francis Busteed Ashley, *Pen and Pencil Sketches - a retrospect of nearly Eighty Years, including about twelve in the artillery and Fifty in the Ministry of the Church of England* by Nemo [i.e. Francis Busteed Ashley], (London:

Reverend Ashley's anti-Mormon lectures were eventually published¹⁰⁴ and multiple editions circulated.¹⁰⁵ His pamphlet, *Mormonism: An exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called "The Latter-day Saints"* sought to clarify and expose his views on the prophet-leader Joseph Smith, the "Golden Plates" from which the "Book of Mormon" was purportedly translated, and other "Mormon Doctrines" and "Mormon Attractions." His arguments corresponded closely with other contemporary anti-Mormon tracts published throughout England but appear to be the only anti-Mormon clerical publications that actually originated from Buckinghamshire during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ He said Joseph Smith was a "false prophet" that "lived a vagrant life with no honest employment," spent his days looking for buried treasure through supernatural means and was adept at deceiving others into believing his pretended revelations.

He recounted accounts of the purported altercations the Mormons had with government officials and citizens in the states of Missouri and Illinois, accusing Joseph Smith and his followers of treason, the attempted murder of the ex-governor of Missouri, and other atrocities. He discredited the Book of Mormon as a piracy of Solomon Spaulding's work *Manuscript Found*, and the existence of the plates from whence it purportedly originated. He also criticized the Mormon belief that God is an anthropomorphic being, because this doctrine contradicts the belief in the Holy Trinity.

Nisbet, 1889), 158-160. This information was also obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan.

¹⁰⁴ Francis Busteed Ashley, *Mormonism: an exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called "The Latter-day Saints,"* (London: J. Hatchard, 1851).

¹⁰⁵ Ashley, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 160.

¹⁰⁶ See Craig L. Foster, *Penny tracts and polemics: a critical analysis of anti-Mormon pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860*, (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 221-234. The author of this article checked each reference on the list provided by Mr. Foster against *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, vols. 5-6, Reel 3, World Microfilms Publications Ltd.

However, Reverend Ashley was not alone—other anti-Mormon sentiments were expressed in the *Bucks Free Press*, the local newspaper that circulated in Wooburn and elsewhere in the county. These reports ranged from accounts of the Mormons in Utah purportedly rising up in treason against the United States government, to public encouragement of immorality, to commentary on the pitiable condition of “innocent and deceived” emigrants who were leaving England for Utah.¹⁰⁷

Despite the opposition, the members in Wooburn Green appeared to be content with their new-found religion and lifestyle. In contrast to the somewhat depressed journal entries of Elder Job Smith in the Simpson area, a letter written by Elder Samuel Stephen Jones in 1872 reported that “We have a very fair, lively branch at Woburn, Bucks.... The saints are rather more numerous [than in other areas]... and evince a good lively spirit.”¹⁰⁸ Another missionary, Elder James Payne, wrote that in 1876 he was “laboring with great joy in the London Conference... On this tour I first visited Wooburn Green; held meeting and rebaptized 4 persons.”¹⁰⁹ These letters are surprisingly positive, especially as elsewhere in England the fortunes of the Church appear to have been in decline by the 1870s. This was probably due to the effects of religious persecution associated with anti- campaigns, alleged problems in Utah, and perhaps most of all, to general apathy and lack of religious fervor in England.¹¹⁰

It is possible that relatively favorable conditions at Wooburn Green may have reduced incentives to emigrate, although other factors, to be discussed later, were also at work. Of the thirty original members,

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, “Mormonism” and “The Crisis of Mormonism,” *Bucks Free Press*, June 5, 1857 and “More News about the Mormons,” *Bucks Free Press*, May 21, 1858. These newspaper articles were also provided by Mr. Lawrence Linehan.

¹⁰⁸ “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, September 17, 1872, 603.

¹⁰⁹ “Home Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, February 21, 1876, 124.

¹¹⁰ Bruce Van Orden, “The Decline in Convert Baptisms and Member Emigration from the British Mission after 1870,” *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987):103-104.

only thirteen (43 percent) can be identified as having emigrated.¹¹¹ Included among those who did not emigrate were William Beesley, the first president of the Wooburn Branch, and his wife Susannah.¹¹² However, the second branch president, Henry Hancock,¹¹³ and his wife Esther did emigrate.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, Ebenezer Beesley, son of the first branch president, married Sarah Hancock, daughter of the second branch president. The young couple emigrated in 1859¹¹⁵ and settled in Salt Lake City. Ebenezer had shown great promise as a musician from his early years, and after moving to Utah he continued his musical training. He eventually became a renowned director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.¹¹⁶ In fact, the current edition of the LDS hymnbook attributes the tunes of thirteen hymns to Ebenezer Beesley,¹¹⁷ including Hymn no. 76, which is sung to a tune Beesley named “Wooburn Green.”¹¹⁸

On March 7, 1852, the final nineteenth century Buckinghamshire branch of record was organized at Aylesbury. Like other Buckinghamshire branches, this congregation was located near the boundary of another county; Aylesbury is close to the ‘tongue’ of Hert-

¹¹¹ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL. See also Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868 Database, accessed online, <<http://www.lds.org/Churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>>, April-July, 2007.

¹¹² “William Sheppard Beesley and Susannah Edwards Beesley Family Group Record,” ancestral file numbers 1H79-D3 and 1H79-F8, accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007. Not only do their names not appear on the Mormon Immigration Index or the Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel Database, their family group record indicates they both died in England.

¹¹³ British Mission historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.

¹¹⁴ “Household of Henry and Esther Hancock,” 1880 United State Census Record, Liberty, Bear Lake, Idaho, Film No. 1254173, 98D, accessed online, <familysearch.org>, July 25, 2007.

¹¹⁵ “Ebenezer and Sarah Hancock Beesley,” Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

¹¹⁶ Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:739.

¹¹⁷ *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 387.

¹¹⁸ *Hymns*, 404.

fordshire, which comes within a few miles of the town. Like Simpson, membership of the Aylesbury Branch did not result from a migration of recently baptized members, but rather from the efforts of missionaries sent to the area. One of these missionaries, Elder Job Smith, then president of the Bedfordshire Conference, wrote of the significant challenges they faced. His entry of March 5, 1852 reads:

Went to Buckingham to visit Elder E.W. Tullidge, one of the traveling elders sent from our conference at Bedford to raise up a branch of the Church. Found him at the house of a deist. I soon learned that he had forsaken his mission and Mormonism; and that he was now a disbeliever in all revealed religion. I reasoned with him but soon found that it was altogether in vain. He expressed disbelief in the Prophet Joseph Smith, in the present authorities and the whole system and in respect to God, he did not know anything of him, but "if he were consumed in hell by him he would then rise up and damn him." At Brother Underwood's the same evening I excommunicated him from the Church. And this at his own request. Next day proceeded to Aylesbury where Elder [William] S. Cope was laboring. He had labored here eight months and baptized 5 persons. A very dull prospect presented itself, but as a family that were scattered at another place were about to move thither it was concluded to organize a branch which was done the 7th [of] March. I endeavored to get a congregation to preach to, by sending the bellman round town, etc., but could not get anybody to come.¹¹⁹

A month later, Elder Smith recorded:

Visited Brother Cope and in consequence of his ill health released him from this labors in the ministry.... Next day proceeded to Buckingham. Found Brother Underwood discouraged. Counseled him to move to a branch of the Church; he said he would. Next day went to Aylesbury. Found Brother Cope trying to heal up difficulties in that young branch which he had raised. Here we had a meeting and cut off two members at their own request; tried to do

¹¹⁹ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 147-149.

the best I could to set matters straight with them but I found that the elements were not there for a good branch of the Church.¹²⁰

The Aylesbury Branch record, which covers the years 1851-1853, only lists the names of three of the first five members baptized by Elder Cope, corroborating Smith's story of excommunication.¹²¹ Provisionally, the "family that was scattered at another place" which was "about to move thither" was the George Smith family.¹²² As noted previously, George joined the Church a decade earlier in Hemel Hempstead and served as the president of that branch. His family had already lived in Great Missenden from 1838-1840 and when he returned there sometime after the organization of the Aylesbury Branch, he brought not only his large family of twelve,¹²³ but also his missionary zeal and considerable Church leadership experience. He had already brought nine people into the Hemel Hempstead and Studham Branches,¹²⁴ and upon arriving in Aylesbury, he brought an additional sixteen people into the Church, including some of his own family. His efforts helped the branch grow from five members to thirty in two years.¹²⁵ As in the other three branches examined above, most of the missionary work and convert baptisms in the Aylesbury Branch resulted from the efforts of the native English member-missionaries.

George Smith's missionary efforts apparently had a positive effect on the general morale of the members and missionaries, and made an impression on the local community as a whole. On Sunday, December 12, 1852, only seven months after the Smith family relocated to Great Missenden, Elder Job Smith wrote, "Visited Brother George Smith of Great Missenden. Held a meeting and had a good congrega-

¹²⁰ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 156-158.

¹²¹ Aylesbury Branch Record, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16, FHL.

¹²² See Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 158.

¹²³ "George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record," ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.

¹²⁴ See Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, and the Studham Branch Record Film no. 87035, Items 10-11, FHL.

¹²⁵ Aylesbury Branch Record, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16, FHL.

tion to hear me. Next day visited the saints at Aylesbury.”¹²⁶ On January 16, 1853, Elder Smith noted he had “received letters of success of Elder [Richard] Aldridge in Aylesbury”¹²⁷ who had baptized seven more people, and on March 29, 1853 he wrote: “Preached at Aylesbury. Brother Aldridge is laboring here and in Buckingham. Next day proceeded to Buckingham. Found E.W. Tullidge rebaptized, married and housekeeping, and opening his house for meeting. I was much pleased with this, for although he broke loose before, he is a young man of singular and peculiarly adapted talents.”¹²⁸

Elder Job Smith’s assessment of Elder Tullidge proved to be accurate though perhaps only to a certain degree. E.W. Tullidge eventually emigrated to America,¹²⁹ and after arriving in Utah, he pursued an ambitious career in publishing, both in Utah and on the East Coast. His career had many ups and downs, and sadly, towards the end of his life he became destitute. While still a member of the Church, he continued to publish articles and books hostile towards the Church and its leaders. He was finally excommunicated a second time, again at his own request. Tullidge vacillated between anti-Mormon movements, once more repeating the instability he had shown at Buckingham. Yet Elder Smith was right to say that Tullidge possessed “peculiarly adapted talents,” which would be demonstrated by his biographies of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and perhaps most of all in his *History of Salt Lake City*.¹³⁰

In 1854 George Smith’s family of twelve—who represented 40 percent of the membership of the Aylesbury Branch—emigrated at the request of Church leaders in Utah, and became the only members listed

¹²⁶ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 179.

¹²⁷ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 181.

¹²⁸ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 185-186.

¹²⁹ Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868 Database, accessed online, <http://www.lds.org/Churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>, April-July, 2007.

¹³⁰ Ronald W. Walker, “Edward Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon commonwealth,” *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 55-72.

in the Aylesbury Branch record to do so.¹³¹ George and Caroline eventually settled in what they called “Pleasant Valley,” Nevada. A biographical sketch of George reads: “Mr. Smith was one of the first, if not the first white man to settle along the Eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; and by indomitable will and great energy, has accomplished what very few men could have done. The danger surrounding such an early settlement among the Indians cannot be fully portrayed.”¹³² His diligent efforts as a member-missionary are also reflected in this tribute.

Although official branch records indicate that only the Smith family emigrated, other sources suggest there were at least five other people who joined this small branch and emigrated after 1854. The *Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* paid tribute to a woman named Amelia Mary Champneys, born in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. She died in Ogden, Utah in 1893 at the age of 36, and was reported to have been “a faithful Latter-day Saint” her entire life. She emigrated with her husband, Thomas, who was also a member of the Church.¹³³ In addition, Robert Price and his older siblings Samuel and Matilda emigrated in 1855, one year after the Smiths. Robert was baptized at Great Misenden, in 1853, and after emigrating, returned to England to serve as a missionary and upon his return to America was called as the bishop in Paris, Idaho.¹³⁴

IMPACT OF LOCAL CONVERT MISSIONARIES

As can be seen in Table 1 below, Mormon missionary work and convert baptisms in nineteenth century Buckinghamshire followed a relatively consistent pattern. Each branch began when missionaries from America converted a small group of key individuals, who then, almost immediately following their baptisms, began proselytizing their friends and neighbors. The initial efforts of the American missionaries brought a small group into the Church and a branch was formed; this

¹³¹ Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.

¹³² Myron Angel, *History of Nevada*, 633.

¹³³ “Died,” *Millennial Star*, July 10, 1893, 460.

