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The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900

Frederick S. Buchanan

The story of Mormonism in Scotland actually begins in Canada—not surprisingly when one realizes that for thousands of expatriate Scots in the nineteenth century, Canada was a second homeland. Two Scotsmen, Alexander Wright of Banffshire and Samuel Mulliner of Midlothian, had settled in Upper Canada (now known as Ontario) in the mid-1830s, and shortly thereafter they were converted to the Mormon church. They soon let their relatives know about the new religion by sending to Scotland copies of Parley P. Pratt's *A Voice of Warning*, and in 1839 they were called to return to their homeland as emissaries of the new American faith. After four months of proselyting, by May of 1840, they had baptized some eighty Scots into the Church, and shortly thereafter the first Latter-day Saint branch was organized at Paisley by Apostle Orson Pratt.¹ By the end of the century some ten thousand people had joined the Church in Scotland, and almost half of the converts had left Scotland as part of the Mormon gathering to Zion.

The events of history do not occur in a vacuum, however. In human history as in nature itself, as John Muir so aptly phrased it, “when we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe.”² Similarly, in order to fully understand the development of Mormonism in Scotland, it is necessary to put that experience in the perspective of the times by briefly sketching the Scottish conditions to which Mormonism in the nineteenth century was “hitched.” To do this the nostalgic view of Scotland (encouraged by the Scots themselves as much as anyone) as a land of tartan-clad clansmen or of romantic peasants crooning the “auld Scotch sangs” of Robert Burns or Lady Nairn must give way to a less ideal view of a land in turmoil over the changes which were being forced upon it by the new industrial order. These dramatic changes made the Scots “the shock troops of modernization” because Scotland was one of the first nations to undergo the political, economic, and social trauma associated with rapid industrial development.³

Frederick S. Buchanan is an associate professor of educational studies at the University of Utah. The writer benefited greatly from the insight of three friends, Nicholas Burbules, Brigham Madsen, and Monty McLaws, in the process of writing this paper; however, they bear no responsibility for the interpretations made.

Nathaniel Hawthorne gives a vivid sense of Scottish city life when he describes the Canongate of Edinburgh—Walter Scott’s “mine own romantic town”—during an 1857 visit to “auld reekie.” Hawthorne gazed “down the horrible vistas of the Closes, which were swarming with dirty human life as some mould and half-decayed substance might swarm with insects;—vistas down alleys where sin, sorrow, poverty, drunkenness, all manner of somber and sordid earthly circumstances, had imbued the stone, brick, and wood of the habitations, for hundreds of years.” Night, he said, hides the reality of these Edinburgh slums—“the home of layer upon layer of unfortunate humanity”—and the change from day to night symbolized for Hawthorne the difference between “a poet’s imagination of life in the past . . . and the sad reality.”⁴ What, then, were some of the “sad realities” which helped to shape the Scottish nation and prepared it to become a fertile seedbed for the message of the Mormon elders?

The emergence of large urban areas changed considerably the geography of Scotland as the need for more coal mines and factories crowded in on the once rural counties of Midlothian, Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr. In place of villages where close-knit family life dominated the pace of living, former rural villages like Airdrie, Coatbridge, and Wishaw became “frontier towns”—seething conglomerations of squalor and poverty whose police forces were kept busy trying to maintain a semblance of law and order. Overcrowded conditions and frequent unemployment generated yet another set of problems—diseases such as cholera, high rates of infant mortality, and an alarming degree of drunkenness and crime.⁵

Although Thomas Chalmers, one of the leaders of the established Presbyterian church, had said that the greatest challenge to the church was the thousands of unchurched “heathens” growing up in the slums of the “frontier towns,” the kirk was unable or unwilling to use its influence to mitigate the evils of the industrial age.⁶ Its impotency in face of the dramatic changes that were occurring in the land may have been caused by its own conservatism and by “the insane divisions of the Scotch church”—the traumatic disruption of the 1840s when a dispute over the role of the government in church affairs led to over four hundred ministers leaving the established church. Presbyterianism was thus split into “a three cornered affair”: the official Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterian Church—a weak basis on which to meet the new theological, cultural, industrial, and scientific challenges appearing on every hand.⁷

