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Editorial

David M. Morris
Editor

Once again, it is with great pleasure that we publish another issue of the *International Journal of Mormon Studies* (*IJMS*). This issue brings together a combination of scholars from different parts of the world and academic disciplines. Drawn from Mormon and non–Mormon perspectives, the articles found herein provide interesting insights to Mormonism globally, encouraging further attention and examination. Following on from the successful *European Mormon Studies Association* (EMSA) conference in Tilburg, The Netherlands (2010), we publish a number of the papers that were presented during that conference, as well as publishing direct submissions. These include papers from Walter E. A. van Beek, Eric R. Dursteler, Terryl L. Givens, Bryan R. Monte, Matthew L. Rasmussen and Peter Vousden. Accompanying these articles is a number of reviewed books, including those of non-English publication, which supports the expanding international dimension of Mormon Studies.

We, as always, extend our appreciation to those who took time to blind peer-review articles that have been submitted for publication. We hope as an editorial board that you will enjoy the contents of this issue.

A Home for the Saints: Developments in LDS Worship Accommodation in Lancashire, England

Matthew Lyman Rasmussen

Abstract: Notwithstanding the impressive institutional longevity of Mormonism in Lancashire, the history of the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation in North West England remains shrouded by a lack of architectural evidence and insufficient identification of sites where, historically, church members have gathered for services. The fact that no currently occupied meeting place in the county pre-dates the late 1950s is strikingly at odds with the oft-celebrated continuity of the LDS congregations in Lancashire—the very region where British Mormonism first took root in 1837. This article examines the evolution of LDS worship accommodation in Lancashire through the lens of doctrinal development, *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, and various oral history accounts. It argues that the transition of Mormon meeting places from homes and rented halls in the mid-nineteenth century to purpose-built facilities in the mid-twentieth century is both a reflection and an extension of the less-expectant eschatological ethos which coincided with the administration of President Joseph F. Smith, sixth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In October 1992, at the rededication of the London Temple at Lingfield, Surrey, Gordon B. Hinckley, then a member of the First Presidency of the Church, announced that the construction of the Church's second temple in England would soon commence at an unspecified location in the Preston area of Lancashire.[1] The actual construction site at Hartwood Green, on the northern outskirts of Chorley, had been selected in 1991 by Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, an American church authority then presiding over the affairs of the Church in Britain. Although the search for a suitable property was never limited deliberately to the Preston area, Holland could not help but note the significance of the site within the history of British Mormonism: "It just seemed to

[1] Gerry Avant, 'Site acquired for second temple in England', *LDS Church News*, 24 October 1992, p. 3.

ring all the bells", he later stated. "What a way to celebrate the work of the early missionaries".[2]

Since its completion in June 1998, contemporary Mormonism in Lancashire has been dominated by the presence and influence of the Preston Temple. Twelve years on, an understanding of the temple's impact upon LDS congregational dynamics throughout the north of England is just beginning to emerge.[3] Although the temple may be regarded as the foremost symbol of regional Mormonism's presence, promise, and institutional maturity, it is hardly suggestive of its local past—particularly in regards to the history of its many other places of worship scattered throughout the North West. In this respect, the Preston Temple could be interpreted as the capstone of the Saints' multigenerational pursuit to secure adequate accommodation for their worship services. It does not, however, reveal much about the foundation. Indeed, the temple now occupies a place of such prominence and visibility within the Mormon interpretation of Lancashire as to overshadow what little is known about the history of Latter-day Saint worship accommodation elsewhere in the English North West. Overall, the identification and analysis of Lancashire Mormonism's places of worship remains one of the least researched aspects of its history. Such is the focus of this article.

CONTEXT

It must be noted that, within contemporary Mormonism, the chapel or meetinghouse occupies a fundamentally different role than does the temple, which is not to suggest that the two structures are altogether unrelated in either purpose or form. The chapel is a space devoted to and concerned with the gospel's daily practice and to the

[2] David M. Pickup, *The Pick and Flower of England: The Illustrated Story of the Mormons in Victorian England and the Story of the Preston Temple* (Burnley, Lancashire: Living Legend Press, 1997), pp. 132–33.

[3] One of the most dramatic consequences of the temple has been a sharp increase in local membership numbers, the likes of which precipitated the division of the Preston Stake in 2005 and the creation of a new Stake based at Chorley. The Chorley Stake is the 37th stake organised by the Church in Britain and the first since the formation of the York and Watford Stakes in 1996. For a complete listing of the LDS stakes in the United Kingdom and their dates of organisation, see *2007 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Morning News, 2006), pp. 476–477.

performance of baptisms and confirmations: the ordinances of salvation which, when received, serve as one's introduction to the covenant life of the Latter-day Saint. The baptismal covenants associated with the chapel, although crucial, are also clearly preparatory within Mormon theology. It is the temple, with its sealing ordinances and endowment system which must be regarded as the site of Mormonism's covenant fulness. Whereas the chapel is oriented primarily toward the mortal realm, the temple concerns itself with the eternities. Although each structure is concerned with, and organised around, manifestations of priesthood authority in the administration of these sacred rites, it must be remembered that the rites of the chapel are linked to the pursuit of salvation while those of the temple are regarded as requisite to salvation's fulness, i.e. exaltation.

In his theological and phenomenological analysis of the developments within Christian worship accommodation, Harold Turner has classified meeting places into two general categories: domus ecclesiae, the house of an assembled group of worshipers, and domus dei, the house of God.[4] Turner's examination centres largely upon the theological tensions manifest between these two categories and notes how various denominations' construction of each building type bespeaks the wide spectrum of Judeo-Christian thought, dissonance, and practice in contemporary religion. The difference between these two categories, domus ecclesiase and domus dei, within both Mormon thought and Christian architecture generally, has been meaningfully clarified by Douglas Davies who has explained that the temple "is a place where the divine is believed to be present", and that "the deity dwells there in some particularly special way" whether or not the worshipper is present. By contrast, the chapel "is simply a meeting place, an assembly hall, a mere container for a designated congregation, and when that group is absent, its status as domus ecclesiae ceases and it may serve other purposes."[5] As this article will demonstrate, and as Davies has already asserted, in contemporary Mormonism, the chapel or meetinghouse does not fit fully to Turner's domus ecclesiae classification because these structures "are always retained as a formal place of worship, even

[4] Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979), pp. 323–345.
[5] Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Grace, Force, and Glory* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), pp. 72–73.

though they may also be used for other purposes".[6] For the purposes of this article, examination of the evolution of worship accommodation within Lancashire Mormonism will be restricted to variants of the domus ecclesiae.

The historian will find that the evolution of Mormon worship accommodation beyond the "Mormon corridor" of the American Intermountain West must be viewed in the context of the administration of Joseph F. Smith, the sixth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In October 1903, at the 74th semi-annual general conference of the Church in Salt Lake City, President Smith addressed the needs and opportunities associated with Mormonism's global agenda at the dawn of the twentieth century. In his sweeping assessment of the condition of the Church, both domestically and abroad, Smith announced his intent to expand overseas the Church's investment in the development of physical facilities as means to improving the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation. Demonstrative of his hopes for Mormonism's expansion and permanence on the international stage, Smith explained:

> Other meetinghouses for our people in other missions [abroad] are in contemplation, and, perhaps in the near future we may have headquarters for our Elders, and a meetinghouse, or church, if you please to call it that, in other mission fields, where we can advertise our name and our principles, and where we can have a permanent foothold and exhibit our works to those who are inquiring after the truth, and not leave the people, as in years gone by, under the impression that we are constantly on the wing in these distant lands, having no permanent abiding places there.[7]

Smith's declaration suggests something vital about the fundamental role and purpose of worship accommodation within international Mormonism. Curiously, the establishment of such facilities does not appear to have been motivated, at least initially, by the desire to convenience the long-established overseas membership who, at the time of Smith's pivotal 1903 proclamation, were being urged to

[6] Davies, *Mormon Culture of Salvation*, p. 75.

[7] President Joseph F. Smith, opening address, General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1903, *Conference Report* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1903), p. 4.

remain in their respective homelands. The very invitation to remain rather than remove was markedly different from the westward orientation encouraged by Mormonism's nineteenth-century gathering ethos—a powerful doctrinal and cultural influence which motivated thousands of British and European Latter-day Saints to forsake the "Babylon" of the Old World in favour of building up "Zion" in the providentially preserved Great Basin of the American West. The twentieth-century reinterpretation of the gathering doctrine, therefore, which caused the British membership to stop looking westward and start looking inward, would seem to have offered sufficient justification for the construction of meetinghouses wherever the Saints resided. Nevertheless, Smith's announcement suggests that the development of permanent worship accommodation was intended primarily to benefit, not the members, but the missionaries—giving them an advantage, or "foothold", as he termed it, in their wide-ranging efforts at spreading the word. In short, the development of facilities in which to meet had at least as much to do with growing the world-wide flock as much as it did accommodating those already in it. Later in his address, Smith turned his attention to the British Mission, where the need for worship accommodation had, within the international Church, been apparent the longest. Smith continued:

> 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 [to be] distinctly understood that "Mormonism", as it is called, has come to the world to stay.[8]

There may be no clearer manifestation of regional Mormonism's transitioning view of Lancashire as "Babylon" to Lancashire as "Zion" than in its changing attitudes toward worship accommodation. In the sections which follow, I shall analyse the evolution of the Saints' various meeting places and argue that developments within worship accommodation in the North West are historical indicators of broader developments within Mormon doctrine and policy as well as expressions of the Church's shifting institutional expectations and intent. Thus, this article is organised in a manner consistent with the various

[8] Ibid., p. 4.

types of accommodation the Saints have sought and, at times, to which they have been relegated. I have, accordingly, categorised the Saints' meeting places into a four-tier structure. These tiers are organised by accommodation type and, conveniently, follow a general chronological sequence.