¹³⁴ Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:36.

was followed by a larger group of converts resulting from the efforts of the newly baptized member-missionaries.

Branch Name	Converts by American Missionaries	Converts by Native Missionaries	Converts-Missionary not listed	Total Membership
Edlesborough	19	125	19	163
Simpson	10	13	15	38
Wooburn	9	10	11	30
Aylesbury	12	16	7	35
Totals	50	164	52	266

Table 1: Buckinghamshire Convert Baptisms and Associated Missionary Efforts

DEMOGRAPHICS OF CHURCH MEMBERS

This research not only takes into account those people who joined one of the four Buckinghamshire branches for which records exist, but also those who were born in Buckinghamshire but were members of other branches elsewhere in England.¹³⁵

¹³⁵Data included in Tables 1-4 was extracted from the following branch records: Aylesbury, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16; Bedford, Film no. 86798; Bromley, Film no. 86989, Items 1-8; Croydon, Film no. 86993, Items 8-14; Deptford, Film no. 86994, Items 7-9; Eaton Bray, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Edlesborough, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Finsbury, Film no. 86998, Items 12-14; Great Staughton, Film no. 87000, Item 15; Haggerstone, Film no. 87001, Items 5-6; Hemel Hempstead, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10; Holloway, Film no. 87003, Items 8-10; Kennington, Film no. 87007, Items 6-8; Kensworth, Film no. 87007, Items 10-12; Lambeth, Film no. 87008, Items 2-8; London, Film no. 87103; Luton, Film no. 87106, Items 17-20; Northampton, Film no. 87023, Items 2-3; Notting Hill, Film no. 87026, Item 6; Poplar, Film no. 87028, Items 1-3; Simpson, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12; Stoke Newington, Film no. 87001, Items 1-4; Studham, Film no. 87035, Items 10-11; Wellingborough, Film no. 87038, Items 5-8; Whetstone, Film no. 87038, Items 24-27; Windsor, Film no. 87038, Items 37-38; Wooburn, Film no. 87039, Item 10; and Woolwich, Film no. 87039, Items 16-18, FHL.

GENDER AND AGE AT TIME OF BAPTISM.

The tables below show the gender as well as the age of members at the time of their baptism. The total numbers in both charts does not agree because information regarding the age of each new convert was not available.

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	175	47%
Female	194	53%
Total	369	100%

Table 2: Gender of Converts

Age	Number	Percent
8-17 yrs. old	44	19%
18-30 yrs. old	93	41%
31+ yrs. old	90	40%
Total	227	100%

Table 3: Age at the Time of Baptism

Table 2 shows the total number of females exceeding the total number of males by 6 percent. Table 3 indicates that over 80 percent of converts for whom this information was available were adults at the time of their baptism.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF CONVERTS.

Those joining the Church in Buckinghamshire were almost exclusively from the poor or laboring class. Trade Directories provide one possible source of information about those who joined the Church. Yet, a careful analysis of these directories published by different companies from 1847 through 1854 revealed that only 10 of 369 members are listed in any directory.¹³⁶ This is a significant indicator of economic

¹³⁶ See "William Savage, Millwright, Wooburn Green;" in *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 51; "James Gough, Butcher, Aylesbury;" in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1765; "William Read, Butcher, North Crawley," in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1784; "John Cheshire, Carpenter, Eddlesborough," in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1787; "Mr. Elizabeth Cheshire, Beer Retailer, Eddlesborough,"

status, in that these directories included only the names of those belonging to the gentry' class – of whom none joined the Church – and of those who had businesses or professions, if only at a relatively humble level. Ten of the Buckinghamshire converts are included in the latter category; the remaining 359 must have come from the ranks of the laboring classes, whether skilled or unskilled.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Unknown	75	42%
Labourer	22	12%
Spinster	19	11%
Wife	19	11%
Shoemaker	7	4%
Widow	4	2%
Farmer	3	2%
Artist, Baker, Barman, Basket Maker, Blacksmith, Bookkeeper, Brick Layer, Brick maker, Carpenter, Child, Draper, Driver, Gardener, General Dealer, Green Grocer, Milkman, Millwright, Miner, Minister, Pipe Maker, Plaiter, Shepherd, Watchman	Either 1 or 2 people listed each of these	Remaining 16%, but all of them less than 1% by themselves. These were the “skilled laborers.”
Totals	179	100%

Table 4: Occupations of Buckinghamshire Emigrants¹³⁷

Another source of information regarding the economic condition of these converts is the *Mormon Immigration Index*. Some of the occupations of adult members, taken from that index, are displayed in

in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847, 1787*; “James Hall, boot and shoe maker and dealer, Aylesbury” and “Joseph Taylor, boot and shoe maker, town crier, Aylesbury,” in *Musson and Craven's Commercial Directory of the County of Buckingham, 1853, 11*; “William Bailey, shoemaker, Aylesbury,” in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854, 72*; “William Harrowell, boot and shoe maker, Cheddington,” in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854, 89*; and “Henry Box, tailor, Wooburn Green,” in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854, 155*.

¹³⁷ See *Mormon Immigration Index*, FHL.

Table 4, above. The largest single group of adult emigrants (45 percent) did not report an occupation. Of those who did, only 20 percent reported one that would have classified them as a “skilled laborer.”¹³⁸ It is important to consider that this information was only available for those members whose names were recorded in the *Mormon Immigration Index*, which does not contain a complete listing of all those who emigrated. This information is further skewed in that it includes only a partial list of those with sufficient means to emigrate. In other words, those too poor to emigrate are not represented.

As is shown in Table 4 above, of the 369 members on record, evidence could only be found documenting the emigration of 179, or 49 percent. At least one explanation for this was the poor economic condition of the members of the Church in Buckinghamshire. Missionary correspondence suggests this was a major factor in determining emigration rates. On February 4, 1863, Elder Joseph Bull wrote:

In this conference, as well as in many others, the Saints are poor as in regards to the goods of this life... Though surrounded by poverty and hard task-masters, with their attendant train of trying circumstances... many are looking forward with eager anxiety for the emigration season to open, that they may gather to the bosom of the Church. That they may do so, nothing is being left untried on their part which will help them to accomplish this so-much-desired object. Several, who have struggled with poverty for years, will have the privilege of emigrating themselves with their own means, having a rigid economy saved out of their weekly pittances, through years of struggling, sufficient to accomplish the much-desired object.¹³⁹

This excerpt, from a letter written by Elder Bull, highlights several important points: (a) the impoverished condition of many of the Saints, (b) their near-universal desire to emigrate to Utah, and (c) the necessity for Saints to save for their own travel, instead of relying on charitable assistance.

¹³⁸ 4% reported “shoemaker,” together with the 16% skilled group.

¹³⁹ “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, March 14, 1863, 173.

Elder R. F. Neslen explained the difficulty facing the Saints seeking to acquire the resources needed for emigration: “Saturday, March 24, [1871] found me visiting among the saints in Stony Stratford and Deanshanger. In these places I found the saints rejoicing in the work, and hoping fervently that their way of deliverance might be shortly opened. They seemingly have not gotten discouraged concerning gathering yet, although, so far as their own means is concerned, their prospects are not much brighter than they were when I became acquainted with them in 1855.”¹⁴⁰ Later that same year, however, Elder George W. Wilkin, also writing from Stony Stratford, noted: “The Saints, as a general thing, are poor to this worlds goods, but the greater portion of them are rich in faith. Quite a number have emigrated since my arrival, and many more are expected to go this season.”¹⁴¹ Despite their poverty, some gradually acquired sufficient money. On October 29, 1873, more than two years after Elder Wilkin wrote, Elder Robert W. Heyborne reported the following, also from Stony Stratford: “We have been able to emigrate 40 persons from the Conference for Utah. Considering the small number in the conference, and the impoverished condition of most of the saints, I feel highly satisfied.”¹⁴²

He wrote again on April 23, 1874: “Considering the impoverished condition of the many of the saints through their limited wages, they are doing well in saving means for emigration, which will enable them, at no very distant future, to affect their deliverance.”¹⁴³ Table 5 below indicates the percentage of members who emigrated based on all known sources of information.

Branch Name	Date Organized	Total Membership	(#) and % Emigrated
Edlesborough	April 1, 1849	163	(77) 47%
Simpson	April 1, 1849	38	(29) 76%

¹⁴⁰ “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, April 18, 1871, 252.

¹⁴¹ “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, August 29, 1871, 555.

¹⁴² “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, November 4, 1873, 699.

¹⁴³ “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star*, May 5, 1874, 283.

Wooburn	August 22, 1850	30	(13) 43%
Aylesbury	March 7, 1852	35	(17) 49%
Various others	1842 on	103	(43) 42%
Totals		369	(179) 49%

Table 5: Percentage of Members Who Emigrated from 19th Century Branches

Stories of financial challenge, difficulty, and even tragedy abound in the personal journals and diaries of the saints waiting to emigrate. For example, Charlotte Johnson, widow of the deceased Benjamin Johnson, was left with the responsibility of raising nine children between ages two and sixteen.¹⁴⁴ Before he died, Benjamin gathered his family around him and said to Charlotte: “Mother, when you sell what little property we possess and pay off our debts you will have enough money to take you and the children to Utah. So after I die you take our family and to Utah where you can live with the Saints and enjoy the blessings there.”¹⁴⁵ Following her husband’s wishes, Charlotte sold their property and sent the necessary money to the British Mission Office, entrusting it to a missionary going to Liverpool and then on to America.

He agreed to open an account in her name with the Emigration Fund. However, when the missionary got to Liverpool, he kept the money for himself and took it to California. After waiting eleven years for the Church to help her recoup the money, and with no other hope of emigrating, Elder Franklin D. Richards, President of the British Mission, finally made arrangements for Charlotte Johnson family to emigrate, which they did in 1868.

Trying as these circumstances must have been, there are also stories of extraordinary generosity. When Sister Ann Austin of Frithsden read in the *Millennial Star* that part of the ship *Minnesota* had

¹⁴⁴ Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 31.

¹⁴⁵ Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 30.

been chartered by Mormon emigrants, she decided that this was the vessel that would take her family to America. Unfortunately for the Austins, they did not have enough money. Not long before the *Minnesota* was due to depart Bartel Turner, a neighbor from Ivinghoe, surprised them by offering to lend them enough money to emigrate. At first Brother Austin hesitated to accept this generous offer, but finally became convinced that his family's prayers were being answered in a miraculous way. As a result of Brother Turner's generosity, John and Ann Austin and their ten children sailed from Liverpool, on June 22, 1868.¹⁴⁶

Recent converts were not alone in their struggle to raise sufficient funds to emigrate. Expected to proselyte following the New Testament model, without "purse or scrip,"¹⁴⁷ full-time missionaries were almost completely reliant on charitable offerings for their daily sustenance, as well as sufficient funds for emigration. One historian noted a "systematic fund-raising was undertaken in behalf of elders returning to Zion.... Local converts who spent their full time in the ministry were not always so fortunate... but they were usually able at least to borrow the means to emigrate."¹⁴⁸ This appears to be the case with the missionaries that served in Buckinghamshire. Elder Job Smith wrote about his fund-raising efforts for returning American missionary, John Spiers: "Having walked thither the two previous days.... In all of these places I asked the Saints to raise funds to assist Elder Spiers to emigrate, as he was liberated to return to the valley.... I therefore labored faithfully to render him assistance. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday visited the branches of Luton, Hensworth, and Eaton Bray, holding meetings and raising funds for Br. Spiers."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ See "John Austin" in Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:114.

¹⁴⁷ Richard L. Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?: financing Latter-day Saint missionary work in Europe in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985):3-4.

¹⁴⁸ Jensen, "Without Purse or Scrip?," 4-5.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 137-138.

The collection began on October 24, 1851 and by January 10, 1852, Elder Spiers had emigrated. However, when Elder Thomas Squires, a local convert who served as a full-time missionary for “many years” expressed a desire to emigrate, he apparently experienced a longer wait, although means for his emigration were eventually provided. His life sketch records the following: “Finally the authorities of the Church... gave him the privilege of emigrating to Zion. The conference over which he presided furnished the means to defray the expenses of the journey.”¹⁵⁰

Location	Total Population	Total Members	Percent
Addington	71	1	1.4%
Aylesbury	6043	11	0.2%
Buckingham	3390	7	0.2%
Buckland	661	3	0.5%
Cheddington	639	3	0.5%
Cuddington	623	1	0.2%
Denham	1062	2	0.2%
Dorney	355	11	3.1%
Claydon(s)	1395	2	0.1%
Edlesborough	1558	14	0.9%
Eton	3796	9	0.2%
Fawley	254	1	0.4%
Fenny Stratford	860	1	0.1%
Frithsden	269	1	0.4%
Great Brickhill	729	1	0.1%
Great Horwood	834	2	0.2%
Great Missenden	2096	18	0.9%
High Wycombe	7178	2	less than 0.1%
Ivinghoe	1894	9	0.5%
Marsh Gibbon	944	1	0.1%
Marsworth	463	1	0.2%
Milton Keynes	317	1	0.3%
Monks Risborough	1064	1	less than 0.1%
Mursley	553	2	0.4%
Newport Pagnell	3651	3	less than 0.1%
North Crawley	914	5	0.5%
Northall	496	4	0.8%
Olney	2331	13	0.6%
Padbury	660	2	0.3%

¹⁵⁰ Squires, Notes of interest to the descendents of Thomas Squires, 139.