A variety of organizations arose in this period to try to counter the social and economic ills of the new age: temperance societies, cooperative unions, and more politically oriented organizations such as the Chartists, all of which attracted the attention of large numbers of

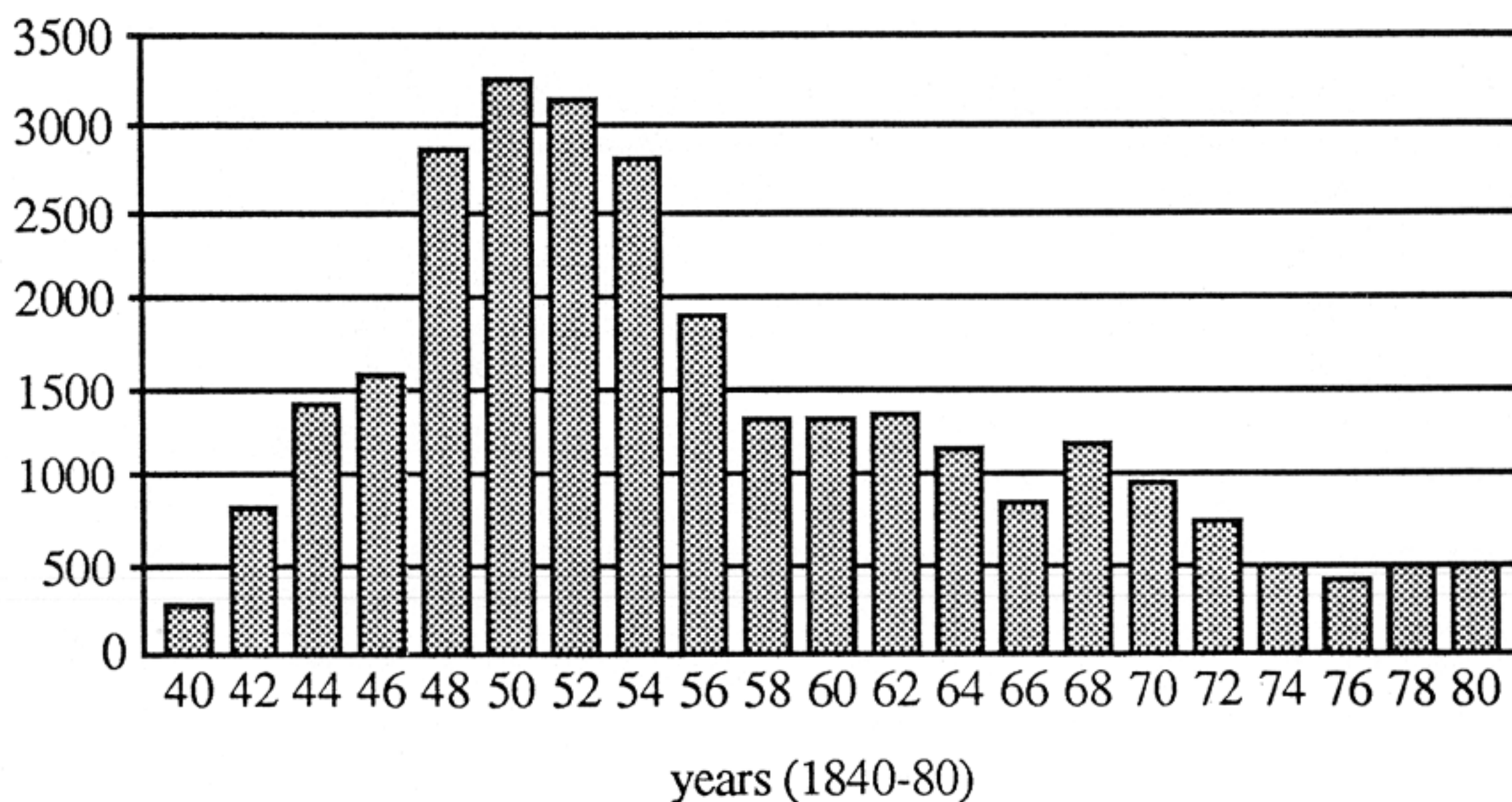
working-class people. In the late 1820s and early 1830s the attention of Scotland's dispossessed was also attracted to the charismatic preaching of a young minister from Dumfries, the Reverend Edward Irving. His emphasis on the need for a return to primitive Christianity and upon the gifts of the Spirit drew large crowds in the west of Scotland, in Edinburgh, and later in London. In April of 1830, when Joseph Smith was establishing the LDS church in upper New York, a great religious awakening involving spiritual manifestations also swept through the west of Scotland and later spread to other parts of Britain. At this time it was reported that "among quite ordinary folk wonderful things had occurred; there were reports of miraculous healings, of human faith being answered by Divine action, of speech in unknown tongues, of ecstatic utterances in prayer, and of exposition of scripture, all in a power that was preternatural."⁸