The first tier is made up of the earliest and humblest worship settings used by the Latter-day Saints in the opening years of the Lancashire mission: those comprised of individual homes, barns, and open-air gathering places. They also included several regional Nonconformist chapels in which the earliest missionaries were invited to preach as guests. Second are the numerous rented rooms and halls which were used by members and missionaries in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, typically on an ad hoc basis. The third tier consists of existing properties which the Church acquired in the early twentieth century and then adapted as needed and into chapels and offices. The fourth tier, and indeed the climactic one, concerns Mormonism's purpose-built chapels constructed in the mid-twentieth century by local church members under the direction of visiting American supervisors. Combined, these evolving places of worship present the historian with a symbolic picture of the evolution of Mormonism in the North West. For organisational ease, I have grouped the four tiers into two broader and successive categories: temporary rented facilities and permanent church-owned structures. I shall now examine each tier in turn, compare their general characteristics, and assess the relative benefits and drawbacks of each accommodation type, from the point of view of the Lancashire Latter-day Saints. The scope of this analysis will both precede and follow Joseph F. Smith's landmark 1903 announcement, at which time the acquisition and development of properties became official, and seemingly irreversible, church policy.

MAINTAINING THE PRIORITY OF THE TEMPLE: EARLY WORSHIP SITES

The Mormons' earliest use of space in Lancashire was both a reflection and an extension of the agenda laid out by its founding Prophet, Joseph Smith. Although the Prophet clearly anticipated the eventual globalisation of the movement he had founded, his primary intention, and indeed his life's work, was not the creation of an empire,

but rather the establishment of an exultant city-state.[9] What he envisioned was Zion at its most elemental: a people, their prophet, and their God—whose presence was both symbolised and realised through the existence of a centrally located temple, or "House of the Lord". It is important to note, therefore, that at no point in his ministry did Smith direct his followers to build any other structures (in addition to those enterprises necessary to the economic and cultural stability of the Saints) than homes and temples.[10] Chapel building was simply not a part of the early programme. Even when church membership in Nauvoo surpassed 10,000, Joseph Smith refused to direct building resources toward anything other than the temple.[11]

The Saints in Lancashire were captivated by the concept of the temple and, although they scarcely understood the still-developing purposes of the edifice, including the crucial ordinances and rites that would be offered therein, they nevertheless recognised its spiritual centrality.[12] Accordingly, throughout the North West, both individual

[9] Admittedly, this is an over-simplification of one of Mormonism's enduring paradoxes, what Terryl Givens has described as an inherent tension between Mormonism's "sequestered exclusivity and optimistic universalism". See Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 105, for further discussion.

[10] It should be noted, however, that Smith's original "Plat for the City of Zion" anticipated the erection of twelve temples on each of two centrally located city blocks. Each temple was intended to serve manifold purposes, beyond the performance of sacred rites. Instructions in the margins of this plan indicate these structures were to operate jointly as temples, schools and houses of worship. The plans never materialised since they were reserved for the settlement at Jackson County, Missouri, the divinely appointed place for the "centre stake of Zion". The Saints' subsequent settlements at Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois were much pared-down versions of Smith's original intention. Moreover, aspects of this general pattern are still evident in the hundreds of Mormon settlements in the western United States, Canada, and Mexico. For further insight into Smith as a city planner and the general pre-eminence of the temple, see Richard L. Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 173–98.

[11] Bushman, 'Making Space for the Mormons', in *Believing History*, pp. 185–86.

[12] Interestingly, as Terryl Givens has noted, Webster's 1828 *Dictionary* reveals the cultural ambiguity of the term "temple" in Joseph Smith's day, then defined simply as "a church; an edifice erected among Christians as a place of public worship." Indeed, the full development of the temple as sacred space with clearly specified purpose would take a generation to develop.

members and entire congregations contributed funds to the temple's construction. For some, donations of this order assumed such a priority as to rival even the financing of one's own emigration and settlement in the new world. For example, in September 1844, John Druce of Salford instructed his emigrated confidant, John Snider, to redirect the £6 he formerly had sent with him "to purchase a plot of land ... in Nauvoo" and give it over "as tithing to the Temple, on my account that the house of the Lord may be built".[13] Similarly, the members of the Liverpool Branch, eager to improve the quality and design of the sacred structure awaiting them in Zion, challenged the temple's architects to incorporate a large clock on its single tower, and pledged to do their part to finance the inclusion of the same.[14]

As a natural extension of the Prophet's priorities, Heber C. Kimball and the earliest missionaries dispatched to Lancashire were likewise concerned little with the establishment of places of worship. The missionaries were a people on the move, inviting their converts to follow. The destination was ever Zion and her temple. This is not to suggest, however, that houses of worship had no place in early Mormonism in the North West. To the contrary, the first sermons the missionaries delivered were in Nonconformist chapels in the Ribble Valley where, ironically, two local clerics, the Reverend James Fielding of Preston and the Reverend John Richards of Walker Fold, each unaware of the "sheep stealing" which would soon follow, had invited the missionaries to preach in their respective chapels: a fatal decision which devastated both their livelihood and the viability of their own congregations.[15]

In Preston, the now demolished Vauxhall Chapel was the original forum for the sounding of Mormonism's restored gospel.[16] To this day, Latter-day Saints reflect on it as the hallowed site of British Mor-

[13] LDS Church Archives, Letter from John Druce to John Snider, 15 September 1844, MS 15543.

[14] *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 6 (1845), p. 43.

[15] Pickup, *Pick and Flower*, pp. 33–35 and 52–55.

[16] For a description of the chapel and a history of its occupancy, including the visit of the Mormons in 1837, see Anthony Hewitson, *Our Churches and Chapels, Their Parsons, Priests, & Congregations; Being a Critical and Historical Account of Every Place of Worship in Preston* (Preston, Lancs.: Preston Chronicle Office, Fishergate, 1869), pp. 82–88. Hewitson also lists the several locations of LDS places of worship in Preston during 1837–69, pp. 112–113.

monism's inception. A brick from the demolished structure remains on display in the current chapel occupied by the congregation at Preston, and is a perpetual reminder of the Church's Ribble Valley roots and the Apostolic origins of its latter-day legacy. In the village of Walker Fold, northeast of Longridge, Lancashire, the Independent Methodist Chapel, long since converted into a private residence, was the scene of several conversions which were crucial to the early development of the Church in the Upper Ribble Valley.[17] Reflecting on his work in Walker Fold, and the utility of the local chapel in augmenting his proselytising success, Kimball recalled:

> After Mr. Richards let me preach in his chapel, I baptised all of his young members, as I had before baptised his daughter. He then reflected upon himself for letting me have the privilege of his chapel; told me that I had ruined his church, and had taken away all his young members. I could not but feel pity for the old gentleman, but I had a duty to perform which outweighed all other considerations.[18]

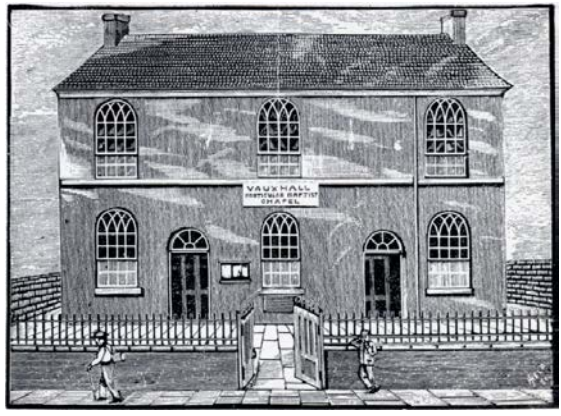

Figure 1 - Engraving of the Vauxhall Chapel at Preston, as it would have appeared in 1837. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

[17] James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1992), pp. 39–41.

[18] Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 2nd collector's edition reprint (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1996), p. 142.

Thus, early missionaries were quite comfortable preaching in the formal environment of the chapel, and clearly benefitted from open access to such ready-made congregations, although it appears they had no intention of creating for themselves similar circumstances in which to worship and preach.

Once the missionaries' intentions became apparent, and they began baptising new adherents gleaned from these smaller Nonconformist sects, chapel doors were closed to them. Logistically, such rejection may have been a favourable factor for the Saints. Within weeks of arrival, the missionaries' rapidly growing following had exceeded the capacity of the smaller chapels, and alternative venues were sought. Because the missionaries had virtually no financial resources at their disposal, the converts' homes became a popular and natural alternative. Although the size restrictions inherent to cottage meetings prevented the Saints from gathering regularly on a large scale, the more intimate setting lent Mormonism and its expounders a useful informality which appears to have encouraged its growth within close-knit social and familial networks. The early missionaries relished the practicality of their religious iconoclasm and used their casual meeting style to contrast themselves further from the clerical conventions of the day which, by comparison, were decidedly more formal and restrictive. As Kimball remembered:

> We had to speak in small and very crowded houses, and to large assemblies in the open air. Consequently our lungs were often very sore, and our bodies worn down with fatigue. Sometimes I was guilty of breaking the priestly rules. I pulled off my coat and rolled up my sleeves and went at my duty with my whole soul, like a man reaping and binding wheat, which caused the hireling priests to be very much surprised. They found much fault with us, and threatened us continually, because we got all of their best members.[19]

The essential transience of early Mormonism yielded several important advantages in Lancashire, particularly in regards to proselytising. Unfettered by the restrictions of a stationary place of worship, missionaries were able to respond with promptness to preaching invitations, to detect communities where interest in Mormonism was high

[19] Whitney, *Kimball*, p. 156.

and invest their efforts accordingly, thereby maximising effectiveness. Put simply, rather than demand that the people go to the Mormons, and their place of worship, the Mormons went to the people. However, although this approach augmented proselytising success, it did not, as we shall see, make full provision for the needs of the recently converted, particularly in regards to important familial and social functions such as marriages and funerals.