Pitstone	427	1	0.2%
Princes Risboro	2318	2	less than 0.1%
Sherington	384	13	3.4%
Simpson	540	7	1.3%
Slapton	317	2	0.6%
Stewkley	1432	7	0.4%
Stony Stratford	1757	4	0.2%
Turville	436	2	0.5%
Walton	95	3	3.2%
Weedon	793	1	0.1%
Wing	1376	2	0.1%
Winslow	1805	3	0.2%
Wolverton	2070	8	0.4%
Wooburn	2025	20	1.0%
Total	60875	207	0.3%

Table 6: Percentage of the Total Population who were Members of the Church

MEMBER PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

Table 6 above shows what percentage of the total population of villages and towns were members of the Church, according to the 1851 British Census returns¹⁵¹ and branch records previously cited.¹⁵²

It is important to note, with regards to the table below, that (a) not all towns and villages are represented because many did not have any Church members who either lived or were born there, (b) there were many members of the Church for whom information as to place of birth or residence is not recorded, (c) many members of the Church, particularly in the Edlesborough Branch, cite a town or village outside Buckinghamshire as their place of birth, and (d) membership records are inconsistent in that some include place of birth, others place of residence, and some neither. Of the 369 recorded members of the Church with ties to Buckinghamshire, 207 of them fell into one of the following categories: (a) documented residents of Buckinghamshire who attended a Buckinghamshire branch; (b) attendees of a branch located in Buckinghamshire who were not residents or natives of Buckingham-

¹⁵¹ 1851 British Census returns for each town or village in Buckinghamshire acquired online, <<http://www.familyhistoryonline.net/database/BucksFHS1851.shtml>>, on July 5, 2007.

¹⁵² See note 127.

shire, or (c) attendees of branches outside of Buckinghamshire but natives or residents of the county.

The village with the highest percentage of members of the Church per capita was Sherington (3.4 percent) where the Church in Buckinghamshire had its beginnings. Walton was a close second, where 3.2 percent of the total population joined the Church. Interestingly, Sherington and Walton are in close proximity to each other, and these members would have been part of the Simpson Branch, which also had the highest emigration rate (76 per cent). Dorney, on the other hand, which is in the southern extreme of Buckinghamshire, had 3.1 percent of its total population on the records of the Church. However, these members did not attend a Buckinghamshire branch, but rather, attended the Windsor Branch in Berkshire, which was closer. The only other towns with more than one percent Church members were Addington and Simpson, whose members would have also attended the Simpson Branch, and Wooburn Green, whose members constituted the Wooburn Branch. All other towns had less than one percent of their total population recorded as members of the Church in 1851, which was the only census year that coincides with all extant Church records.

These data seem to indicate that Jeremiah's words might be applied to LDS missionary work, convert baptisms and emigration from this county throughout the nineteenth century: "I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion" (Jeremiah3:14).

A FINNISH MORMON TEMPLE OR “AMERICA IN KARAKALLIO”? THE ACTIVATION OF A STEREOTYPE AT AN ENCOUNTER OF CULTURES

Kim B. Östman

In the autumn of 2006, Finnish people could acquaint themselves with Mormonism through a public open house at the newly constructed Mormon temple in the southern-Finland city of Espoo. Mormonism is often seen by Finns as an American religion, the image being strengthened for example through the mostly American composition of the Mormon missionary force. The article deals with the place of stereotypes at cultural encounters, specifically discussing the activation of the Mormon-America stereotype in visitors' experiences at the temple. Examples are taken from visitor comments related to arrangements, people, and architecture.

INTRODUCTION

The construction of the Helsinki Finland temple of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was completed in Karakallio, Espoo, in the autumn of 2006. At the end of a long-term building project the Church organized an open house at the temple for two and a half weeks in September and October. During that time the public could via guided tours acquaint themselves with the architecture of Finland's first Mormon temple and with the thought world of Mormonism's mainstream. The scene was in many ways set for an encounter of cultures – or a type of tourism¹ – with predominantly Lutheran Finns coming in contact with the religious practice of a Church from abroad. After this

¹ I would like to thank Walter E. A. van Beek for this observation. For a study utilizing the pertinent tourism framework of “empty meeting places,” see Dean McCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London: Routledge, 1992).

period of encounters temple doors were closed to others than Mormons living according to their Church's teachings.



Figure 1 Visitors at the Helsinki Finland Mormon temple site 23 September 2006. Photograph by the author.

The birth of Mormonism in the state of New York in the United States in the early 1800s took place in the midst of religious excitement and schism. But “The Church of Christ” movement established by Joseph Smith did not become a new branch of Protestantism. Instead Mormonism – which held itself as the restoration of primeval Christianity – developed to contain elements different from the rest of modern Christianity to the extent that some scholars have compared its development process to the separation of early Christianity from Judaism to its own tradition.² One of these elements is the building of special temples that are different from Mormonism’s regular Church buildings. They are used in performing religious ceremonies – such as

² Jan Shipp, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

endowments and marriages – both for living Mormons and for and in behalf of deceased individuals.³

Some of these new elements can be connected to the Church’s country of origin and its culture. One example is Mormonism’s teaching of America as a promised land where Jesus Christ preached after his resurrection and where he will again appear in the future. Another example is the Book of Mormon, which is seen as the spiritually oriented history of a people that lived in ancient America. On the organizational level the Church’s highest leadership is made up almost exclusively of American men, and congregational life around the world resembles American Protestant Christendom.

One of the most common associations that Finnish laypersons make with regards to Mormons are the Church’s mostly American, often dark suited missionaries that speak Finnish with a very clear accent. This image has recently found its way also into Finnish popular culture in the form of an acclaimed novel,⁴ which most probably strengthens the image in people’s minds further.

PURPOSE AND MATERIAL

This article focuses on one of the features that is actualized during an encounter of cultures, namely stereotypes. For the purposes of this article, I define the pertinent “America stereotype” as the connecting of Mormon features to the United States or the portraying of Mormonism as American. As a result of content analysis I will describe some of the connections and ways in which the America stereotype was used when describing visits to the Mormon temple in Espoo during its open house. I view the manifestations of this stereotype as individuals’ subjective portrayals of their own reality.

³ Kim Östman, “Nykyajan kristillistä esoteriaa: Katsaus mormonismiin temppelitradiitioon,” [Contemporary Christian Esotericism: An Overview of Mormonism’s Temple Tradition] *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* (Finnish Journal of Theology), vol. 111, no. 5 (2007), 430-440. Most of the English translations from Finnish or Swedish in this article are mine.

⁴ Juha Itkonen, *Myöhempien aikojen pyhiä* [Latter-day Saints] (Helsinki: Tammi, 2003).

My purpose is not to discuss to what extent the America stereotype holds true more generally, even if this kind of somewhat controversial research related to the truthfulness of stereotypes is done in some circles.⁵ It is probably impossible to objectively define the amount and significance of American features in Mormonism; the task would become further complicated when it is difficult to objectively define even what is “Finnish culture” and what is “American culture”. In any case, analyzing the ways the America stereotype is used can give further understanding of the processes that are activated as cultures encounter each other and through which an individual structures and portrays his or her reality. It also sheds more light on the ways in which some Finns think of Mormonism as an American religion.

My source material consists partly of over 100 articles or stories from newspapers, magazines, and radio, mostly from September and October 2006, published all over Finland. The greatest interest in the temple project was naturally displayed in the media of the capital city region around Helsinki. However, bulletins by the Finnish News Agency or other writings on the Mormons were published in general newspapers around Finland and in professional, religious, and other magazines or periodicals. Some articles are general descriptions of the open house, while others delve more deeply also into personal thoughts around the visit experience.⁶

As more personal material I have also used blog and discussion forum writings of individuals that have visited the temple; these have been found through internet search engines. The publication threshold

⁵ Ruth Illman and Peter Nynäs, *Kultur, människa, möte: Ett humanistiskt perspektiv* [Culture, Human, Encounter: A Humanistic Perspective] (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2005), 109.

⁶ I have collected much of the printed material by monitoring media outlets closely, especially during the public open house in late September and early October 2006, assisted by several interested individuals located around Finland. Additionally, I have been in contact with Mormon Church Public Affairs in Finland in order to benefit from that office’s findings. The resulting database seems more than sufficient, especially as the purpose of this article is not to give a full overview of all media attention to the new Mormon temple, but rather to give examples of the occurrence of the America-stereotype.

of these comments is obviously lower than that of printed material, and the group of writers is different. The writing often takes place from behind a screen name and thus gives greater freedom to express opinions very openly.

From the point of view of source criticism one has to remember that this article does not look for the objective truth concerning the degree or nature of Mormonism’s Americanness. Instead, the center stage is taken by individuals that are subjective and that utilize stereotypes. Both journalists and bloggers are unique individuals and interpreting subjects who have their own individualized backgrounds and values.⁷ Thus the descriptions considered in this article are also individualized and shaped by the person’s own background. Regardless of the variety of individual backgrounds it is interesting to notice that the America stereotype is activated in many descriptions. Regardless of how scarce the material is, this finding supports the assumption that the stereotype has deep roots in the Finnish thought world.

In the following I will first discuss the nature of stereotypes and their significance at cultural encounters, which the open house is an example of. After this I will analyze those areas in which the America stereotype is activated in the experiences of the writers. These are areas in which the observer interprets and explains the state of things with Mormonism’s connection to the United States. Finally I will briefly discuss the implications of this stereotype from the point of view of Mormonism itself.

STEREOTYPES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AT ENCOUNTERS OF CULTURES

It is difficult to precisely define the concept “culture”, and scholars in fact propose many different kinds of definitions. Some see cultures as “coherent packages of customs, routines, and practices that

⁷ Ruth Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden: Skildrade erfarenheter av kulturella möten i internationellt projektarbete* [Creating Boundaries - Crossing Boundaries: Depicted Experiences and Interpretations of Cultural Encounters in International Industrial Project Work] (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2004), 33.

can be clearly separated from other cultures.”⁸ Other definitions see culture as something which is commonly shared, which governs people’s behavior, and which is traded in society from one generation to another in both direct and indirect ways.

From the point of view of the humanities, an encounter of two different cultures is above all about the encounter of two different individuals, not the encounter of “packages” or categories.⁹ The essential point is that the individual sees himself or herself in some meaningful way as different than the other person that is encountered. During the open house of the Mormon temple the individuals encountered were the tour guides and the Mormons that were in a tent answering questions and discussing their faith in private conversations at the end of the tour. The open house can be seen to some extent more as a chance to get acquainted with Mormonism’s religious culture and its thought world than as a personal encounter of cultures, but it has clear features also of the latter.

The significance of a pondering, multifaceted and interpreting human being is great in cultural encounters. According to some scholars this has not been taken into account sufficiently in what are called essentialistic viewpoints of cultural encounters.¹⁰ Researchers of intercultural communication that utilize this viewpoint seem – at least according to their critics – sometimes to think that the encounter of two culturally different individuals will be successful as long as the coefficients of difference-depicting variables are weighted correctly in an encounter equation.

On the other hand, scholars that use a hermeneutic viewpoint and at the same time question the essentialistic viewpoint emphasize the central status of the multifaceted person and his attitudes, interpretations, and personal interest towards the other person in these kinds of encounters. This kind of view has also been compared with the difference between Martin Buber’s dialog-philosophical thoughts on I-Thou

⁸ Illman and Nynäs, *Kultur, människa, möte*, 26.

⁹ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 53.

¹⁰ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 42-44.

and I-It attitudes. In this case the I-Thou attitude refers to a real encounter, mutual understanding, and dismantling of boundaries, whereas I-It refers more to observing the other person from a distance and drawing boundaries.¹¹

Constructing and dismantling boundaries plays an important role at encounters of cultures. Each individual has a private interpretation concerning cultural attachments and the most central features of his or her own culture. As a result, everyone also has an individualized image of the foreign and of the other. Encounters of cultures can thus not be defined objectively from the outside, but rather the actualization of such an encounter depends on each person's own boundaries and views.¹² It is common to define one's own cultural group as normal and use it as a reference point against which to contrast a group that is seen as foreign and in some way different.¹³

One of the tools that is activated when cultures meet and boundaries are defined is the use of stereotypes. A stereotype can be defined as painting other people and especially groups of people with a few simplifying brushstrokes.¹⁴ The inner diversity of the foreign group is dimmed and certain values and attitudes are connected with the group.¹⁵ Stereotypes can be seen as a cognitive necessity – with their help an individual produces meaning and creates order into the world's variety and disorder. They are inherited through the social environment and are thus socially constructed images of the other.¹⁶ On the other hand each individual has a unique world of thought and experience. Thus the socially constructed stereotypes develop individualized modifications and significances.