This religious awakening has been interpreted as a reaction to the formalism and gloomy tendency of the old Calvinism which seemed to restrict the love of God and Christ's atonement to a few elect individuals. Clergy of the national Church of Scotland such as the Reverend MacLeod Campbell of the Rhu Kirk in Helensburgh began to preach a more humane theology and of a God who was willing that all should be saved. Unfortunately for Irving and for Campbell, these religious innovations also attracted the attention of their superiors in the Church of Scotland and both men were expelled from the Presbyterian ministry in the early 1830s. However, the revival of which they were a part sparked the development in Great Britain of the Catholic Apostolic Church. This group, with Edward Irving as one of its leaders, claimed that Christianity had apostatized from the principles and practices of the primitive church. The sure sign of this apostate condition was that Christendom denied the need for the gifts of the Spirit such as tongues, healings, and prophecy. These gifts, it was claimed, had now been restored as part of the "signs of the times" which would culminate in the imminent Second Advent of Jesus Christ.⁹

When the Mormon missionaries came to Scotland in 1839, they were working a field which was "ready" for a message which promised that God had spoken through "quite ordinary folk" and had restored the authority, practices, and power of the primitive church. Nor was Joseph Smith unaware of what was happening in Scotland; in February 1836 he had a visit from two Scotsmen who made "inquiry about the work of the Lord in these last days" and who discussed with him the religious ideas of Edward Irving.¹⁰ Indeed, Joseph recognized the similarity between the "Irvingites" and his own claims about the need for a restoration: in 1842 he said that though they "counterfeited the truth," the Irvingites were "perhaps the nearest of any of the modern sectarians."¹¹ Unwittingly, they may have helped prepare the groundwork for the Mormon success.

During its first decade in Scotland the Mormon church grew from twenty-one members and no organized branches in April of 1840 to 3,291 members located in fifty-seven branches in 1851. The steady growth from 1840 to 1851 can be seen in the following table.¹²

TABLE 1
Scottish Membership



In this period of continuous growth some seventy branches of the Church were organized in Scotland; twenty-eight of them in the foremost industrialized counties—Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr—which at one time had been the seat of Scotland's weaving industry and now were fast becoming the center of the coal-mining industry. Most of the other branches were situated in the vicinity of Stirling, Fife, Clackmannan, and Edinburgh: all in the Scottish Lowlands and also heavily involved in coal mining and all, of course, the abode of Scotland's working class.

The attraction which Mormonism held out to the workers in the industrial areas of England has sometimes been explained by making conversion *nothing but* a "reflex of despair."¹³ No doubt a similar explanation could be offered for the initial success in Scotland's industrial counties. Certainly a sense of deprivation may have been a necessary condition for conversion of some people, but it is not a sufficient condition. As will be discussed later, conversion was a very personal thing and cannot be fully explained by any one set of circumstances. Rather than being either/or, it appears to have been a combination of both spiritual and material, not to mention psychological, needs that were perhaps satisfied by the Mormon promise.