Several important illustrations of the challenges which attended the Mormons' lack of formal worship accommodation are found in the experiences of the early members of the Clitheroe and Chatburn Branches of the Upper Ribble Valley: John and Ellen Ormerod, James and Nancy Smithies, Isaac and Lucy Dacre, and William and Nancy Barton. John Ormerod converted in the village of Waddington in 1841 and Ellen was baptised in nearby West Bradford in 1848.[20] In 1850, despite their apparent orthodoxy, the two were married at Clitheroe by Methodist, and not Mormon, authority.[21] Membership records certify the full activity of the Ormerods within the Mormon congregation at Clitheroe at the time of their marriage, eliminating the possibility of lapsed membership as a cause for being wedded beyond the purview of their own church leadership.[22]

Arguably, the Ormerod's marriage at the local Wesleyan chapel would have been deemed both acceptable and necessary among Latter-day Saints of the day. At a time when Mormonism as an institution was still striving for legal recognition and protection in Britain, the Ormerod's Methodist wedding ensured marital respectability attainable only through complying with local custom. It seems probable that other regional Latter-day Saints would have pursued marriage in like fashion, with the understanding that after arriving in Utah their union would be solemnised, or "sealed" by Mormon priesthood authority.[23] The compromise demonstrated by the Ormerods was thus temporary and,

[20] LDS Family History Library, membership register of the Clitheroe Branch 1838–1885, 86992, items 14–16.

[21] http://www.familysearch.org, Family Group Record of John Ormerod.

[22] In 1850 John Ormerod was serving either as branch clerk or branch president, strongly evidencing his Mormon orthodoxy at the time of his marriage to Ellen.

[23] "Celestial" or "eternal marriage", so called, is the climactic, and arguably the most crucial, temple ceremony in Mormonism and is deemed a prerequisite to the post-mortal exaltation of man: see *Doctrine and Covenants* 131:1–4.

conveniently, would have satisfied the Saints' marriage regulations on both temporal and spiritual fronts: temporally in the sense that it was compliant with the law of the land, and spiritually because entrance into the marriage compact legitimised cohabitation while preserving members' personal worthiness (particularly in regards to the Mormonism's stringent moral codes) and thereby paved the way for receipt of the sealing ordinance then available only in Utah. For the Ormerods, however, the promise of "eternal marriage", secured through temple rite, was not even an eventuality. John's leadership of the Clitheroe Branch extended nearly until his death in 1901, and his devoted service appears to have precluded outright his family's emigration opportunities.[24]

The Church's lack of permanent accommodation proved especially problematic for the early Saints in regard to infant mortality, wherein the conspicuous absence of both church and churchyard complicated matters of burial. In this, Mormon doctrines concerning baptism became frustratingly at odds with the highly mobile nature of Mormon membership, as informed by the Church's persuasive gathering doctrine. Infant baptism, regarded in the Book of Mormon as a "solemn mockery before God", was a keen source of anguish for James and Nancy Smithies, early converts from Bashall Eaves village.[25] Converted by Heber C. Kimball, the Smithies defied the tenets of their new

[24] Although failure to emigrate was regarded a sign of faithlessness within the Church throughout much of the nineteenth century, John Ormerod appears to have been an important exception. Branch records indicate that Ormerod was active in his membership throughout his life and presided over the Saints at Clitheroe for decades. Having helped facilitate the emigration of all those in the Upper Ribble Valley who so desired, Ormerod eventually became the sole representative of the Church in the region. In his leadership role, Ormerod held open the door to Zion for his fellow Latter-day Saints for over 40 years. Ironically, Ormerod himself failed to emigrate before Church policy concerning the gathering had shifted, effectively denying him the opportunity. With characteristic obedience, Ormerod tarried at Low Moor, Clitheroe until his death in 1901. Notifying the readership of the *Millennial Star* of his father's passing, John Franklin Ormerod wrote, 'I beg to assure you that he has always been, and died, a faithful believer in the true religion of Jesus Christ', thus verifying the enduring commitment of one of the few Latter-day Saints whose life spanned the breadth of gathering season up to its close: see *Millennial Star,* 63 (1901), p. 588.

[25] Moroni 8:9–12.

religion by insisting that their daughter, Mary, be christened by the local Anglican vicar. Unaware of their true motivation in seeking what he had formerly convinced them to be a corrupt practice, Kimball urged the Smithies to desist. He later recalled:

> I used every kind of persuasion to convince them of their folly; it being contrary to the scriptures and the will of God; the parents wept bitterly, and it seemed as though I could not prevail on them to omit it. I wanted to know of them why there were so tenacious. The answer was, "if she dies, she cannot have a burial in the churchyard."[26]

Ever subordinating temporal concerns to the powerful, spiritual verities he perceived in Mormonism, Kimball allayed the Smithies' fears by blessing the child himself—a theologically suitable alternative. Mary survived her infancy, fraught with illness, emigrated with her parents, and in adulthood became one of Kimball's plural wives.[27]

The blessing of infants became commonplace among the early Saints of the Upper Ribble Valley and, indeed, throughout Lancashire. Conveniently, it was one of the few crucial Mormon sacraments which required no physical facilities at all. Although the practice helped assuage the fears of parents concerning the afterlife, it never resolved the problem of burial. An additional, and equally compelling, example is found in the lives of Isaac and Lucy Dacre, also of the Clitheroe Branch. Unlike the Ormerods, the Dacres were married in October 1840, before either of them had joined the Church. Lucy was the first to convert, baptised at Clitheroe in August 1841. Isaac joined one month later. Lucy's baptism was administered toward the end of her first pregnancy, only two weeks before the birth of her daughter, also named Mary. Mary was born on 10 October, blessed by Stephen Longstroth, the same priesthood leader who had baptised both her parents, and died on Christmas day. In the years which followed, an additional seven children were born to the Dacres, of whom only two survived.[28]

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[26] Whitney, *Kimball*, p. 156.

[27] http://www.familysearch.org, Family Group Record of Heber C. Kimball and Mary Smithies.

[28] LDS Family History Library, membership register of the Clitheroe Branch, 86992, items 14–16.

With the Dacre family setting the unfortunate example, questions surrounding infant mortality and burial were faced by every growing family within the Clitheroe Branch. Membership records indicate that 70 children were born to branch members between 1841 and 1861, of whom thirteen died at or near birth. The Ormerods confronted the matter of infant burial in a manner comparable to how they had approached their marriage—through carefully employed compromise. Between 1851 and 1862, John and Ellen Ormerod bore four children at their home in Low Moor, Clitheroe. Like the Dacre children, each was blessed by a priesthood leader from within the congregation approximately one month after birth. The Ormerod's youngest child, Mary Ellen, was born on 15 February 1862. Mary Ellen was particularly frail at birth and her parents, fearing an imminent death, had her christened the following day. Although unknown, it may have been that her christening was performed in the same Methodist chapel where John and Ellen were married twelve years earlier. Despite their fears, Mary Ellen survived and was blessed a month later by the local Mormon elder, Thomas Dugdale.[29]

The role of denominational allegiance within burial matters takes on further significance when one considers the experiences of William and Nancy Barton. Also of Low Moor, Clitheroe, the Bartons lost two children, Mary and Isaac Heber. In 1846 Mary was buried at a Methodist churchyard in town while Isaac Heber was interred at the cemetery adjacent to the Anglican chapel of St. James in 1854. One must wonder if William and Nancy, who had been Latter-day Saints since 1838, had professed some form of allegiance to both the Methodists and the Anglicans long enough to secure burial plots for their deceased children. Had they done so, it was clearly not at the expense of their Mormon faith, since membership records certify that the Bartons eventually emigrated and joined with the Latter-day Saints at Ogden, Utah.[30] Thus, for the earliest Saints in Lancashire, the lack of accommodation was a source of perpetual frustration, both in life and in death.

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

From Homes to Halls: Rented Facilities

Despite the benefits associated with the informal accommodation types examined above, the need to establish and maintain denominational identity required the reservation of facilities that were both more spacious and more suitable. When larger convocations were called for, such as at quarterly conference, church leadership in Lancashire adapted their meeting practices to suit their temporary needs. In Preston, the old "Cockpit" was engaged which, in 1837, could accommodate attendances of up to 800.[31] When the Saints first engaged it for purposes of worship accommodation, the structure had been converted into a Temperance Hall. Mormonism's likeminded policy concerning the avoidance of intoxicants appears to have helped missionaries secure accommodation with temperance societies elsewhere in Lancashire. The returns of the 1851 religious census reveal that in Clitheroe the Latter-day Saints held regular services in the upper room of the Temperance Hotel on Moor Lane.[32] A harmonious association between the Saints and regional temperance societies appears to have existed as late as 1908, at which date the Oldham Branch occupied the Temperance Hall in Horsedge Street.[33]

Overall, the desired qualities of the properties hired by the Saints in the North West were few. Sufficient space in which to gather the membership for instruction and the administration of key sacraments appear to have been the primary criterion during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Storage space was an obviously low priority, as the Saints retained very little by way of actual property. An 1844 inventory of the assets of the Liverpool Branch reveals just how meagre were the belongings of the Church, even though the size of the congregation was approaching 400: "9 forms, 2 temple boxes, 4 collection boxes, 3 wine cups, 2 sacrament bread baskets, and 1 sacrament wine urn".[34]

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[31] Pickup, *Pick and Flower*, p. 59.