¹¹ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 50. See also Martin Buber (transl. Walter Kaufmann), *I and Thou* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1970).

¹² Illman and Nynäs, *Kultur, människa, möte*, 51.

¹³ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 99-100.

¹⁴ Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 249.

¹⁵ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 98-99.

¹⁶ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 107. See also Illman and Nynäs, *Kultur, människa, möte*, 106.

Worchel and Rothgerber see stereotypes as multidimensional.¹⁷ They divide a stereotype into five components, namely content, categorization, homogeneity, interpretation, and significance. In the case of the America stereotype dealt with in this article, content has to do with Americanness and thereto connected traits, while the object category is Mormons and Mormonism. The image of the inner homogeneity of the Mormon group varies. It is clear, however, that for example the Mormon missionaries in Finland promote a rather one-sided and homogenous image, as the Mormons are otherwise very little in the public eye. The interpretation and significance of the Mormon stereotype vary from person to person, these probably being the most individualized components of stereotypes.

Some scholars think that increased information concerning the target group reduces the amount of stereotypes connected to it. This is not necessarily true, as will be seen later. Stereotypes can become self-fulfilling prophecies, where an individual sees reality through the stereotypes that have taken root and does not notice features that put them in question.¹⁸ The stereotype then functions as a kind of hypothesis that is confirmed through the experiential and cognitive input gained during the encounter.¹⁹

On the other hand one can ask whether an encounter has actually even taken place in this kind of a situation.²⁰ Then again, one also has to ask whether there actually is something to the stereotype; it is most likely wrong to suppose that stereotypes never have any connection to reality. As was mentioned earlier, however, this question is not central to this article.

¹⁷ Stephan Worchel and Hank Rothgerber, "Changing the Stereotype of the Stereotype," in Russell Spears, ed., *The Social Psychology of Stereotyping and Group Life* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 87ff.

¹⁸ David J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2004), 222-224. See also Illman and Nynäs, *Kultur, människa, möte*, 107.

¹⁹ Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, 199.

²⁰ Illman, *Gränser och gränsöverskridanden*, 131.

THE ACTIVATION OF THE “AMERICA STEREOTYPE”

In the following I will through a few examples look at the ways in which the America stereotype was activated in connection with the temple open house. First I will bring up people’s comments about the general arrangements of the open house. After this the comments focus on observations regarding Mormons as people. Finally I will discuss comments related to the Mormon temple as a building.

ARRANGEMENTS

The local arrangements of the open house were mainly in the hands of Finns, although the general instructions came from the United States.²¹ Work was done for over a year to raise the public’s interest, partly also in Mormon congregations around Finland. Comments mentioned here are mainly concentrated on the period of the open house on the temple lot itself.

Some individuals paid notice to the instructions that the Church gave to interested visitors in advance. These included among other things a request for the visitors to behave and clothe themselves respectfully and not to smoke on the temple lot. One person – who had not visited the temple – connected these kinds of instructions to Americanness: “As far as the instructions being given literally and in a foolproof manner goes, it has to do with the religion’s America-rootedness. Just like in other American instructions (in the style ‘do not dry the cat in the microwave oven’) – even unwritten rules are written down so that cultural clashes could be avoided as far as possible.”²²

The open house was probably the greatest effort that Finnish Mormons have undertaken so far, and they have received much commendation for the successful arrangements. It is interesting to note,

²¹ As an anecdote that illustrates the universality of the Church’s guidelines, a Danish scholar of religion who had visited the open house of another European temple remarked to me that the Helsinki Finland temple open house organization and tour that I had described in a conference paper sounded exactly like what he had experienced earlier.

²² Voimahali forum, 20 September 2006. URL: <http://www.voimahali.fi/vh/showthread.php?t=66260> (accessed May 2007).

however, that some visitors connected the Finnish arrangements with Americanness: “The Americans are splendidly competent at handling large crowds punctually and efficiently and so that the crowd feels that everything is going like a dance and a good feeling prevails. The bunch who certainly also today is waiting for entrance there is kept in control very well, and the atmosphere is upheld in a really professional manner.”²³

“Finns would have a lot to learn from Yankee-rooted crowd handling skills!” another visitor exclaimed.²⁴ Again it is difficult to define objectively what Finnish crowd handling on the one hand and American crowd handling on the other hand is like. Regardless of this some visitors, possibly in the form of a self-fulfilling prophecy, brought up the America stereotype when evaluating the general arrangements of the open house.

MORMONS AS PEOPLE

Persons belonging to local Mormon congregations can usually not be distinguished on the street for example on the basis of clothing or other external matters. The Finnish image of “a Mormon” has thus often become a male, dark suited, nametag-bearing foreign missionary that speaks Finnish with an accent. “Many of us have certainly seen these American boys that are well dressed and who come and talk with you and who always behave themselves in a very nice and friendly manner”, stated a radio reporter that was interviewing a Finnish Latter-day Saint.²⁵ “Two serious young American men in dark suits. That is the presupposition when one goes to interview missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints”, wrote another reporter.²⁶ The stereotype was shattered to some extent, however, when he was met with two female missionaries, one of whom was French. During the open

²³ Ylen aikainen, Yle Radio Suomi, 3 October 2006.

²⁴ Mikä ikä?! blog, 1 October 2006. URL: <http://arru.vuodatus.net/blog/256408> (accessed May 2007).

²⁵ *Radiohuset* [The Radio House], Yle Radio Vega, 13 October 2006.

²⁶ “Saarnaaja kulkee myös hameessa,” [Preacher Walks also in Skirt] *Helsingin Sanomat*, 21 July 2006, A10.

house visitors met Finnish Mormons and thus gained a partly new image of the Mormon Church in Finland.

Especially during the press conference organized in the beginning of the open house there were in attendance foreign Mormon leaders in addition to Finnish Mormons, however, in practice Americans. “The organizing party was in its customary manner dressed in black suits,”²⁷ wrote one reporter, while another’s eyes caught “dark suits, a whole group of Americans from Salt Lake City. ... A group of visitors mostly from the USA testifies of the temple’s significance.”²⁸ In their speeches to the press these “churn out in the beyond-the-puddle style what felt like an unending amount of thank yous.”²⁹ In a video that briefly introduced temples the “interviewees did not spare superlatives as they praised the temple – – But to a Finn the style was somehow alienating”, wrote a theologian that visited the temple.³⁰ Some features that are connected to Mormons are thus dark suits, unending thank yous and superlatives. To some, these traits seem to an extent un-Finnish.

The Mormon tour guides that were present could be described as “formally clothed clean-faced youngsters” and “pearl-necked smiling women.”³¹ “The guides were Finnish,” wrote one person, but the Amer-

²⁷ “Emävale-ekumeniaa,” [Duplicit Ecumenism] *Sanansaattaja*, vol. 131, no. 40 (5 October 2006), 2.

²⁸ “Tung utanpå, prålig och glittrig inuti,” [Heavy on the Outside, Fancy and Glittery on the Inside] *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20 September 2006, 4.

²⁹ “Valoa kansalle Amerikan malliin: Suomen ensimmäinen mormonitemppeli häikäisee prameudellaan,” [Light for the People in the American Way: Finland’s First Mormon Temple Dazzles with Its Glitter] *Iltalehti*, 20 September 2006, 12-13.

³⁰ Private e-mail to the author from a theologian that visited the temple, 24 September 2006.

³¹ Lupiini blog, 7 October 2006. URL: <http://lupiini.blogspot.com/2006/10/myhempien-aikojen-pyhi.html> (accessed May 2007).

icanness came through again at some point: “at every bend there was somebody gesticulating who spoke only English!”³² ”

An American man clothed in a dark suit” guides a recently arrived reporter in English, and ”along a strip of 20 meters I meet at least three young men speaking broad American English.”³³ Without evaluating the objective truthfulness of the depiction one can generally note that the Church itself also gave stimulus for the America stereotype by using foreign and particularly American personnel in addition to Finnish Latter-day Saints.

ARCHITECTURE

One clear object for activation of the America stereotype was the architecture of the temple. According to some visitors the temple’s style differed greatly from mental images associated with Finnish spirituality. For example one student wrote that the temple was “an impressive Yankee-style spectacle” whose rooms brought to mind the American television series “The Bold and the Beautiful.”³⁴

Another student felt that the entrance to the temple was a secret route to the props of the same television series and considered the quiet moment in a room furnished with a large chandelier and artificial flowers as absurd.³⁵ A Catholic person visiting together with his spouse wondered whether some Americans really consider heaven to be like a hotel lobby.³⁶ Another religious person wrote that ”for me it would take some getting used to calm down in the holiest room that with regards

³² Lepakkolaakso forum, 26 September 2006. URL: <http://lepakkolaakso.net/keskustelu.php?act=rthrd&gpid=20&thrdid=4016> (accessed May 2007).

³³ ”Valoa kansalle Amerikan malliin”, *Iltalehti*, 20 September 2006, 12-13.

³⁴ ”SatO vieraili Espoon uudessa mormonitemppelissä,” [SatO Visited the New Mormon Temple in Espoo] *Karhunkierros*, no. 3/2006, 4.

³⁵ ”Myöhäisen illan pyhyys,” [Late Night Sanctity] *Groteski*, no. 3/2006, 8-9.

³⁶ Katkirkko forum, 5 October 2006. URL: <http://www.katkirkko.net/fi/?go=comment> (accessed May 2007).

to its furnishings and style reminds one of many Yankee hotel lobbies and meeting rooms – –.”³⁷

A born-again Christian writer described the temple with the words "sturdy Church sugary in the American way",³⁸ and a reporter thought that "the whole is undeniably 'American' and has little in common with cool Nordic or austere Finnish design."³⁹ In the depiction of a radio reporter that temple's interior was "very American, there are deep carpets and shiny thick panels, light and space and decorations like in a luxury cruiser or a top hotel or in Hollywood props."⁴⁰ Another reporter "felt like smiling, even though the temple is a fine building. There is just something a bit too American to it."⁴¹ A comparative religion student thought the visit was an impressive experience, but "in all its blingbling-Americanness the temple was a bit humoristic."⁴²

³⁷ Körtti forum, 7 October 2006. URL: <http://www.h-y.fi/foorumi/viewtopic.php?p=14161> (accessed May 2007).

³⁸ "Imelää sisustusta ja outoja menoja," [Syrupy Furnishings and Strange Rites] *Elämään*, vol. 78, no. 11 (2006), 23.

³⁹ "Tung utanpå, prålig och glittrig inuti," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20 September 2006, 4.

⁴⁰ Ylen aikainen, Yle Radio Suomi, 3 October 2006.

⁴¹ "IHAN vähän amerikkalaista," [JUST a Little American] *Vartti* (Espoo), 24 September 2006, 6.

⁴² "Muovikukkia kaikkein pyhimässä: Mormonitemppeli avasi ovensa uskontotieteilijöille [sic]," [Plastic Flowers in the Holy of Holies: Mormon Temple Opened its Doors to Researchers of Religion] *Samsara*, no. 2/2006, 16-17.



Figure 2. “Light for the People in the American Way,” reads the headline of an article in the nationwide tabloid newspaper *Iltalehti*, 20 September 2006.

One open question at this point has to do with whether the architecture of the Mormon temple really is American. At least it can be said to differ markedly from the buildings of the Lutheran Church. But is it specifically American? Or does the assessment of some visitors have to do with the pre-existing America stereotype through in a new area? One example of the significance of presuppositions is the comment shedding light on one visitor’s background: “The Church mouse became acquainted with the Mormons as a child. Already then he got the impression that it is an American religion. This view was strengthened today. Down to the plastic flowers everything was kitsch.”⁴³

⁴³ Rotankolo blog, 30 September 2006. URL: <http://rotankolo.blogspot.com/2006/09/small-talkia-temppeliss.html> (accessed May 2007).

In this opinion the expectation and the accompanying stereotype have clearly been verified. The childhood experience together with “confirmation bias” produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. In comments that evaluate the architecture it is also interesting to note that the mental association with Americanness is additionally often presented in a negative light. The building that represents deep sacredness to the Mormons may be thought of as humoristic, sickeningly sweet or absurd. The Finnish-influenced variations of temple architecture – such as depictions of pine leaves or a forest-lake mural – which were noticed by some other visitors, remain in the background in these descriptions.