As one reads William Gibson's extensive journal, for example, the religious and spiritual commitment is obvious. He was converted to

Mormon truth claims, of that there can be no doubt. But Gibson, a former Chartist, is just as fervent in acknowledging that he was leaving Scotland in large measure because of the grinding poverty he faced and that he wanted a piece of the soil that he could call his own “and own no master but our God.” To those fellow miners who criticized his choice he posed a challenging question: “Does your Parson speak against oppression of your masters & in favour of the Poor? No, they dare not for fear of losing their place & their salary, but they tell you from the Pulpit to be content with your lot.”¹⁴ While it may not explain every aspect of Gibson’s conversion and decision to leave Scotland, perhaps his reformist bias is one factor in shaping his view of Mormonism as a means of escaping adverse economic conditions. For Gibson it was apparently God’s will that he do so.

In contrast to the large number of Lowlanders who joined the Church, relatively few Highlanders were attracted to the Mormon message. Charles Dickens, in a rhetorical flourish in his *Uncommercial Traveller*, has a “Mormon Agent” in 1863 say that no Highlanders joined the Mormons because they lacked interest in “universal brotherhood, and peace and good will,” had “too much of the old fighting blood” in them and lacked faith “in anything.”¹⁵ Dickens might have a point—the more traditional and parochial a society is, the less it is likely to be amenable to change. The Highlanders were agrarian people and were staunchly committed to their conservative (and after the disruption of 1842 “Wee Free”) Presbyterianism. There was also the language barrier of Gaelic, although Peter McIntyre traversed Argyllshire and some of the western islands preaching to large groups in Gaelic around 1845. Though many listened and even agreed with the message, none accepted baptism.¹⁶ When William MacKay offered to preach Mormonism “in the Gaelic language to our Scottish Highlanders” in 1847, William Gibson expressed the hope that success would attend MacKay’s efforts “till the heather hills of old Scotland reverberate with the songs of Zion.” In 1850 a Gaelic tract was even printed in Inverness under the title “Do Suchd-siridh Kioghachd Dhe” (Seekers after the Kingdom of God).¹⁷

While a few “hardy sons [and daughters] of the mountains” accepted the Mormon message, it was not the heather hills of the Highlands, but rather the smokestacks and crowded, dank alleys of industrial Scotland which echoed with the songs of Zion sung by growing Mormon congregations. With the rapid increase in membership in Scotland’s industrial heartland, new Church units were formed so that between 1855 and 1859 there were actually four Latter-day Saint conferences in Scotland—Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Edinburgh, and Dundee. As might be expected, given its population of 345,000 in 1851, Glasgow led the other conferences throughout this period (and throughout the nineteenth century) in numbers of branches and

membership, sometimes accounting for twice as many Mormons as all other areas combined.¹⁸ For example, in 1855 Glasgow had 20 branches and 1,442 members; Edinburgh, 14 branches and 666 members; Dundee, 8 branches and 242 members; and Kilmarnock, 7 branches and 271 members.

With such rapid and sustained growth it is no wonder that the *Millennial Star* proclaimed in 1848: "Scotland is doing wonders; upwards of 400 baptized during the last quarter. . . . We hope to see thousands of her enterprising noble sons come forward as valiant men in this great and triumphant work of this last dispensation. . . . Let Scotland then hear, and she shall prevail."¹⁹

References to Mormons in local Scottish histories are few, but one history dealing with Tranent published in 1883 referred to the Latter-day Saint congregation as "flourishing to an extraordinary degree" in the 1860s and stated that the Mormons were large enough to support a brass band. Within a few years, however, changes had occurred, and the short "history" of the Mormons in Tranent concluded: "the body is entirely defunct, all having renounced the doctrines of the Prophet, or flown to the land of promise."²⁰

This terse statement is an accurate assessment of the decline which followed the dramatic increase of the 1840s and 1850s, not only in Tranent, but throughout Scotland. Between 1855 and 1859, for instance, there was approximately a 50 percent or more decline in membership in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee conferences. In the same period, Kilmarnock went from a membership of 271 to 52—an 80 percent decline. Three basic reasons, internal to the Mormon church, may be considered as contributing to the ebbing fortunes of Mormon congregations in Scotland during the latter half of the nineteenth century: first, the continual drop in conversions after the 1850s; second, the siphoning off of the cream of the crop through emigration to Utah through the 1880s; and third, the practice of excommunicating large numbers of members for real or perceived violations of Church discipline in the 1850s and 1860s.