[32] Public Record Office (PRO), HO 129/479, 1851 census returns for Clitheroe, microfilm reproduction in possession of the LDS Family History Library, 2206701.

[33] LDS Church Archives, Oldham ward dedication material, 1987, MS 9595.

[34] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 6 September 1844, LR 4948 2. The "temple boxes" mentioned were for the collection of funds dedicated to the construction of the Saints' temple at Nauvoo, Illinois.

Of greater concern to local leadership was the extent to which the status of their rented facilities influenced both the image and reputation of the Church. In Liverpool, the Saints found accommodation initially at the Music Hall on Bold Street. Although this was spacious, local leaders worried that the hall and its location tarnished Mormonism's still-developing public image and caused it to appear disreputable. This concern is reflected in the following correspondence shared between two church leaders, James Linforth of Liverpool and John Davis of Merthyr Tydfil. In April 1852, Linforth wrote:

> I have just returned from meeting, having had the privilege of preaching the last discourse in the Music Hall. Next Sunday we open our new chapel ... I have been over it today and am much pleased with it. It will be opened with prayer and fasting and instruction from Brothers [Franklin D.] Richards and [Lorenzo] Snow and others. On the day after we have a Festival and if it was not so far I should be tempted to invite you. We anticipate much good from the change of our place of meeting for the discreditable character of the Music Hall was a great injury to us.[35]

The rented accommodation used by the Saints fluctuated in size and description to a degree proportionate to the ebb and flow of membership numbers. Because the renting of meeting halls was financed by the general membership, there was an obvious relationship between the numbers of Saints in any one location and the quality of their accommodation. Lancastrians who converted to Mormonism during the peak years of its popularity in the mid-nineteenth-century, and later returned to the region when the Church was in obvious decline, were able to analyse the Saints' accommodation as means to ascertaining both the relative size and welfare of local church units. After returning to his native Lancashire from Utah in 1867, George D. Watt rendered the following comparison:

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[35] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 25 April 1852. The Saints would have viewed their departure from the Music Hall as more than fortuitous. Shortly after vacating the hall, it burned down and was rebuilt in 1853. See www.liverpoolwalks.co.uk/003/hallv.htm, accessed 25 September 2009. Their avoidance of such a disaster would no doubt have been regarded as providential.

> In 1851 I attended a meeting of the Saints in Liverpool, which was held in one of the finest halls in the city and addressed a congregation of nearly one thousand people. In the month of March, 1867, I again attended a meeting of the Saints in Liverpool, and spoke to a congregation of not more than twenty persons, in a room or garret situated in the back streets of the city, measuring about ten feet wide and twenty-five feet long, being lighted by skylights from the roof.[36]

The substandard accommodation observed by Watt in the later 1860s became the norm for the Saints in the North West throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and well into the early decades of the twentieth. Although Joseph F. Smith's 1903 announcement concerning the Church's intention to establish permanent worship facilities in Britain was indeed promising, progress was slow to materialise. In Lancashire, local members and missionaries combined their meagre resources in order to maintain even the most basic and unadorned places of worship. The halls they rented were often in undesirable and inconvenient locations, such as above railway stations or within the upper stories of commercial buildings. When asked to recall the many settings in which the Latter-day Saints at Wigan worshipped in the early twentieth century, Elsie Rickard shared her predominant memory: "I can remember climbing the stairs".[37] Another member of the Wigan branch noted how the Saints' lowly accommodation was both an embarrassment and a point of ridicule:

> We used to meet in a little hall right at the top of a building. The bottom of the building, it was a wine shop where they sold all kinds of liquors. And then over them, there were some attorneys, and over them there was a pawnbroker, and then on the top floor [were] the Mormons. We used to climb these [four] stories up to the top of the building and [onlookers] used to laugh and say, "the Latter-day Saints like to get as close to heaven as possible while they're on earth," because about

[36] 'The Mormons in England', *New York Times,* 1 August 1867, p. 2.

[37] LDS Church Archives, Elsie Rickard, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1986, typescript p. 2, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, CR 884 85.

> the only places that we could afford in those days were little tiny rooms that nobody else wanted on top of the building.[38]

Investigators of Mormonism in the early twentieth century indeed found the Saints' places of worship to be peculiar, if not off-putting. One convert in Preston, Gertrude Corless, noted that at the time she began attending meetings, the local Saints were gathering "just in a little room behind some boards and up some stairs. It seemed kind of strange after going to the Church of England building".[39] Horace Hayes of Wigan found the comparative splendour of the meeting places of neighbouring faiths a continual and painful reminder of the Mormons' indigence:

> Across the street from [our meeting hall] was a beautiful Methodist church, and on the corner further down there was a beautiful Baptist church. And then on the opposite corner of the street across there was a lovely Catholic church. People would come to [our] little meeting hall stuck on the top of those stairs, and they [felt] they just about didn't belong to a church.[40]

Insufficient accommodation appears to have been a significant obstruction to Mormonism's growth in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although church members were urged continually to invite friends and acquaintances to worship services, their humble facilities caused considerable hesitation. Hayes remembered, "Sometimes I'd feel a little uncomfortable inviting my friends there and then having them comment, you know, 'is this where you go to church? What a place this is. I wouldn't go to church there.' You know comments like that. So I think this played a big part in not being able to have converts."[41] After worshipping with the members of the Burnley Branch in their rented rooms above the Cooperative Society on Trafalgar Street, one visiting

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[38] LDS Church Archives, Horace Hayes, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1988, typescript, p. 2, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 1243.
[39] LDS Church Archives, Gertrude Corless, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 10, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 868.
[40] Hayes, Oral History, p. 34.
[41] Ibid., p. 19.

church leader observed that the Saints "had to have real faith" to worship therein, and that it "was useless to expect investigators to come to such a place".[42]

In an attempt to offset the discreditable nature of individual meeting places and the deterrent they had proven to successful missionary work, the membership often withheld inviting acquaintances to worship services until opportunities arose for larger gatherings of regional Latter-day Saints. In the 1920s, annual and semi-annual district conferences served two valuable purposes in that they gave the scattered members of the various congregations the rare opportunity of associating one with another, and offered the missionaries the chance to put on a production of such scale as to portray Mormonism as a locally thriving denomination, large in membership and of impressive means. Throughout the 1920s the Liverpool District gathered every six months, usually in Blackburn, where they hired the Independent Labour Party rooms at a reasonable price. Compared to the impoverished settings in which the individual branches customarily met, the rooms at Blackburn were spacious, well-lit, and finely furnished. Members from throughout the region would come, and attendance usually peaked at around 500. Horace Hayes remembered, "Investigators would come to something like that where they wouldn't come to some little meeting hall".[43]

In addition to giving the illusion of both size and strength, the impressive meeting place also falsely suggested the Church's wealth. In reality, the Saints' regular meeting places were an accurate representation of their meagre size and means. One Latter-day Saint described the dimensions of their 1920s meeting hall as "about thirty [feet] by twenty [feet]", heated by "a little potbellied stove" with "no carpets or anything down" to cover "a plain pine board floor".[44] Despite the modest scale of their accommodation at Wigan, it was all the local Saints could do to meet their financial obligations associated with their meeting hall, which included a weekly payment of six shillings for rent and two shillings for light. The cost of heating the hall was offset by revolving donations from the membership's personal stores of coal.[45] Although

[42] LDS Church Archives, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', bound mimeograph, organised and privately published by Robert Gordon Larsen, 1961, p. 16, MS 17882.
[43] Hayes, Oral History, p. 53.
[44] Ibid., p. 38.
[45] Ibid., p. 36.

contemporaneous Mormonism in America was, by comparison, both deeply rooted and sufficiently accommodated by their purpose-built places of worship, throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, Mormonism in Lancashire appeared to be a denomination on the brink of demise.

The quest for permanence: early twentieth-century property acquisition Lancastrians who converted to Mormonism in the early twentieth century were joining a church very much in transition. Despite the obstacle which inadequate accommodation appears to have been to missionary work, the realisation of President Smith's above-mentioned challenge to prove the permanence of Mormonism in Britain through the development of fixed places of worship was an endeavour which, in some cases, appears to have attracted followers. James and Susan Howarth of Oldham were baptised in 1908 and immediately became engrossed in the fundraising for the Saints' new chapel on Neville Street: the first purpose-built meeting-house of the Church in Lancashire.[46] Indeed, the Church's twentieth-century property acquisition programme was an ambitious undertaking which incrementally redesigned Mormonism's outward appearance and imbued the local membership with a profound sense of purpose. As with so many aspects of British Mormon history, the Saints in Lancashire were among the first to experience the challenges and benefits which stemmed from the development of permanent places of worship. Indeed, the pursuit impacted the regional membership of the Church on all levels, from the common Latter-day Saint to the president of the British Mission.