DISCUSSION

Encounters of cultures are personal and unique processes that can be evaluated on the deepest level only by the individual in question. In the limited scope of this article it can only be generally said that either there is at least “a kernel of truth” to the observations, or then the activation of the stereotype has to do with a mistaken assessment. Both views have their supporters among stereotype researchers.

What, then, is the wider significance of this stereotype of Mormonism’s Americanness? The leading hierarchy of the Mormon Church is aware that American features are connected to the Church in peoples’ minds. To some extent the Church is trying to get away from this image and – in some cases – stigma. At least some Church leaders see the Church as being at a point where it is time to remove features that are characteristic of the United States and irrelevant to the rest of the world.⁴⁴

Although not all open house visitors gave comments related the Americanness, it is clear that the stereotype of Mormonism’s Americanness is still alive in Finland. It is difficult to change stereotypes that have taken root. They become part of customary action and thought patterns that guide an individual’s way of viewing and evaluating the surrounding world. The Church’s perceived cultural connection to Americanness to some extent also binds the Church’s proselytizing suc-

⁴⁴ “An LDS conference outside the U.S.?” *Deseret News*, 3 April 2007.

cess to the general opinion about the United States. When the Latter-day Saints began regular proselytizing in Finland after the Second World War the general opinion regarding the United States was positive, but nowadays the situation is different. This may have an effect on Mormon missionary work in many parts of the world.

It is thus clear that the activation of the kind of stereotypes discussed earlier is not only of academic interest. The image of Mormonism (and every other organization, group, and nation) is tied to stereotypes, accompanying attitudes and the power structures they uphold. The nature, rootedness, and prevalence of stereotypes thus have great significance for the Mormon Church's own efforts as it seeks to become more international. Perhaps most importantly, they have significance to every Finn that belongs to a minority religion such as Mormonism as he or she interacts with people belonging to the majority culture. An individual's subjective and stereotype-utilizing image of the other and of the foreign governs actions and attitudes, not the more complex reality that lies behind the veil of otherness.

CONCLUSION

To a person acquainted with the Mormon Church it is clear that the Church contains features that emphasize the significance of the United States on the level of both practice and theology. The degree and meaning of these features is a different matter, however. The Church has changed and become more international especially after the Second World War – at least as far as membership distribution goes. In any case the stereotype of Mormonism as an explicitly American religious movement is part of the Finnish thought world. This image is strengthened through the Church's mostly American missionaries, as the Church's Finnish members and features are relatively invisible in the public eye. Visitors at the Helsinki temple open house were met with a somewhat interesting discrepancy, however: on the level of individuals they met Finns, Mormons that looked like ordinary neighbors and workmates.

For some visitors the stereotype of Americanness was strengthened for example through the temple's architecture and the arrangements of the open house. Others paid attention to other things and did not speak out on the potential Americanness.⁴⁵ It is difficult to say to what extent the reaction to the open house had to do with people's advance knowledge and earlier images of Mormonism on the one hand, and on the other hand to what extent it was an evaluation of an experience that began from a relatively clean table.

Was the second party of the encounter a Finnish Mormon temple in Espoo or the colony of an American religion in Karakallio? Both options would seem to be interpretations that are justifiable based on subjective experiences at the open house. Each person is a unique individual that creates and crosses boundaries and that interprets culture and personal cultural attachments in his or her own way. Therefore no general final answer to the question exists. One can only give a guideline for further research: pick a visitor and probe deeper.

⁴⁵ "100 kommenttia tempelin avoimista ovista," [100 Comments From the Temple Open House] *Liahona* (Finland edition), vol. 59, no. 4 (2007), K13-K16.

THE RHETORIC OF THE GATHERING AND ZION: CONSISTENCY THROUGH CHANGE 1831-1920

David M. Morris

INTRODUCTION

Central to the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is its theology of the “Gathering”, the doctrine by which nineteenth century British and European converts immigrated to the United States in order to establish a modern-day “Zion.”¹ For modern Latter-day Saints, of which over half now live outside of the United States,² the current policy is to “gather” in their own country and build up the “stakes of Zion.”³ This latter policy appears to be in direct contrast with the instructions that were first given between 1830 and the

¹ “If we throw overboard the principle of the gathering, we cast away one of the most important principles connected with the work of God and salvation of humanity.” Editorial *Millennial Star*, Liverpool, England, hereafter MS, 04 April 1871 33: 209, 326.

² According to the published statistical records, as of 31 December 2005, there were 12,560,869 Latter-day Saints, of which 5,690,672 lived in the United States, conversely 6,870,197 who were living outside of the United States, with only 14% of those living in Utah. <http://www.lds.org/newsroom/quickfacts/0,15325,3882-1,00.html> [Accessed 14 July 2006]

³ “The First Presidency and the Twelve see great wisdom in the multiple Zions, many gathering places where the Saints [should gather] within their own culture and nation.” Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, Edward L. Kimball ed., Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 440. See also Bruce R. McConkie, Area Conference Report, Mexico City, 1972, 45”The place of gathering for the Mexican Saints is in Mexico; the place of gathering for the Guatemalan Saints is in Guatemala; the place of gathering for the Brazilian Saints is in Brazil; and so it goes throughout the length and breadth of the whole earth. Japan is for the Japanese; Korea is for the Koreans; Australia is for the Australians; every nation is the gathering place for its own people.” Also Gordon B Hinckley, UK Area Satellite Stake Conference Broadcast, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 3 June 2007.

1860's. During the 1850's, like today, over half of the Church's membership lived outside of the United States but the call was for them to come to Utah and build Zion there. As Utah's towns expanded, the nature of the public pronouncement of the gathering evolved and began to focus more on the physical necessities of building homes and industry, so a preference for emigrating skilled workers was given. During the later period of the 1870's through to the 1920's, further adjustments to the "gathering" were made in order to slow down Mormon Emigration to a near standstill. These changes were in reaction not to some new spiritual directive, or physical needs but rather in response to more secular obstacles, i.e. economical difficulties, governmental restrictions, effects of polygamy and civil unrest.

In this paper I identify the teachings of Joseph Smith founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints concerning "Zion" and the "Gathering". I will further address the period 1850-1880, and the rhetoric of Church leaders who described a Rocky Mountain Zion as the only acceptable place for gathering, particularly for the numerous European converts. I will also discuss the development of the policy in terms of a 20th-century audience, for whom the definition of Zion was widened to include all foreign lands.

I JOSEPH SMITH'S TEACHINGS OF THE GATHERING AND ZION

In September 1830, nearly six months following the Church's organisation, Joseph Smith taught members of the Church that the doctrine of the "Gathering," directed the Saints that they should be gathered in to one place, in order to prepare for an approaching time of tribulation.⁴ As the doctrine unfolded it became clear that the object of gathering a modern-day Israel was to provide a place of "refuge, a place of safety for the saints," or in other words to create a promised land, a modern-day Zion.⁵ On other occasions Smith reinforced this concept of Zion:

⁴ Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970, 1:112, hereafter HC.

⁵ HC 1:163

We ought to have the building up of Zion as our greatest object; the time is soon coming, when no man will have any peace but in Zion and her stakes.⁶

Consequently, several locations were identified as places of gathering, namely Kirtland, Ohio⁷, Independence and Far West, Missouri. By 1840, the call for British converts to join with the local Church at Nauvoo, Illinois was made.⁸ However none of these gave long-term refuge or safety. For these Latter-day Saints, the expectation and need for a place of refuge was more than just a wishful thinking or a good intention. They expected each place to be respite from sectarian and physical persecutions both within and without the Church. In reality, however, most remained seeking a city of Zion for the remainder of their lives. Like Moses of old, Smith was only able to contemplate the Promised Land, without yet experiencing it.

As early as 1831, the distinction between the City of Zion as the “centreplace” and Zion was made by Smith.⁹ The City of Zion was to be built at Jackson County, Missouri, and was to have a temple where both the corporeal and spiritual would be administered from and form the centre of all ecclesiastical and civic activity. His ideas for Zion went beyond a paradisiacal notion or a place to simply contemplate the beauties of Zion.¹⁰ For Smith, building the Kingdom of God was not only a spiritual but also a physical endeavour, convert by convert, brick by brick. For example he considered the physical City of Zion as a place with:

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

⁶ Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, sel. Joseph Fielding Smith, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976, 160-61.

⁷ HC 1:139; 346.

⁸ HC 1:189.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Jedediah M. Grant, *Journal of Discourses*, Liverpool England, 1854, 26 vols., 3:66. Hereafter *JD*.

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.¹¹

The importance of temples in the middle of the city was a deliberate choice, for as Smith taught in any age of the world, the object of gathering the people of God was the same—"to build unto the Lord an house whereby he could reveal unto his people the ordinances" of his temple.¹² The correlation between the temple and the gathering became firmly coupled together. This city intended to be a refuge from the spirit of Babylon and a place of reception for the return of the Messiah. As seen in other places at, tensions in Missouri increased between the Mormons and the local indigenous population, in part due to the disproportionate balance of Mormons which altered the equilibrium of the community. Consequently opposition increased against Mormon bloc voting and economical practices.

Following violent clashes in 1838, the Latter-day Saints were expelled *en-masse*, from Missouri. Although having been forced from Missouri and effectively losing the "centreplace," there grew over subsequent years an expectation that the Saints would return to the City of Zion in Missouri. This matter continued in the mind of some influential leaders as late as 1869. Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt (1811-1881) taught in December of that year:

There is one thing sure-as sure as the sun shines forth in yonder heavens, so sure will the Lord fulfil one thing with regard to this people. What is that? He will return them to Jackson County, and in the western part of the State of Missouri they will build up a city

¹¹ "City Planning," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed., Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols., New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992, Volume 1. Although Smith never got to see his City of Zion built, other cities and towns were built using these and similar designs, such as Nauvoo, and many western cities in Utah, Idaho, Arizona and California.

¹² 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, UT: Religious Studies Center, BYU, 1990, 212

which shall be called Zion, which will be the head-quarters of this Latter-day Saint Church; and that will be the place where the prophets, apostles and inspired men of God will have their head-quarters. It will be the place where the Lord God will manifest Himself to His people, as He has promised in the Scriptures, as well as in modern revelation.¹³

Within the context of Pratt's teachings, it was understood that Zion and more particularly the City of Zion was tied up in millennial rhetoric of redemption. This, however, did not provide any immediate comfort for those who were still in expectancy of the Second Coming of Christ and were without their place of their refuge. In light of Pratt's prediction of a future time of return, it must be considered that other places that have been designated as gathering places must either be considered as stakes of Zion, or as temporary gathering places.

The Mormon gathering was paradoxically bringing people from throughout the world to a localised area, yet wanting to spread the Church out to all nations at the same time, in effect weakening its periphery as was seen in the British Isles, with the loss of over 55,000 emigrants. One might only speculate what the condition of the European Church might have been like had not they been called to Utah.

In order to accomplish the gathering, Smith needed to "send forth the elders of my Church unto the nations which are a far off."¹⁴ Although the international efforts of the Church commenced in the mid-late 1830's, the fulfilment of taking the "glorious news" of the Latter-day Saint gospel to all parts of the world began with the first preaching in New York State in 1830. It increased steadily, extending out until 1837, which marked the sending of missionaries over the Atlantic to the British Isles.

¹³ Orson Pratt, 19 December, 1869, JD 13:138; see also 2:57, 60; 11:324; 17:291-306 & 26 October 1869 24: 22 - 32. Note the following from Brigham Young: "Where is the centre stake of Zion? In Jackson County, Missouri. Were I to try to prevent you from going there, I could not do it. Can the wicked? No. Can the devils in hell? No, they cannot." 8:198.

¹⁴ HC 1:230

Joseph Smith's inauguration of the first mission to Britain was an inevitable development for a Church whose focus was one of missionary proselytising. It was more significant since many of the Church's adherents were of British origin.

With the commencement of the second mission in 1840, the majority of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles travelled to Britain in order to broaden the work of the Church. From their arrival, they began to proselytise many areas that had been neglected earlier. The mission also represented for the first time the open teaching of the Gathering to Zion, more precisely to the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, the newly appointed place of gathering. During this period, Smith had continued to teach about the establishment of Zion and the gathering; however, it is apparent that even by 1840's those around him seemed unable to grasp the widening implications of what or where Zion was, even though Smith had taught it since 1834. Addressing Church leaders he declared:

You know no more concerning the destinies of this Church and kingdom than a babe upon its mother's lap. You don't comprehend it... this Church will fill North and South America it will fill the world.¹⁵

For many of those present, they would only begin to see this fulfilment decades later. By May 1844, Smith was teaching that the building of Zion and the gathering was a global endeavour rather than just a singular place of assembly, because "all nations [would] hear the glorious news and come to knowledge of the truth."¹⁶ Zion was to expand to include the American continent in addition to Jackson County, Missouri.

¹⁵ 26 April 1834, Wilford Woodruff, *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964, 38-39.

¹⁶ "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6:899 Letter from Joseph Smith to Moses C. Nickerson.

Following Smith's death in June 1844, and the prospect of having to move again, the next destination appears to have been the Rocky Mountains. Joseph Smith had reportedly prophesied on 6 August 1842 "that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains."¹⁷ As an attempt to secure a place for the Saints in 1845, Brigham Young (1801-1877) addressed letters to all the Governors of States and Territories in the Union, asking them for an asylum, within their borders, for the Latter-day Saints. "We were refused such privilege, either by silent contempt or a flat denial in every instance. They all agreed that we could not come within the limits of their Territory or State. Three members of Congress came to negotiate with us to leave the confines of the United States, and of the public domain. It was understood that we were going to Vancouver Island; but we had our eye on Mexico, and here we are located in the midst of what was then northern Mexico."¹⁸

The Mormons having been wholly rejected by the United States, Zion could only have been organised away from that country. Temporarily, Nebraska became the staging post until further direction was given. Prior to the eventual arrival of Brigham Young into Northern Mexico, other places were actively being sought to become gathering places for the now vagrant Latter-day Saints.

II BRIGHAM YOUNG, INTERNATIONAL GATHERING

One little known serious attempt to arrange a mass emigration of the Latter-day Saints was made through the British Government, in the guise of Vancouver Island, Oregon. By 1847, it was of such a proposition that Orson Spencer (1802-1855) the serving British Mission President, following a letter from Brigham Young, began to instruct the Latter-day Saints that Vancouver's island was the gathering place for the British Saints. He warned them not to go to the United States.¹⁹ "On

¹⁷ HC 5:85.

¹⁸ JD 5:230-1, 11:18.

¹⁹ Editorial MS 9:104, letter from Brigham Young to Orson Spencer 1 April 1847. This apparently was a subsequent letter. According to Orson Spencer the first letter was written 1 November 1845.

account of the suspension of emigration to the headquarters of the Church”, Spencer wrote, “and the great amount of distress prevailing, at that time, in the British Islands,...[there is] a plan for emigration ...to Vancouver Island”²⁰ Although planned out by apostles Pratt, John Taylor (1808-1887) and Orson Hyde (1805-1878), this endeavour was never carried out on account of two important factors,

- 1) The British government failed to provide funding, shipping and other requested materials, objecting to paying anything out of the already strapped Treasury.
- 2) The British Saints disregarded this and continued to pursue emigration in order to be with the main body of the Church.

Following the entry to the Rocky Mountains in July 1847, Brigham Young reportedly commented, “This is the place” which gave the signal for those in the party to stop travelling and to begin building the new Zion. One of the indications of an intended long term stay in the valley was that construction started immediately, and a program of ecclesiastical, civil and residential buildings were planned. As in all places where Zion was to be established, the temple would take prece-

²⁰ James Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley*, 4. Letter from Thomas D Brown to Dr John Bowring, M.P. 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 (MS 9:28) 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 MS 9:74-5, 98, 104, 169 see also “Vancouver Island”, *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History*, McCue, & Robert J. "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Vancouver Island: The Establishment and Growth of the Mormon Community." *B. C. Studies* (Summer 1979). 4

dent and become the focal point, however it still took six years to begin building from the time they arrived at the Great Salt Lake.

As might be expected in light of the upheavals, questions arose regarding the length of time that the Saints would stay in the Wasatch front, Young defiantly responded:

I will tell you how long we shall stay here. If we live our religion, we shall stay here in these mountains forever and forever... and a portion of the Priesthood will go and redeem and build up the centre stake of Zion.²¹

Later in the same year Young appeared to offer a differing opinion regarding staying forever and forever:

If the people neglect their duty, turn away from the holy commandments which God has given us, seek their own individual wealth, and neglect the interests of the kingdom of God, we may expect to be here quite a time—perhaps a period that will be far longer than we anticipate.²²

However, the notion of returning to the centre place was still being taught by others, including Orson Pratt and John Young. Patriarch John Young taught: “If the people will keep humble and do as they are told, they will stay here as long as they have a mind to, and then go back and build the Temple in the centre stake of Zion.”²³

Rather than witnessing a fulfilment of a return to Jackson County, Missouri, more Saints began to migrate to Utah, the greatest increase coming from Europe. By 1847, 17,849 persons had been baptized in the British Mission alone aside from those of Europe.²⁴ By the end of 1849, Brigham Young’s priority on gathering to Zion broadened. He focused less on the spiritual aspects and more on the physical practicalities of building cities and colonising Deseret, the proposed name

²¹ Brigham Young, JD 11:17

²² JD 11:102

²³ John Young, 25 October 1857, JD 5:371.

²⁴ MS, 8:90, 15 October 1846.

of the new territory. Like Smith, Young needed to build Zion brick by brick. Consequently he began writing letters to the British Saints asking for industrial help, including machinery and skilled workers.²⁵ As a reward for the skilled workers responding to the request to physically build Zion, economical advantages were given in terms of securing transportation for them, and relieving them of the cost of ox and cart once they had arrived in the United States.²⁶

At various times there was a cessation in emigration. On each occasion, however, it was linked to the ongoing physical difficulties faced by the Utah Church, i.e. American Civil War, Utah War, unemployment and the effect of decreasing numbers of European converts.²⁷ Significantly, the greatest arrival of saints was in the 1850's, during which time labour and employment was readily available. However, there was continual decline from the late 1850's onward.²⁸

Brigham Young continued to teach his view of the nature and concept of Zion, often choosing to highlight a particular point that was not so familiar. If some had misunderstood the rhetoric of Brigham Young regarding Zion, it is not surprising. Young often taught different aspects of the same thing, in order to highlight his view that the gospel of Christ has multifaceted meanings. When asked where Zion is, he responded:

25 MS 12:141 01 May 1850; Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 14 Oct 1849

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Early in 1858 on account of Johnson's army, a rumour that the Saints were going to move to the British northwest led the Colonial Office to instruct Governor Douglas of Vancouver Island that he was not to allow the Mormons to enter or settle in the territory as a community, and under no circumstances were land grants to be made to them as a group; however, individual families of the faith were to be afforded all the privileges and opportunities of the area. F. O. 5/704, America: Domestic, Various, 1858. This however was not fulfilled and some such as Ron Esplin believe this to have been more of rouse rather than a course of Diaspora. Wilbur Sheppherd 217, *op. cit.*

²⁸ For a full listing of membership and emigration figures between 1837 and 1920 see <http://www.mormonhistory.org> under "British Mission". Last accessed 12 Jan 2008.

“It is at the City of the Great Salt Lake, in the Valleys of the Mountains; in the settlements of Utah Territory—there is Zion now.”²⁹

As with many things that Young taught, the caveat was at the end of an answer, “there is Zion now.” By implication it could be argued that it would not be in the future. Clarifying the fluidity of Zion he then commented:

But is there a land that ever will be called Zion? Yes, brethren. What land is it? ...that land is North and South America. That is Zion as to land, as to Territory, and location...The children of Zion have not yet much in their possession, but their territory is North and South America to begin with.³⁰

By implication, the Eastern States, The Mid-States and the Wasatch front, were not exclusively Zion. They, like all other places outside of Jackson County, might be considered as stakes of Zion. This sentiment was explicitly stated by the First Presidency, the governing council of the Church, in 1911: “all other gathering places of the Saints, including their present homes in the region of the Rocky Mountains, are merely “stakes” of Zion.”³¹

Other ambiguities still exist over the rhetoric concerning the “children of Zion.” Who are these people that would live in Zion? Are they the members of the Mormon Church that have accepted the tenets of the Church’s gospel, or are they those that are the sons of the Biblical Joseph of old, as the First Presidency said, “even as Jacob

²⁹ Brigham Young, 5 June 1853, JD 2:253.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ President Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, John Henry Smith. *Messages of the First Presidency* 4:238, “Seventy-eight years have passed since then, [since 1833 when the Saints were driven from Missouri] and though the dispossessed and driven people have never returned to Jackson county, yet that spot is still to them Zion, the place to which they or their children will eventually wend their way to rear upon its consecrated soil the city and temple of God. *All other gathering places of the Saints, including their present homes in the region of the Rocky Mountains, are merely “stakes” of Zion.* (Published in Deseret News by First Presidency, Nov. 4, 1911) italics added for emphasis.

bequeathed it [the American Continent] to his son Joseph, and his posterity?"³² It is more likely that it was meant as encompassing of both.

Broadening the notion of Zion further, Brigham Young said that "Zion is North and South America to begin with" If this is the case, then Zion could not be exclusively the American continent. The rhetoric is inclusive, not exclusive. Therefore the American continent was not to be the whole of Zion, but part of it. In 1861 Young proclaimed: "Zion will extend, eventually, all over this earth. There will be no nook or corner upon the earth but what will be in Zion. It will all be Zion."³³

Young in his day established the doctrine of a worldwide Zion, but proceeded to extend the interpretation of Zion further to a non-physical location:

Unless the people live before the Lord in the obedience of His commandments, they cannot have Zion within them. They must carry it with them, if they expect to live in it, to enjoy it, and increase in it, it is in the hearts of the Saints, of those who love and serve the Lord with all their might, mind, and strength.³⁴

However, this departure from a bricks-and-mortar, priesthood-organised definition did not originate with Brigham Young, but rather with Joseph Smith. It was Smith that taught that Zion is "the pure of heart."³⁵ Young was again asked in 1860 where Zion was located. In replying he gave a different answer to 1853, where he taught it was the Rocky Mountains. On this occasion he said:³⁶

Where the organization of the Church of God is. And may it dwell spiritually in every heart; and may we so live as to always enjoy the Spirit of Zion!³⁷

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Brigham Young, 28 July 1861, JD 9:138

³⁴ *Ibid.* Italics added for emphasis.

³⁵ HC 1:402

³⁶ Brigham Young, 5 June 1853, JD 2:253.

³⁷ JD 8:205 14 October 1860, see also 8:198 7 Oct 1860 "Where is the centre Stake of Zion? In Jackson County, Missouri...Zion will be redeemed and built

So for Brigham Young, Zion would encompass the world, it is within individuals, it is around individuals, and it would be a place to return to.

Following the death of Brigham Young in August 1877, there was a seeming silence by Latter-day Saint Church leaders concerning the gathering and Zion. This was coupled with the efforts of William Evarts, the US secretary of State.³⁸ In August 1879 Evarts established a plan to enlist foreign nations in a campaign against polygamy and Mormon emigration. The plan was to formally hinder Mormon proselytising, harass missionaries, and prevent converts from immigrating to the United States.³⁹ A number of European countries couldn't justify assisting America's demands as their local laws protected such, including Great Britain, France and Italy. Other countries such as Austria and Germany began to imprison, prevent and harass Mormon missionaries and emigrants. This practice officially remained in place until shortly after the 1890 "Manifesto" that began the end of Latter-day Saint polygamy. However, some countries continued to contend with Mormons long after the order had been cancelled.

III THE BEGINNING OF EMIGRATION CONTROL

The policy of the Church towards discouraging its members from gathering to Utah became more hardened as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Not until June 1894, did the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles conclude that converts should:

up, and the Saints will rejoice. This is the land of Zion; and who are Zion? The pure in heart are Zion; they have Zion within them."

³⁸ Ardis E. Parshall, "A Gathering Storm: The U.S. State Department's World-Wide War on Mormon Proselyting and Emigration" *Sunstone* August 2004 Conference Paper. Appreciation is extended to Ardis E. Parshall for use of her research in this area.

³⁹ *Ibid*, William M. Evarts, Circular to Diplomatic Officers of the United States, 9 August 1879. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of The United States, Transmitted to Congress, with the Annual Message of the President, 1879. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), 11-12.