It should here be noted that twentieth-century property acquisition was not without precedent in the North West, where long-standing administrative necessity had kept upper church authorities resident in a series of office locations which often doubled as chapels used by the local congregations. By tracing the locations of these sites, it is possible to uncover something about the evolving nature of Mormon worshipping and administrative space. The first office of the British Mission was established at 47 Oxford Street in Manchester. In the early 1840s, mission headquarters were removed to Liverpool, with accommodation first secured at 36 Chapel Street. In 1845 mission offices were estab-

[46] LDS Church Archives, Sylvia Mills Whalley, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1987, typescript, p. 4, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 879.

lished in the Stanley Buildings on Bath Street, Liverpool, which was later demolished to make way for a new street. When the Apostle Orson Hyde took charge of the British Mission in 1846, the mission and *Millennial Star* offices were temporarily located at 135 Duke Street, but were soon thereafter moved to 6 Goree Piazza, Liverpool, where it remained until June 1847, when it was removed yet again to 39 Torbock Street. The next relocation occurred in August 1848, this time to number 15 Wilton Street, where the office remained until April 1855. At that point church offices were more permanently located at 36 Islington, not far from Liverpool town centre. Shortly after establishing themselves at this site, the municipal government adjusted the number configuration on Islington which changed the office's mailing address to number 42.[47] For nearly 50 years the British Mission was overseen by authorities headquartered at this address. In 1904 Heber J. Grant, then president of the British Mission, acquired a large home at 10 Holly Road in Fairfield, Liverpool, where headquarters remained until January 1907, when superior premises were chosen and purchased in the adjoining street at 295 Edge Lane, a site more familiarly known as "Durham House". The offices of the British and European Missions were divided in 1929, the former relocating to 23 Booth Street, Handsworth, Birmingham.[48] In 1932, the British Mission office again relocated, this time to 43 Tavistock Square, an up-market address in Bloomsbury, London.[49] The headquarters of the European Mission and the printing office of the *Millennial Star* remained at Edge Lane until March 1933, when mission officers relocated headquarters to 5 Gordon Square, London, never to return to the North West.[50]

[47] Ronald G. Watt and Kenneth W. Godfrey, '"Old 42": The British and European Mission Headquarters in Liverpool, England, 1844–1904', *Mormon Historical Studies*, 10 (Spring 2009), p. 88.

[48] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1941), p. 94.

[49] *Millennial Star,* 94 (1932), p. 122.

[50] *Millennial Star,* 95 (1933), p. 340. Importantly, the move to Gordon Square was in an area where other denominations maintained their headquarters, such as the Society of Friends on nearby Euston Road. Gordon Square also houses the most important Nonconformist archive, Dr. William's Library. It may be that the relocation of the Latter-day Saints administrative offices to this area of London was intended to give Mormonism increased visibility and a

Of the many locations listed above, only 42 Islington and Durham House have occupied a place of such distinction for the local Latter-day Saints as to imbue each with a historical significance unrivalled by any other property subsequently developed in the North West, the only clear exception being the Preston Temple. This is no doubt attributable, at least in part, to their combined continuity of use—a total of 75 years of service between them. When one considers that Mormonism had been in Britain fewer than 100 years when its headquarters were removed to London in 1932, the deserved prominence of these two Liverpool properties becomes apparent. For the several succeeding generations of Lancastrian Saints and American missionaries who made use of these facilities, both 42 Islington and Durham House were valuable places of refuge: veritable embassies of their American Zion in the midst of a British Babylon. For those hailing from Utah, each was as an extension of home. The affection with which the Saints regarded the property on Islington was expressed in the *Millennial Star* on the eve of its closure:

> For half a century, lacking but a few months, "42" has been the old world mission home of Elders and Saints, and the sacred memories that are connected with the historic building will be awakened in tens of thousands of hearts, the wide world over, when they realise that the dear old place is, for us, a thing of the past. From the "prayer room" of "42" has every Elder who has laboured in Great Britain or on the continent of Europe been sent forth to his work with the counsel and blessing of the servants of the Lord, and in the same room have they received parting instructions and a blessing for their faithfulness ere they set sail homeward. Here, too, have the Saints assembled, time and time again, preparatory to gathering with the people of God in the distant valleys of [Utah]. These little incidents of life are treasured upon the hearts of those who have helped to make the history of this mission, no matter how small or apparently insignificant the part that they have taken. To them the

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more established place among the major Nonconformist faiths—an image they would not have been able to encourage as long as they remained in Liverpool.

> mere mention "42" will bring a sense of joy and happiness—a testimony of duty done, a knowledge of approbation won.[51]

For the Saints in Liverpool, the society at Durham House was Zion in microcosm: a practical representation of the communal harmony and purpose of Latter-day Saint life in Utah which, in the post-emigration Church, was little more than an abstraction to the local members. Adelaide Tope, who was employed at Durham House as the mission secretary in the early 1920s, described the property's Zion-like qualities, explaining that "when you went to Durham House, you were going from home to home. You were mixing with these people that you were mixing with on Sundays. All week you were with the missionaries that worked in the office. [The mission president and his wife] were always there. People treated us so nicely. It was lovely because it was Durham House."[52]

Following the sale of the property in 1933, the *Millennial Star* announced to the British membership the departure of mission headquarters from the site. In decidedly elegiac terms, the editors wrote:

> Durham House, the Liverpool home of the European Mission and British Mission Office Staffs for more than a quarter of a century, has become, by name at least, almost an integral part of the Church in Europe. Within its walls, hospitality and goodwill have garnished intense industry and devotion to the latter-day cause in Europe. But, the mission of Durham House was finished. In location and size it no longer met the new demands; and the tooth of time threatened expenditures which could more profitably be expended elsewhere.[53]

Acquired by the University of Liverpool, Durham House met the same fate as the previously occupied offices at 42 Islington: demolition. In 1936 the structure was razed, further obscuring the historical imprint of Latter-day Saint activity in the North West.[54]

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[51] *Millennial Star,* 66 (1904), p. 282.

[52] LDS Church Archives, V. Adelaide Tope, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 5, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 885.

[53] *Millennial Star,* 95 (1933), p. 346.

[54] *Millennial Star,* 98 (1936), p. 63.

Figure 2 - Photograph of 42 Islington, Liverpool, which housed for fifty years the headquarters of the British and European Mission and the printing office of the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, circa 1885. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Figure 3 - Photograph of "Durham House", 295 Edge Lane, Liverpool, taken by George Easter, circa 1930. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Although the acquisition and development of fixed places of worship finally gave the Saints a home, it also proved problematic in that it made of them a stationary target to their growing numbers of opponents. Durham House was attacked repeatedly by antagonists, particularly during the years of acute anti-Mormonism, 1910–14.[55] The most extreme example occurred in 1911, when the nineteen-year-old John Lowry led a small mob on a midnight attack on the house, result-

[55] See also Tope, Oral History, p. 2.

ing both in extensive property damage and personal injury to the resident office staff.[56] That same year, the Saints in Oldham complained of repeated instances of mobs stoning their newly constructed chapel during worship services.[57] In a less grievous, yet still disturbing case, the members in Burnley, then meeting in the Piccadilly Rooms, regularly had their meetings disrupted "by children and adults opening doors and throwing in stones, clumps of earth, etc."[58] Thus, while early twentieth-century property acquisition gave the membership a much desired sense of permanence, it did not offer an equally valued sense of security. The fixed geographic position of the Saints' meeting places occasionally made battle-grounds out of sites otherwise dedicated for worship.

As the Church's collective financial resources became increasingly accessible to the Saints in Lancashire, the leadership of the British Mission undertook the purchasing of existing structures intended to replace permanently the unfailingly inadequate rented meeting halls. While this policy signalled to the lay membership the Church's institutional commitment to improve its places of worship, the condition of the newly purchased properties was, in some cases, frustratingly on par with the dismal sites previously occupied. For example, in 1934 the Saints in Burnley acquired a former Baptist chapel constructed on Liverpool Road. Although the local membership appreciated finally being able to attend meetings in a structure which, by outward appearance, was unmistakably a place of religious worship, inwardly the chapel was scarcely more commodious than the meeting halls of the past. One member of the branch referred to it as "a very big barn of a place", while its offices 'which were in a tiny enclosed yard at the back of the building ... were dirty and they were crumbling and they were smelly'. The kitchen "was in a terrible state. It was a dump there".[59] Although the chapel had been nicely fitted with pews and curtains by the Christian Scientists, who were making use of the building when the sale was initially agreed upon, the Saints were disappointed to discover that,

[56] *Millennial Star,* 73 (1911), pp. 155–157.
[57] Oldham Ward dedication material, 1987, MS 9595.
[58] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 17.
[59] LDS Church Archives, Albert and Jeanie Pickup, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, pp. 21, 70, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 932.

upon assuming occupancy, the chapel had been "stripped clean to the church door".[60] Albert Pickup, a Burnley resident who joined the Church during the time in which the branch was occupying the chapel, described his first impressions of Mormonism as "a very strange one", on account of the site's inadequate interior. "The floor was not carpeted or polished", he remembered,

> It was a rough wood floor. When I say rough, it was rough! You know, the splinters of the wood were sticking up like spikes. And the walls were colourwashed a pale green, and not a very good finish.[61]

Figure 4 - Photograph of the chapel on Liverpool Road, Burnley, originally constructed by the Baptists, and later occupied by the Christian Scientists and then the Latter-day Saints. The structure was formally dedicated in 1937 by President Heber J. Grant as part of the Church's centenary celebrations. Courtesy of the LDS Church archives.

Elsewhere in Lancashire, the state of newly acquired properties was equally poor. In Wythenshawe, Derek Plumbley, a local convert, described their accommodation as "a very difficult environment", in which teaching would occur "in a room which sat about a hundred people at the most, and there would be four classes in there without partitions, without anything". Most of the other meeting places, he recalled, "were worse than that, meeting in dingy sort of premises, in

[60] Pickup, Oral History, p. 21.
[61] Ibid., p. 16.

unpleasant areas."[62] Plumbley, who had been assigned to serve as a circuit speaker, had the opportunity of examining each of the meeting places used by the various branches within the Liverpool District.[63] In Rochdale, Plumbley remembered, the Saints

> had an old hall. It belonged to the Church, but it was a real ancient place. They had a big stand. I stood up to speak ... and the branch clerk, who sat at a table on the stand, actually disappeared through the floor when I stood up, because the floor went through! And it was also [an urgent] matter of getting your words in quickly before the carbon monoxide from the gas heaters in the winter put everybody to sleep. That was the sort of thing that happened. That's how the Saints survived.[64]

Where possible, the membership of the various congregations attempted to update and personalise their newly acquired places of worship, adorning them with decorations and improvements that were distinctly Latter-day Saint in style and significance. Upon the wall above the small rostrum in the Burnley chapel the Saints had artfully stencilled the words "the glory of God is intelligence", a canonical truism

[62] LDS Church Archives, Derek J. Plumbley, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript p. 17, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, OH 820.