Not be encouraged to emigrate until they are firmly founded in the religion by labor and experience... And even those ...in... Favourable circumstances... should not to be encouraged to immigrate to this place, where labor is scarce.⁴⁰

Under similar circumstances in 1898, George Q Cannon announced:

There is one course that has been taken which I think will be attended with good efforts, that is, counselling the Saints in the various lands where they embrace the Gospel to remain quiet for a while; to not be anxious to break up their homes to gather to Zion.⁴¹

Several factors might be deemed as significant in leading to the change of emphasis regarding the policy of the “Gathering.” This change caused a downturn in emigration and consequently resulted in the promotion of the idea of multiple Zions. The following seem significant:

- The Perpetual Emigrating Company had been terminated by the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887.⁴²

⁴⁰ As cited in Richard L Jensen, “The Gathering to Zion,” V. Ben Bloxham ed., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837-1987*, Solihull, England, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987, 189

⁴¹ George Q. Cannon, Report of the Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints October 1898, Salt lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 4

⁴² “Anti-Polygamy Legislation,” *op cit.*, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 52. The intent of this anti-polygamy act was to destroy the temporal power of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Among its provisions was the dissolution of the Corporation of the Church. All property of the dissolved Church corporation held in violation of the 1862 limit of \$50,000 was to be seized on order of the Attorney General. It also called for the dissolution of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, the abolition of female suffrage in Utah, and the disinheritance of children of plural marriages. Moreover, it empowered the court to compel the production of books, records, papers, and documents relating to properties held by the Church’s president.

- There was a lack of suitable land in Utah for further colonisation.
- The Church was in debt more than \$1,125,000 by 1898
- The depression of the 1890's caused production shortages, business failures, cash scarcity, and soaring unemployment.⁴³
- The Priesthood concern over many immigrants apostatising as soon as they arrived in Utah.
- The slowdown in European Mormon conversion and those wanting to emigrate.

The emphasis on remaining rather than gathering was not only European based, but also found expression in the *Southern Star*, the Southern States Mormon Mission newspaper (1898-1900), an editorial printed 4 February 1899 stated:

While the doctrine of the gathering had not been suspended, its unwise application had caused problems, and consequently great care should be exercised in advising or urging Saints to immigrate to the Far West...All things considered...it would be better for most of the Church's nine thousand southern members to remain in their homes.⁴⁴

Clearly from this quote the principle of remaining and strengthening the Church in their homelands began to be recognised and implemented. This would spread throughout the world in time and initiate a new phase of gathering.

⁴³ As cited in Ross Geddes, "Before Stakehood: The Mission Years in Brisbane, Australia," *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Fall 1996, p 95. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966, pp380–83; Richard D Poll, Thomas Alexander, Eugene Campbell, and David E Miller, eds. *Utah History*, Provo, Brigham Young University Press, 1978, pp 237-38.

⁴⁴ Chattanooga's *Southern Star*: Mormon Window on the South, 1898-1900 by David Buice , *BYU Studies*, vol. 28 (1988), Number 2 - Spring 1988

IV THE PRINCIPLE OF MULTIPLE ZIONS

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the rhetoric concerning gathering to Zion was muted, and instructions to remain and build Zion in one's own country increased and subsequently became the policy. More than 103,000 people had emigrated to Utah between the years of 1840 and 1910, an average of some 2,000 annually. In the years between 1911 and 1946, LDS emigration declined to an average of only 291 annually.⁴⁵

One of the catalytic events to stimulate the rhetoric of multiple Zions, or in other words multiple places of gathering, was an announcement in 1903 by Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918) the sixth President of the Church, declaring a practise of worldwide building of houses of worship. In announcing the change he said,

Our mission in Great Britain, for instance, 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 "Mormon-ism," ... has come to stay.⁴⁶

Mormon chapels began to be built throughout Europe, with the emphasis on building the "stakes of Zion." Within ten years Joseph F Smith further announced the beginning of extending the programme of temple ordinances, to Mormons further abroad than the American West. The announcement of the Alberta, Canada temple began a long programme of temple building outside of Utah. President Smith explained:

that the purpose of the Church to extend the blessing of holy ordinances for the living and the dead of other lands than Utah, and former dwelling places of Zion, have awakened new interest and confidence in the cause of salvation. More Church edifices have been erected and such property acquired than ever before in our

⁴⁵ "Immigration & Emigration," *op cit.*, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 675

⁴⁶ President Joseph F. Smith, *Conference Report*, October 1903, 97

history, and we congratulate all who sense the importance of these movements on that which has been accomplished.⁴⁷

This sense of importance of these movements became the call to stay. While the nineteenth century was one of gathering to Zion and building, the twentieth became a century of remaining in Zion and building, not just infrastructure, but the spiritual base of non-Utah Latter-day Saints.

CONCLUSION

Brigham Young and subsequent leaders offered different explanations regarding the gathering and Zion, but one must reconsider Joseph Smith's original explanation of what and where Zion would be and how the gathering would be fulfilled. Although the doctrines over the decades have evolved or appeared to change, and places of gathering have come and gone, it is arguable that the worldwide building of the stakes of Zion is more consistent to Smith's original teachings, especially the relationship between the Temple and Zion, particularly in light of the ongoing temple construction programme of the Church.

As with the early Mormon Church, where the majority of whose membership was outside of the United States, today the Church is in a similar situation. With the opening up of nations to Mormon proselytising, the notion of Joseph Smith's Zion is being spread throughout and encompassing the world. The key to establishing his Zion was inextricably related to the establishment of stakes as places of gathering and the erection of temples therein. For Smith it is the temple that is the catalyst and purpose of the gathering. Although multiple changes to the definition, location and principles of the gathering and Zion have been made since Smith, these changes have brought about a synchronicity with Smith's early doctrine. This does not appear to have been a conscious act to do so by Church leaders, but the evidence demonstrates that these changes were more in reaction to economical,

⁴⁷ Christmas message published in *Deseret News*, Dec. 20, 1913, by the First Presidency, *Messages of the First Presidency* 4:295

political, sociological challenges of their day. If this is what Smith perceived as his vision of the future, one must be compelled to reassess the relationship between his original teachings and a 21st-century worldwide Latter-day Saint Church, a Zion, and her stakes under construction.

BOOK REVIEWS

ON THE WAY TO SOMEWHERE ELSE: EUROPEAN SOJOURNERS IN THE MORMON WEST, 1834–1930

Reviewed by Kim B. Östman

Michael W. Homer, ed., *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930*. Spokane, WA, USA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006. 420 pages. Hardcover: \$39.50.

Volume 8 in The Arthur H. Clark Company's "Kingdom in the West" series, trial lawyer Michael W. Homer's compilation of 19th and early 20th-century European travel narratives from the American Mormon West is an interesting contribution to the literature on Mormonism and Europe. The existing literature on the Mormons and the American West is vast, but Homer has succeeded in choosing a fresh viewpoint. He focuses on what it was that learned Europeans were saying about their visits to the "land of the Mormons," first in the Eastern United States and later in the West, Utah.

Homer, currently chairman of Utah's Board of State History, is himself a descendant of Italian emigrants to the United States. Over the years, his scholarly interests have included research on Mormon history in Europe. While his method of choosing which travel narratives to include in *On the Way to Somewhere Else* is not explicitly detailed, the compilation appears to be a result of Homer's decades-long efforts to collect European writings that deal with Mormonism.

One reason for the significance of the new book is the window it provides into the kinds of Mormon matters that were of interest to Europeans at the time. The majority of Europeans had never met Mormons in real life, and thus accounts in books and other publications – even and perhaps especially fictional accounts, as Homer remarks (27) – provided an important part of the stuff for Mormon im-

age formation. This process has had far-reaching effects for how the Mormon “other” is viewed in Europe.

The chapters proceed mostly chronologically, with a few thematic chapters for example on early travel to Southern Utah and the writings of Scandinavian observers interspersed. The book proper concludes with a brief epilogue by Homer on Utah’s situation and changed (but in some ways not) image in modern days. An extensive bibliography is included at the end, and several illustrations are provided throughout the book.

Each narrative is contextualized through a biographical sketch of its author, of whom a total of forty-nine are included in the book. In addition to these featured authors, the book contains references to several other European writers and their comments on the Mormons. The focus of the narratives is on accounts of Utah and the encounters of the travellers with Mormons, not on details about the doctrines of the Mormon religion. Probably due to its nature as a compilation, the book does not in general contain much analysis, mostly only correcting some of the factual mistakes made by the authors. The translations from the original languages into English have been provided by numerous individuals.

As can be expected, one of the main topics dealt with by the European travellers was the Mormon practice of plural marriage that they encountered and were sometimes eager to see. What one may not expect, however, is their widely varying reactions to this practice, all of which were by no means negative. The French feminist Olympe de Joaral Audouard, for example, gives a puzzlingly positive overview of Mormon polygamy (while still offended by it, she preferred it to “the Mormonism of Europeans,” referring to the de facto polygamy of some Parisians, 126–145). The Austrian-born Joseph Hübner, in contrast, lamented what he saw as the stratification of Mormon plural families, with wives who have to “sit by, resigned to their fate, with sad and cross expressions” (152) as the husband concentrates on his most attractive spouse.

The widely varying views on plural marriage illustrate the difficulty that contemporaries had in understanding and assessing the impact of the controversial practice, even after encountering and interacting with plural families. And while the European authors featured in *On the Way to Somewhere Else* often saw Mormonism's doctrines as strange and its adherents as fanatics on the one hand, many seem to have been touched by the Mormons' hospitality on the other. They were not the savages expected by some after all. The Italian physician and journalist Carlo Gardini even remarked how he forgave the polygamy of his host family "since [polygamy] had provided me such a sincere and cheerful welcome" (298). These are but a few of the interesting, and often fruitfully contrasting, observations and musings written down by the European sojourners.

One critical remark has to do with the scope of the book. The inclusive title *European Sojourners* tends to give the reader an expectation of providing a geographically wide and balanced sample of European writings concerning the Mormons in America. With few exceptions, however, the narratives in the book are drawn from France, Germany and Italy, leaving the reader wondering as to why the rest of Europe has not been included to the extent implied by the title.

For example Scandinavia, a hotbed of Mormon activity in the 19th century, is covered in only five narratives, all from Danish or Swedish writers. The Norwegian Lutheran pastor Andreas Mortensen and the Finnish feminist Alexandra Gripenberg are examples of but two other influential 19th-century Nordic writers who visited Utah and disseminated their experiences widely in their homelands. Great Britain is similarly neglected. Considering the impact of such writings on the Mormon image and proselytizing efforts, it would have been interesting to see a geographically more balanced sample. And while it may be the case that such a sample would mostly have produced similar narratives to those now included, that in itself would have served as a useful illustration of a widespread nature of European views of Mormonism.

In summary, Michael W. Homer's *On the Way to Somewhere Else* is a fascinating addition to the literature that connects Europe with Mormonism. This recently published collection of European travel narratives and ponderings provides excellent source material for those seeking to analyze and reconstruct the European image of Mormonism in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The book is warmly recommended, especially to scholars that study intercultural encounters and to anyone interested in Mormon history of the Utah or European variety.

REGIONAL STUDIES IN LATTER-DAY SAINT CHURCH HISTORY,
VOLUME 7: THE BRITISH ISLES

Reviewed by David M. Morris

Cynthia Doxey, Robert C. Freeman, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, and Dennis A. Wright, eds. *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History, Volume 7: The British Isles* Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Center, 2007. 281 pages. ISBN: 9780842526722 \$14.95

A recent addition to the historiography of British Mormonism is an anthology of scholarly papers from Brigham Young University's Religious Studies Center. As part of an ongoing series, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History*, the *British Isles* is the focus of Volume 7, which is dedicated to aspects of the British Mormon experience. Previous treatments in this series also include California, Ohio & Upper Canada, Missouri, New England States, and Europe amongst others. Each of these volumes was the result of a Church history tour in different parts of the U.S. and Europe by faculty and students mainly of Brigham Young University's department of Church History and Doctrine. As part of the tour the participants were required to prepare papers that dealt with that particular region.

These tours commenced in 1985, but it was the 1987 tour that first visited the British Isles in its celebrations of the sesquicentennial establishment of the Church in Britain. Resulting from this visit was the 1990 volume of the same name as the reviewed, which represented papers from scholars of that period, however, 20 years later from that first visit, sees the publication of papers from a new generation of academics that revisited Britain in 2006. Although both volumes share the same name and initially confusing in terms of referencing, they are as different in contributors as they are in subject matter. Too frequently attempts by scholars to discuss British Mormonism results in publications that mainly deal with the periods 1837-1838 and 1840-1841 that corresponds with the first two apostolic missions. Subsequently, well-

rehearsed and repeated accounts neglect a rich seam that is still waiting to be mined, accordingly this regional history remains unknown to the general audience. This collection, however, addresses some hitherto neglected areas of historical enquiry and is a welcome addition to the growing interest in the international development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

This volume includes an introduction of the series and an overview of the tour itself by Paul H. Peterson, Professor emeritus Church History and Doctrine. Peterson also provides a summary of the papers that compile this work. This volume presents its 12 papers in mainly chronological order dealing with periods between 1837 and 1990's covering an eclectic range of topics including readdressing possible injustices against Isaac Russell, one of the early Mormon missionaries to the British Isles, a photo essay of the Church history sites in Liverpool and North East, an account of the voyage of the *Titanic* from the perspective of some Latter-day Saints, ongoing persecutions and the LDS Church in the media.

The collection commences with "Remembering the Impact of British Missionary Isaac Russell" by Scott C. Esplin, who focuses his paper on Isaac Russell (1807-1844), an Englishman who formed part of the initial seven that established Mormonism in Britain. As a preacher in Britain (1837-8), Russell was considered a faithful missionary, however, for many years since, Russell has been viewed as an apostate of the Church for his actions in 1838, in leading a small group of emigrants from DeWitt to Far West during the persecutions in Missouri. It has often been contended that Russell was leading them away from the Church both physically and spiritually rather than guiding them to a place of safety. Other factors have contributed to this status but Esplin makes a compelling argument to at least revisit the account of this man and reserve immediate judgment. By reviewing some of the circumstances from the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, personal letters and family papers a different picture is constructed. Esplin in his attempt to redress the reputation of Russell also includes the accounts of family members, particularly the daughters

who bore much of the apparent rejection from “faithful” Church members. For them, the account of their interview with Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency and fellow early missionary to Britain encouraged a restoration of status in the Church.

For the daughters the opportunity of Russell being ‘restored’ might be seen to them as an indication of the innocence of their father. With Kimball’s desire to see Russell ‘righted’ he also noted to the daughters of Russell that others had gone further than their father including Orson Hyde and that if similar events had happened in 1862 it would have gone unnoticed. Esplin concludes by reminding the reader of the difficulties of judging where there is a lack of crucial details of the story and the assessment is left to the reader. Although much of the article is drawn from secondary sources, the use of the relatively unknown 1920 letter from Russell’s youngest daughter Isabella to B. H. Roberts and use of other primary sources adds robustness to the scholarly approach. Arguably Esplin’s paper might be applied in a wider context with respect to the many accounts of those who have become removed in like manner from the historical narrative of the LDS Church. In these cases the minimising of their earlier contributions to the Church mainly go unknown, however, they are slowly coming to light in an era when sensitivities are less acute.

Arnold K. Garr in “George A. Smith’s Mission with the Twelve in England, 1839-41” reviews the role of George A. Smith and his experience of the Second Apostolic mission in Britain. This article provides a good quality survey of the mission and the general movements of Smith, particularly his work in North Staffordshire locally known as the ‘Potteries.’ Much of the account has been sourced from a reprint of George A. Smith’s journal, which was serialised in *The Instructor* in 1947, which provides a renewed introduction to the work of the youngest of the 1840 Apostles to a new generation of students and scholars, and hopefully will stimulate further research. One incident noted, provides an insight of some nineteenth-century British Mormons who initially adopted some unorthodox practices.

While Smith was making his way to the Staffordshire Potteries from Preston, he stopped in Manchester for a few days, where some local members of the Church met him at the train station and took him to the home of Alice Hardman where about 20 sisters met him. They had taken seriously Paul's admonition to "greet one another with a holy kiss" when "one of them, decidedly a little beauty prompted by the rest approached" to ask permission to kiss him. He was having nothing of it and commented that he had "never felt so foolish" and quickly ended the practice. There were a number of such practices that the newly established members of the Church seemed to cling to. It would have been enlightening to have included more interactions or experiences with local members, particularly the notable work that he carried out with Alfred Cordon, the first convert in Staffordshire, particularly as Cordon was the first branch president in Staffordshire and later the first Staffordshire Conference President. Arguably the narratives of the unknown grass roots members will become of a greater interest to scholars, as more records are made available and published electronically.

Whereas the first two papers dealt with personalities, the following two deal with a more geographical orientated matter. The third paper from Carol Wilkinson deals with "The Restoration of the Gadfield Elm Chapel" and the difficulties that developed in first acquiring the field and ruin, the subsequent forming of the Gadfield Elm Trust through to the dedication in 2000 by Jeffrey R. Holland and its later dedication in 2004 by Gordon B. Hinckley. Wilkinson details the history of the chapel, initially belonging to the United Brethren and then the LDS Church. Although the chapel was extensively used by early Mormon converts for worship services, within two years it was sold in order to provide necessary funds to aid emigration to America. This paper is a useful account of firsthand experiences of the restored Gadfield Elm chapel and thus provides other scholars access to private accounts of those involved.

Craig James Ostler provides a “Photo Essay of Church History Sites in Liverpool and the Ribble Valley” which follows an iconic journey from Liverpool to the Ribble Valley in Lancashire. He identifies images of prominent Mormon Lancashire landmarks including modern place markers as well as the Preston Temple in Chorley. The accompanying narrative is mainly a recounting of the established familiar experiences in Lancashire. The paper also includes some twentieth-century accounts such as Gordon B. Hinckley’s visits and recollections in Preston. These images will no doubt help stimulate the understanding of those who are interested in British Mormonism by identifying the physical locations with the historical accounts that are being researched.

The final paper to deal with nineteenth-century Mormonism is Clyde J. Williams, “‘More Value...Than All the Gold and Silver of England’: The Book of Mormon in Britain 1837-1852.” Williams has produced a very high quality analysis of the use of the Book of Mormon in nineteenth-century Britain and its often-limited availability. As Latter-day Saints consider the Book of Mormon as its ‘keystone’ it is still a little known entity as to how often it played in an epiphany or religious conversion for British Mormons. Most of the accounts highlighted are of those that were able to record their experience in a diary and consequently more likely to be able to read. One must ask, however, what of those who were unable to read, or failed to own or see a copy of the *Book of Mormon* prior to baptism, which in areas like Staffordshire and West Midlands was a large number, was it read to them or did they experience a post-baptism conversion? Williams has identified a remarkable amount of people who were somehow affected by reading the book, which they believed contributed to their conversion.

However, a number of those cited did not join the Church immediately but months or years later raising the need for further research into their actual conversion story. Clearly later conversions were not reliant solely upon their treatment of the Book of Mormon. During the years of 1837 - 1852 over 58,000 converts were baptised into the Church in Britain, based on those figures we know very little regarding

what the majority of their experiences resulted in. Williams, however, has provided a strong springboard for further research into an exciting and previously neglected area of Mormon concern.

The remaining seven papers deal with the twentieth-century experiences of the Mormonism in the British Isles. Richard E. Bennett and Jeffrey L. Jensen write a curious original paper dealing with the LDS response to the sinking of R.M.S. *Titanic* in 1912 entitled “‘Nearer, My God, to Thee’: The Sinking of the *Titanic*.” Considering its place in the anthology only a small part of the paper actually deals with the British experience, however, that said it is very informative and offers a new perspective regarding this infamous international disaster. The inclusion of accounts from the *Millennial Star* of British Mormons involved with benefit concerts and activities not only shows the charitable nature in response to the disaster, but also the musical talent that existed in London branches. Much is made of a non-Mormon passenger William Stead, editor of *Pall Mall Gazette* who prior to his departure on the *Titanic* challenged anti-Mormon sentiment through the media and his influence prior to his drowning. He may well have been considered a loss to the Church, as it was one less advocate to raise a voice against apparent unfounded bitterness that were so prolific against the Church at the time. Overall this paper provides a well-researched and interesting work.

Mary Jane Woodger offers an insightful treatment in “David O. McKay’s European Mission [1922-1924]: Seedbed for his Administration.” Woodger is best placed and well informed to write this paper as her previous publications have dealt in-depth with David O. McKay and his life. This paper provides a revealing study of McKay’s influence and organisation of the Church in Britain and Europe during difficult times in terms of struggling branches and increasing persecution. McKay’s significance is seen in the increased Church membership and expansion of the building programme of the Church making it a worldwide Church. Jerome M. Perkins, “The Story of the British Saints in Their Own Words”, follows this study. In 1987, Brigham Young University sponsored the oral history project, which commenced to gather and

document the experiences of British Mormons. Perkins' selections begin to bridge the historical gap between the written sources of the nineteenth-century and present day accounts. Each account describes experience of either conversion or the day-to-day living including the pulls of emigration and calls to serve full time missions for men in a time of persecution. As the role of the media became more important Alan K. Parrish in "Turning the Media Image of the Church in Great Britain, 1922-1933" details the struggles that the Church had in trying to promote itself through newspapers. With the efforts of Mormon leaders such as David O. McKay, James E. Talmage and John A. Widstoe some success was found which Parrish very competently details.

Like many millions of people during the years of 1939-1945, organisations were disrupted almost to the point of standstill; the LDS Church was no different. David F. Boone in "The King of King Needs a Few Men': British Saints during World War II" discusses the impact of the Second World War on the day-to-day running of the Church. Boone captures the essence of the organisational and administrative difficulties to the local Church. Boone discusses the difficulties with the Church programmes, priesthood leadership, increasing financial difficulties and the slowing of the missionary programme following return of all Americans to the United States. This valuable study provides an excellent introduction for further research. Following the ending of the war, Church programmes returned to normal and membership increased. This new period of growth encouraged a building programme of chapels and temples. Temple building is the focus of Richard O. Cowan's paper entitled "A Tale of Two Temples." From the decision of the First Presidency of the Church to build a temple near East Grinstead, Cowan rehearses the role of David O. McKay in purchasing the land and the subsequent development of the London Temple. More importantly for the membership of the Church there seems to have been a rededication to their beliefs and practices. This subsequently began a period of growth that began to establish a firm base to build on encouraging local members to remain in Britain rather than to emigrate. Cowan further discusses the London Temple follow-

ing remodelling and the second LDS temple at Chorley, Lancashire and considers the role of Gordon B. Hinckley, who as a newly appointed Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve assisted in the London Temple dedication in 1952, and as President of the Church rededicated the London Temple following its refurbishment in 1992 and the Preston Temple in 1998.

Concluding the volume is Alexander L. Baugh's "The Church in Twentieth-Century Great Britain: A Historical Overview." Baugh surveys the progress of the Church in Britain and adds to the volume by reviewing the 1960's with its greatly increasing membership on account of 'tools' such as the 'Baseball' baptisms, and the establishment of Church Educational programs such as seminary. The 70's saw the rise of what Baugh calls 'Osmondmania' which he describes the Osmond family as becoming indirect ambassadors for the Church. In the 1980's and 1990's the Church continued to grow and saw the building of a second temple and the establishment of a large purpose-built missionary training centre, replacing the smaller manor house in the grounds of the London Temple. Baugh helpfully provides some sociological studies that "suggest Mormons have essentially become part of the mainstream Christian society in Great Britain."

This volume is a welcome contribution to Mormon research in the British Isles and apart from the periodic devotional register it remains a scholarly contribution by experienced and respected academics.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARMAND L. MAUSS is Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies Emeritus at Washington State University, USA; past editor of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*; and past President of the Mormon History Association (1997-98). He has published over 100 articles and reviews in academic journals and edited collections, including many in the journals of religious studies, such as the *Journal of Mormon History* and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

FRED E. WOODS holds the Richard L. Evans Chair of Religious Understanding at Brigham Young University, USA, where he is a professor of Church History and Doctrine. He is the editor and compiler of the "Mormon Immigration Index CD-ROM" and has authored or co-authored six books and many articles in over a dozen different periodicals both nationally and internationally.

WARRICK N. KEAR was born in Yorkshire, England. He is a graduate in Music of Liverpool University where he studied Music Composition and Piano. He is also a Doctoral graduate of Nottingham University with a thesis on Music in Mormonism (1997). A third-generation member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he is married with four children. He has worked in the Church Educational System in England for over 30 years.

RONALD E. BARTHOLOMEW is a visiting scholar at Brigham Young University, USA, and was awarded a D. Phil. from the University of Buckingham, England.

KIM B. ÖSTMAN is a doctoral candidate of comparative religion at Åbo Akademi University, Finland, focusing on the relationship between Mormonism and Finnish society. He works as a researcher of radio-frequency microelectronics at Tampere University of Technology, Finland. Östman has published scholarly articles on Mormonism in the

journals *Uskonnotutkija - Religionsforskare*, *Siirtolaisuus - Migration*, *Finnish Journal of Theology*, *Journal of Mormon History* and *Dialogue: Journal of Mormon Thought*. He is one of the founders of the *European Mormon Studies Association*.

DAVID M. MORRIS [davidmmorris@hotmail.com] is an historian and doctoral candidate at University of Chichester, England, analysing the relationship between class and religion in Victorian Britain by means of a case study on British Mormonism. As well as being the author and maintainer of www.mormonhistory.org, he is currently working on several books dealing with the history of the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 1840-1900, a 2-volume series *History of the Church in the British Isles* (vol.1 1837-1899) and (vol.2 1900-1999). He is also preparing a multi-volume comprehensive series on Mormonism in Europe with Kim Östman. He is one of the founders of the *European Mormon Studies Association*.