[63] The reader should note that, although identical in meaning and usage, the term "District" replaced "Conference" in LDS vocabulary beginning in 1927. As James E. Talmage, then president of the British and European Missions, explained in the *Millennial Star*: "There has been something akin to incongruity in the double usage of the term *Conference* as designating (1) a church assemblage of people, and (2) a geographical area of specified boundaries constituting a territorial unit in a Mission. The custom of using this word *Conference* with plainly different meanings is objectionable on the grounds of inconsistency and of the inevitable uncertainty or confusion arising therefrom. By recent action of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve the term *District* shall be substituted for the word *Conference* when reference is made to a territorial division of a Mission." See *Millennial Star*, 89 (1927), p. 216. The "District" was the organisational forerunner to the "Stake", the likes of which was first formed in Lancashire in 1960.

[64] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 17.

taken from one of Joseph Smith's early revelations.[65] In time, the members of the Burnley Branch refitted the chapel with new pews, carpets, curtains, and a wooden proscenium for dramatic performances and the recreation of scenes from church history. Horace Mills, a convert from Oldham, was commissioned by the leadership of several branches in Lancashire to paint small murals upon the walls of the local chapels which depicted Joseph Smith's first vision in 1820 and the sylvan setting in upstate New York where he received the pivotal revelation.[66] Beyond these few improvements, however, there was little about the purchased properties which could otherwise have indicated their new denominational affiliation.

No adaptations made to the newly acquired properties were of greater significance to the Saints than those which attended the administration of "saving ordinances", particularly baptism. Although naturally-occurring baptismal sites such as the Irish Sea, the Rivers Mersey, Ribble, Dee and others had long been resorted to by missionaries as suitable venues for the sacred rite, it appears the Mormons preferred to baptise in settings reserved, if not created, for that purpose.[67] The earliest evidence of this is found in the manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, which indicates that in 1849 the local Saints constructed a wooden baptismal font within their rented meeting place on Bold Street. In the ceremonial proceedings which attended the font's completion, Milo Andrus, then Liverpool Conference President, dedicated the font to God "for the ordinance of baptism for the remission of sins

[65] *Doctrine and Covenants* 93:36.

[66] Whalley, Oral History, p. 13.

[67] This preference may have its origins in Joseph Smith's 1841 proclamation which required that baptisms performed vicariously for the deceased occur solely within the temple: see *History of the Church*, vol. 4, p. 426, taken from the minutes of a Church conference held on 3 October 1841, in Nauvoo, Illinois, published in *Times and Seasons*, 15 October 1841, p. 578. Prior to this declaration, baptisms for the dead were practiced in the Mississippi River. In a similar strain, early convert baptisms in Lancashire were performed in natural, open-air settings until the Mission leadership deemed the practice better suited to private facilities. Importantly, Carol Wilkinson has recently identified the most probable baptismal site of the early converts of the Upper Ribble Valley in her article, 'Mormon Baptismal Site in Chatburn, England', *Mormon Historical Studies* 7 (2006), pp. 83–88.

and for the healing of the bodies of Thy Saints".[68] Andrus so prized the newly erected font that, in his dedicatory prayer, he petitioned God that "those [who] shall attempt to pollute [it] may be cursed before Thy face".[69] Given the priority of the baptismal ordinance to the Saints at Liverpool, it may be that the earliest chapel building proposal, issued by the officers of the local branch council in 1862, was motivated at least as much by the desire to construct a suitable site for private baptismal services as it was a longing for an established setting for weekly worship.[70] Oral history evidence suggests that in the early decades of the twentieth century, those meeting places that were properly outfitted for the administration of baptisms were more highly prized by the local Saints than those that were not. The above-mentioned chapel in Burnley, having been constructed by the Baptists, had the most comfortable baptismal facilities of any of the church-owned structures, and converts were known to travel from as far as Liverpool for the privilege of being baptised in a font that was both owned and maintained by the Church.[71]

Elsewhere in North West, makeshift baptismal fonts were constructed by church members throughout the first half of the twentieth century in meeting places of sufficient size. These fonts were of simple yet adequate construction, although rarely plumbed. Phillip Ambrose, whose parents joined the Church in Lancaster in the early 1900s, remembered the laboriousness of having to pump water in and out of the font at Durham House in order to accommodate baptismal candidates.[72] Despite the inherent inconveniences, mission officers did their best to establish a suitable environment. Describing her baptism at Durham House, May Gartland recalled:

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[68] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 13 July 1849, LR 4948 2.

[69] Ibid.

[70] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 10 February 1862, LR 4948 2. Incidentally, the 1862 proposal never received authorisation from the First Presidency of the Church, and it was nearly 100 years later when plans for a purpose-built chapel were finally approved.

[71] Pickup, Oral History, p. 21.

[72] LDS Church Archives, Phillip Ambrose, Oral History, interview by Brenda Roak, 1986, typescript, p. 3, British Isles Oral History Project, Church Educational System, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, CR 884 94.

> [The] baptismal font was in the middle of the meeting room. All the congregation was sitting there. I can remember the hymn they sang was "Lo, On the Water's Brink We Stand". As we were walking down into the waters, all the congregation was singing this hymn. It was a lovely sensation that. I can remember coming out of the water. Some of the sisters wrapped us up in big towels and took us into another room with a big blazing fire.[73]

Not all baptismal services, however, were as comfortable as Gartland's: one male convert from Oldham found that the font erected beneath the floorboards in a meeting hall in Manchester "was so small that they banged his head three times before they managed to baptise him [properly]", resulting in his nearly being knocked unconscious.[74] The Mormons' development of a sacred, or dedicated, space in Lancashire thus began with the erection of individual baptismal fonts and gradually expanded outward to include the construction of chapels possessing amenities intended to accommodate all aspects of Latter-day Saint life, both spiritual and social.

FROM THE GROUND UP: CHAPEL BUILDING

As noted in the introduction, although the development of purpose-built places of worship in Britain was anticipated by Joseph F. Smith as early as 1903, it was not until the middle of the century that the Church succeeded in making actual progress. Prior to the organisation of the Manchester Stake in 1960, at which time the membership in the North West were granted access to the Church's collective resources, financial and otherwise, individual congregations desiring chapels of their own had no choice but to pursue the matter themselves, virtually unaided by church authorities in Utah.

In recent years, the historiography concerning Mormon property ownership in Britain has been centred largely upon the restored Gadfield Elm chapel in rural Herefordshire—a structure built by a primitive Methodist sect known as the United Brethren and deeded to the Church in 1840, following the group's collective conversion to Mor-

[73] LDS Church Archives, May T. Gartland, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 9, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 885.
[74] Whalley, Oral History, p. 6.

monism at the hands of the Apostle Wilford Woodruff.[75] As with many other aspects of the history of British Mormonism, this structure has received abundant, if not undue, attention by LDS historians on account of its connection with the fabled Apostolic missions of the late 1830s and early 1840s. Much less discussed is the old Mormon chapel at Llanelli, South Wales, which was dedicated in January 1849, and is now thought to be the first purpose-built structure of the Church anywhere in Britain.[76] Although each is an important structure in its own right, within the context of the Church's nineteenth-century westward orientation, neither the 1840 Gadfield Elm chapel nor the 1849 chapel at Llanelli can be seen as anything but a compelling aberration within the principles and practices of early British Mormonism. Simply stated, property acquisition and chapel building are decidedly twentieth-century features of British Mormon history and are perhaps the most important outward manifestation of the Church's reinterpretation of the gathering doctrine, wherein British church membership were encouraged to build-up Zion locally.

In the North West, as mentioned above, the first building project directly undertaken by a group of local Latter-day Saints occurred at Oldham where, between 1907 and 1909, the branch membership successfully erected the region's first purpose-built chapel. Fashioned out of corrugated iron and lined with matched lumber, the original Oldham chapel on Neville Street was an architectural curiosity and modest both in size and appearance.[77] According to the *Millennial Star*, the chapel's

[75] Ronan James Head, 'Creating a Mormon Mecca in England: The Gadfield Elm Chapel', *Mormon Historical Studies*, 7 (2006), pp. 89–102. See also Richard Woolley Jackson, *Places of Worship: 150 Years of Latter-day Saint Architecture* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003), p. 52.

[76] James R. and LaVelle R. Moss, 'Names and Places: Locales of British LDS Interest', *Ensign*, July 1987, p. 16.

[77] It should be noted that a similar structure was planned, but never built, in Liverpool. The LDS Church Archives retains the architectural plans for the proposed "mission room", drafted in 1907 by Bullen Brothers & Sons, a Liverpool building firm. The front elevation of the Liverpool chapel plans bears a strong resemblance to photographs of the exterior of the Oldham chapel. Accordingly, it appears probable that the professionally rendered design, although unused in Liverpool, may have been acquired by the Saints at Oldham who then followed the blueprint when determining the dimensions and features of

main gathering room was no larger than many of the meeting halls then occupied by Mormon congregations throughout Lancashire, covering an area of 25 by 32 feet, with two separate classrooms at the rear of the building.[78] The simplicity of its design seems reflective both of the simplicity of Mormonism's "first principles" and of the unadorned nature of its weekly worship services.[79]

Figure 5 - Photograph of four missionaries posed outside the original chapel at Oldham, circa 1913. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Notwithstanding the Oldham chapel's diminutive dimensions, the editors of the Star described it with pride and exulted over its modern amenities such as gas lighting and a self-contained water heater.[80] The chapel itself, constructed at a total cost of £110, was home to Oldham's Latter-day Saints for nearly 50 years. Although undeniably amateurish in scope and craftsmanship, this first attempt by the Lancashire Latter-day Saints to establish a home of their own is an important reflection of the local membership's growing internalisation of the new task of the twentieth-century: quite literally to construct Zion at home.

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their own chapel: see LDS Church Archives, architectural drawing of proposed Mission Room at 295 Edge Lane, Liverpool, 16 January 1907, MS 11588.

[78] *Millennial Star,* 71 (1909), p. 197.

[79] As Terryl Givens has noted, "A people's religious structures are visible manifestation of religious values, or, more specifically, a way of ordering those values." While this is certainly true in relation to LDS temples, it is also an important element in LDS chapel building, both in the United States and in Britain. See Givens, *People of Paradox*, pp. 107–115.

[80] *Millennial Star,* 71 (1909), p. 197.

The acquisition of existing structures continued, albeit at a relatively slow pace, throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. However, it was not until the years following the Second World War that the chapel building programme, pioneered by the Saints at Oldham, began in earnest. An initial obstacle faced by the local membership was the identification and purchase of lots of sufficient size on which to build. The acquisition of land proved an enormously difficult task for the local congregational heads, and the difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that church administration in Utah insisted that each building site occupy a minimum of one acre.[81] The difficulties which stemmed from meeting this criterion are evident in the histories of both the Burnley and Oldham Branches. In Burnley, the Saints succeeded in obtaining a suitable building site only after a branch member who belonged to the local town council used his political connections drive down the price of a specific parcel of land until it was within reach.[82]

In 1958, when the Oldham Branch leadership deemed their original chapel unfit for further use, the membership attempted, and failed, to find a new building site in town. In consequence, the congregation faced a temporary and discouraging reversal in their quest to improve their worship accommodation, having no option but to resume the former practice of occupying an existing structure which had never been intended for religious worship—in this case a public dance hall.[83] Frustrated with the lack of progress at Oldham, upper church administration assumed control of the project and ultimately secured a building plot at Ashton-under-Lyne, much to the chagrin of the Saints at Oldham who felt their congregational identity was now being threatened by what they saw as the inappropriate placement of their soon-to-be constructed chapel.[84] Work on the chapel at Ashton was commenced in 1962 and the members in Oldham watched in frustration as their spiritual centre of gravity slipped away from their own community into a place where, by comparison, the numbers of Latter-day Saints were relatively few. [85] In what was deemed an injustice by many of the local Saints, the Oldham Branch would not occupy a new chapel of its

[81] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 9.
[82] Pickup, Oral History, pp. 71–72.
[83] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 23.
[84] Whalley, Oral History, p. 48.
[85] Jackson, *Places of Worship*, p. 313.

own until 1987.[86] This incident represents a compelling tension within the Saints' on-going quest for suitable worship accommodation—namely, opposition from within church administration. Oral history records suggest that the frustrations associated with the subjugation of matters of local importance, such as the precise placement of new chapel, to the administrative workings of church headquarters in Salt Lake City, may have put a mild strain on the relationships between local membership and general leadership. However abiding the frustration may have been, the Lancashire Latter-day Saints had no option but to submit to decisions handed down from far-off church headquarters, as the local congregations had neither the manpower nor the financial resources to bring about desired ends by their own power.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, after discovering that the acquisition of undeveloped land on which to build was nearly impossible, upper church leadership launched an initiative intended to overcome the challenge of obtaining building sites of sufficient size. The First Presidency of the Church approved the purchase of a series of undervalued Victorian villas in varied locations throughout the North West, each situated on sizeable acreage.[87] In Blackburn the Saints acquired "Oman Brae", in Stockport they purchased "Beaconfield", and in Radcliffe, just south east of Bolton, the Church obtained "Wilton House". In Liverpool, following the sale of Durham House, the Church purchased "Devonia", another spacious home also on Edge Lane, which served as a meeting place for the Liverpool Branch following the exodus of the British and European Mission personnel to London in the early 1930s. In 1952, the Liverpool Saints occupied "Summerfield" in nearby West Derby—the site whereupon the LDS chapel at Liverpool presently stands. Although the attractive, newly purchased sites were appreciated by local leadership and membership alike, church administration in Utah regarded the properties in strictly utilitarian and forward-thinking terms. One by one, the homes were either sold or, as was more often the case, demolished in favour of capitalising on what church administration perceived as the properties' primary value: space. Thus, the manicured gardens which surrounded many of the homes were replaced

[86] LDS Church Archives, dedicatory prayer of Oldham chapel offered by Martin A. Cook, 18 January 1987, LR 6490 21.

[87] Anecdotal evidence suggests that the changing housing market in post-war Britain rendered a large number of no-longer-needed Victorian villas inexpensive, thus enabling the purchase of the same by local LDS congregations.

by ample car parks, and where the homes themselves once stood, new chapels were erected from the ground up—giving Lancashire Mormonism its modern, standardised, and some would say, American, architectural image by which it is recognised today. Terryl Givens is of the opinion that the standard architectural plan employed in both Britain and America is "eminently practical, and largely hostile to both aesthetic sense and the articulation of sacred space".[88] Although the architectural image of LDS chapels in Britain has in recent decades undergone several outward revisions, it has remained essentially the same in its blend of functionality and sacrality—a marriage of purposes which Givens regards as a "premeditated porousness between the secular and the sacred".[89]

Paul Anderson has explored the peculiar architectural developments and various amalgamations of style within Mormonism and has rightly interpreted the Church's stylistic preferences as an effort to distinguish itself deliberately from other Christian traditions. For the Mormons, Anderson noted, the process of selecting (if not creating) an architectural style was "at times a delicate balancing act, wanting to be different, but not different enough to be marginalised."[90] In Lancashire, the local members were keenly aware of how incongruous some of the new structures appeared within their surrounding environs. Apart from looking out of place, many of the new chapels were also poorly adapted to the local climate. Derek Plumbley of Wythenshawe referred to the modern edifices, each of which was designed by an American architect, as "California buildings, not built for rain and cold, and [therefore] not cost-effective for us to operate".[91] Notwithstanding the chapels' problematic idiosyncrasies, the new meeting-places were undeniably more comfortable than anything the Saints had before known. Concerning the newly-completed chapel on Ribbleton Avenue, Gertrude Corless noted that:

> the Saints in Preston were so proud of it after all the terrible halls we'd met in. They were just awful. After getting a new

[88] Givens, *People of Paradox*, p. 245.
[89] Ibid., pp. 244–45.
[90] Paul Lawrence Anderson, 'Mormon Moderne: New Directions in Latter-day Saint Architecture, 1890–1955', unpublished manuscript cited in Givens, *People of Paradox*, p. 244.
[91] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 25.

> chapel all of our own, it was wonderful. That was a very wonderful day when we [got] our own chapel. It was quite small, but it was good.[92]

The Saints' building programme advanced rapidly in the 1960s and 70s and garnered much attention from local presses. In some cases, the increased publicity was attended by public suspicion and even various forms of protest. This also was not without precedent. Concerning the original Oldham chapel, constructed at the height of the LDS revival in Lancashire in the opening years of the twentieth century, it was rumoured locally that the large floor-mat installed just inside the building's entrance was a carefully disguised trap-door through which attractive young women would vanish.[93] As the Liverpool chapel was under construction in the early 1960s, local children believed the structure was little more than a portal to a transatlantic tunnel which surfaced at Salt Lake City, through which converts, or perhaps misbehaving children, were abducted.[94]

As with other instances of anti-Mormon expression in the North West, much of the opposition faced by the Saints in response to their chapel building originated with other local faiths. Gertrude Corless remembered being invited to attend Pentecostal services as the new chapel at Preston was under construction. Once present, she observed that the worshippers prayed aloud and in turn that the "the Lord would stop the Mormons from building their church." Corless further recalled:

> It just got to us in the end that each one would say that. Though they were Christian people, yet they were talking about another Christian group and hoping they wouldn't be able to complete their building. We were going to complete our chapel. It was the Lord's work.[95]

The determination expressed by Corless was an outgrowth of a more general mid-twentieth-century ethos within the Church—a type of spiritual "manifest destiny" which attended British Mormonism in its

[92] Corless, Oral History, p. 14.
[93] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 23.
[94] Author's field notes, Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, April 1997.
[95] Corless, Oral History, p. 14.

years of rapid growth in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Indeed, it appears a rather distinct sense of religious conquest may have undergirded the Saints' pursuit of property throughout the middle of the twentieth century. Given the Saints' widely-held perspective that the region had formerly been blessed or "dedicated" by ancient prophets within their faith, subsequent efforts at securing properties were more akin to reclamation of a sacred space to which they held divine entitlement more than it did mere acquisition. Indeed, all advancements made in the building programme were interpreted by the membership as evidence of divine providence at work in finally finding a permanent home for the Latter-day Saints. Reflecting on the progress the congregations of the Manchester Stake had made in improving their worship accommodation, Robert Larsen, an American expatriate who presided over the stake for the first year following its organisation, proclaimed that "the hand of the Lord has been in all of these happenings, and the way has been opened up for this great building programme to get underway in our stake in a way that can only be described as a miracle".[96]

Such was the perspective of the upper leadership, particularly among those who, like Larsen, hailed from Mormonism's American core, where the long-established stability of the Church seems to have falsely engendered the belief that comparable growth throughout the world was a foregone conclusion: a near-effortless fulfilment of certain prophecy. For the rank-and-file membership, however, on whose backs the work in the North West progressed, the miracle may have been that the local Saints endured the many ordeals which attended the building programme. It must be recognised that significant financial sacrifice and protracted physical labour, both of which were provided by the members themselves, fuelled the programme's progress. An unsanitised or "real-world" perspective of the hardships borne by the membership was expressed by Albert Pickup of the Burnley Branch. Refusing to idealise the circumstances surrounding the programme, Pickup regarded the years in which the local Saints built their chapel as "terrible" and "a very hard period". He continued:

> The digging, the actual manual work was very, very hard. We didn't have the current advantage of contractors. The members did the building under the supervisor's eyes. I organised

[96] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 9.

> a building committee in accordance with the Church's requirements. I think we had four members on it, who were doubling up or trebling up on several things. The time when we 'lost ground' in the Church as a whole, the time when we lost people, was always during the building of a chapel. People couldn't stay the pace. The hard work, the money, the sacrifice, and the displacement, really, was very killing.[97]

Pickup later recalled that the cumulative strains associated with the construction of the Burnley chapel "decimated the branch" and noted that the difficulty of the experience was reflected in the loss of membership. By the time the project was completed, he remembered, only six of the many families within the branch remained active in their faith.[98]

By contrast, elsewhere in Lancashire, the membership-driven building projects appear to have rejuvenated the region's long-time membership and unified them in their congregational life with the many new converts won in the 1950s and 60s. Moreover, the myriad sacrifices inherent to the programme took on profound spiritual significance and deepened the religious roots of members young and old. For example, in the Manchester area, the financial donations required from the local membership became a type of rallying point for the Saints, and one which possessed a great spiritual potency. As means to paying down the Manchester Stake's enormous building debt, the local presidency gave the membership a three-month notice whereupon the faithful were requested to submit a full week's pay. Most of the local membership participated in the scheme, the likes of which blended matters of spiritual and temporal concern so completely as to become comparable with the collective strivings of the nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints, whose economic sacrifices facilitated the emigration programme. For the faithful, modern converts of the North West, the very nature of the sacrifice required of them imbued the entire project with a tremendous sense of urgency and purpose. The result was a shared, religious euphoria. Concerning the membership's involvement in stake's debt-relief programme, Derek Plumbley recalled:

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[97] Pickup, Oral History, p. 69.
[98] Ibid., p. 73.

> Oh, they [the members] were fantastic. [The debt relief programme] did more for the members than anything I've ever seen done in my administration in the Church. You could see it build up ... We talked about nothing else for three months, and you could see the spirit and the dedication and the sacrifice build up. And when [the deadline] came and the members queued up at the bishop's office to pile a week's wages, usually in cash, on this table and then went into a fast [and testimony] meeting, that was something.[99]

Perhaps of greatest significance, the Saints' involvement in the actual construction process diverted their attention from the still-beckoning Salt Lake Valley and fixed it firmly upon the Church in their own communities. Zion, or at least the physical structures representative of the same, was now within reach and, consequently, the labours expended by the membership resonated with a distinctly spiritual quality. Importantly, as with so many other aspects of Mormon life, the chapel building programme was regarded as a family affair—women and children engaged in the work alongside the men.

In time, the labour itself became a type of religious metaphor. Every aspect of the building process took on a spiritual counterpart as the structure itself, and all its component parts, became divinely allegorical.[100] This fact is reflected in the dedicatory prayer of the recently completed chapel at Oldham in 1987, offered by Martin A. Cook, then president of the Ashton Stake. In confident terms more reminiscent of an authorised injunction than a prayerful supplication, Cook directed divine favour upon the structure, exhorting the hearer that the chapel's walls would "surround the spiritual vagrants of society", that the roof would withstand "the hail and the snows of the disfavour of the world", and "deflect the ignorance of criticism". The doors were to be "hinged upon the principle of love" while its locks would forbid entrance of

[99] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 26.

[100] The chapel as religious metaphor finds abundant substantiation in the dedicatory prayers offered by Church leaders. This is particularly so in the dedicatory prayers of the Oldham chapel and Preston Temple, each of which serves as compelling evidence of the Latter-day Saints' spiritual interpretation of physical space and structure. For a useful discussion of the evolution of dedicatory prayers of LDS temples, see Samuel Brown, 'A Sacred Code: Mormon Temple Dedication Prayers, 1836–2000', *Journal of Mormon History*, 32 (Summer 2006), pp. 173–96.

"vandals and not the visitor", and "be closed . . . against inclemency and not the investigator".[101]

Cumulatively, the chief lesson learned through the membership building programme was that "Zion" and "Lancashire" were now synonymous. As Rodney Fullwood, a convert from Liverpool, recalled:

> A lot of families ... started to get involved in the excitement of helping [lay] the bricks and [dig] the trenches and all these other things. We were getting involved in something that was our own. That I'm sure, must have contributed to some people thinking, 'Well maybe we don't have to emigrate' ... Because when you invest in something with your own labour, you tend to value it. It becomes a part of you. Those men and women and kids were all involved in something that was a part of them, rather than looking to the Salt Lake Temple and general conference and all these other things as being the most exciting things in the Church.[102]

In a similar strain, Derek Plumbley asserted that the chapel building programme "filled a need" which had formerly been associated with allure of the Utah Zion. "I don't think the Saints have that need now", Plumbley maintained, "You don't today see people saying, 'I must go to Salt Lake. It's Mecca.' They feel they have the Church. Although there's always a curiosity and everybody would like to go, there's no great desire."[103]

CONCLUSION

The various types of worship accommodation sought and maintained by the Lancashire Latter-day Saints must be interpreted as a direct outgrowth of the regional membership's changing regard for matters of migration: which outlook was revolutionised by Mormonism's amended, and less-expectant, eschatological ethos at the opening of the twentieth century. Herein the primacy of Mormon doctrine within and upon the denomination's local history and broader development

[101] Oldham Chapel dedicatory prayer.
[102] LDS Church Archives, Rodney A. Fullwood, Oral History, interviews by Richard L. Jensen, 1987–88, typescript p. 25, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, OH 830.
[103] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 28.

becomes evident. Throughout the Church's nineteenth-century history, during which time Zion was associated primarily with the American West, worship accommodation in Lancashire was consistently poor and always regarded as temporary. For decades, British Mormonism's westward orientation reinforced the central role of the temple and the "city of Zion" as the Saints' centre place. Consequently, the rented rooms and halls occupied by church members in Lancashire were, at most, regarded as local way-stations: momentary places of gathering intended to accommodate local clusters of Saints anticipating emigration.

In regards to broader developments within worship accommodation, the North West remains anomalous within the history of British Mormonism primarily because of its long-established role as the administrative centre of the British and European Missions. Accordingly, the facilities at Liverpool were always more elaborate and spacious than those maintained by congregations elsewhere in the North West, among which 42 Islington and Durham House are particularly illustrative. In the decades following President Joseph F. Smith's 1903 announcement that property acquisition would commence in the British Mission, the Saints in Lancashire undertook the purchasing of existing properties which both strengthened the denomination's local identity and yielded the first impressions of Mormonism's permanence within the variegated, and often competitive, religious landscape of the English North West.

The steady acquisition of properties in the first half of the twentieth century sent a clear message of institutional intent to the members of the Church and wider public alike—both of which needed convincing that Mormonism should no longer be deemed synonymous with Utah. Consistent with Smith's declaration, Mormon leaders in Lancashire undertook to demonstrate their intent to remain indefinitely by investing heavily in the acquisition and development of fixed places of worship. Beginning with the erection of the chapel at Oldham in 1909, church members throughout the North West became increasingly committed to the process of creating a local home for the Saints. Their success in doing so contributed to the gradual and collective fading of the regional membership's long-standing fascination with the LDS communities in the American West and contributed to the diminution of the formerly insatiable desire to emigrate. Crucially, the membership-driven building programme, although defunct by the later 1970s, helped galvanise the religious commitment of the new generation of post-war converts who became the first to divest local Mormon

congregations of their long-standing reliance upon the American Church and its missionaries. For the first time, congregational independence was on the horizon. Ironically, as local jurisdiction increased in the later decades of the twentieth century, property acquisition and chapel building became an endeavour with which the local membership had little to do. By the 1980s, all such projects were managed strictly by upper church administration, overseen locally by representatives from the Church's European headquarters at Solihull, Warwickshire.

When viewed in a broader context, it becomes clear that all developments within the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation are united by one common priority: the creation of a sacred, or dedicated, space within a specific locale. Indeed, the chapel building programme, especially when based on the labours of the local membership, may be the single most important development within the history of Lancashire Mormonism. The shared undertaking of the enormous project, fraught with difficulty and sacrifice, effectively bound Lancashire's Latter-day Saints to one another and, perhaps of equal importance, to the location wherein their labours were expended. The cumulative result of these "works of consecration"[104] was of profound importance in that it made Mormonism's Zion ideal immediately proximate for the members themselves, for their families, and future generations of church members. Thus, from the Vauxhall chapel to the Preston Temple, the creation of a spiritual heartland or centre place has remained vital to the endurance of Mormonism in the North West and, indeed, laid the foundations upon which modern church leadership clearly anticipates future growth. An additional, and indisputable, benefit which Lancashire Mormonism has derived from the establishment of permanent places of worship is an increased level of denominational identity and congregational stability which has, in turn, encouraged both spiritual and social solidarity among believing Latter-day Saints.

[104] Michael H. Madsen, 'The Sanctification of Mormonism's Historical Geography, *Geographies of Religions and Belief Systems*, 1 (2006), p. 52.