I

The most obvious factor contributing to the long-term decline was simply that, compared to the early years, fewer people were being attracted to the message of the Restoration. A glance at the statistics on baptisms clearly underscores this reality: during the sixty-year period beginning in 1840 and running through 1899 approximately some 10,785 persons were baptized into the Latter-day Saint faith in Scotland. Of the total who joined the Church during this period, 30 percent did so during the first decade; 32 percent

joined in the second decade; and 17 percent were baptized in the 1860s. These may be considered the most fruitful years for Mormon conversions and certainly justify the proclamation in the *Millennial Star* that “Scotland is doing wonders.” By stark contrast, only 7 percent of the total conversions can be credited to the 1870s; with 8 percent in the 1880s and a minuscule 5 percent of baptisms occurring in the last decade of the century. When it is recognized that baptisms declined from as high as 559 in only one conference, Edinburgh, in 1848, to as low as 35 in *all* of Scotland in 1873, it is appropriate to characterize the last thirty years of Mormonism in Scotland as “gie dreich” (very bleak).

Another index of the decline is the shrinkage in the numbers of organized Mormon congregations. It has been calculated that a total of some seventy branches of the LDS church were organized in Scotland during the nineteenth century beginning with five organized in 1840. The maximum number existing at any one time was about fifty, coinciding with the peak of membership (3,291) in 1851. By 1860 the number of branches had declined to thirty and by 1880 to fourteen. By 1899 the numbers had almost gone back to the number for 1840—six congregations.

That the decline was recognized as a reality is evident when the Kilmarnock Conference merged with Glasgow in 1858 and Dundee merged with Edinburgh in 1868. In 1869 the membership in the vicinity of the proud capital city had shrunk so low as to require its reorganization as a branch of the Glasgow Conference. On the thirty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Glasgow Conference in 1875, a report indicated that in all of Scotland there were but ten branches of the Mormon church with a total membership of 482—a number which had not been seen on the Scottish records since 1841.

While there was considerable elation in the *Millennial Star* over the fact that there were thousands in the 1840s and 1850s who found meaning in the message of the missionaries, one gets the impression from later missionary accounts that proselyting work in the later years was essentially one of trying to keep complete dissolution of the Church at bay. Hamilton G. Park, Brigham Young’s business manager, reporting on his missionary labors in Scotland in 1869 acknowledged that “the people in this country Seems cold and indifferent as regards the Gospel and but very few manifest any desire to enquire after us as a people or come and hear for themselves.”²¹ David McKenzie reported his missionary labors in Scotland in 1874 as “hopeful,” but in spite of an aggressive newspaper advertising campaign “we baptize only a few.” Writing to Brigham Young a year later, McKenzie still had some hope but admitted that

it is not satisfactory to behold the indifference and the darkness of the people as to their salvation. Our holy religion is very unpopular, honest men seem afraid to join us. In many respects it is very different now from formerly. There are few local elders left in the mission who can represent us fairly. Again the priests and editors have never ceased to lie about and malign us and have established a deep seated prejudice against us—the work of over 35 years of constant labor—while it is unquestionably true the elders have not been able to keep pace with them in rebutting their misrepresentations.²²

In the mid-1880s reports from Edinburgh still sounded some hope but admitted that “few feel interested enough to come to meeting” and comparatively few were being baptized.²³ And from Glasgow, George F. Hunter complained “of a spirit of indifference in this land and in all the Districts where the Elders are laboring. There is little being done in the way of making converts.”²⁴ Elder John Crawford reported in 1883 that the Scottish Saints were “few and far between, scattered all over the country, and most of them very poor. There is only one Conference in Scotland where there used to be four.”²⁵ And in 1890, after fifty years of Mormonism in Scotland, there were only a little over two hundred Latter-day Saints in what at one time had been one of the most fruitful fields of the British vineyard.²⁶

Given the indifference and lack of growth it is easy to understand why some might interpret the situation as proof that all the “believing blood” of Israel had been gathered out of Scotland and that all that remained were a few gleanings to be gathered up before the final wrapping-up scenes of the Second Coming. Hamilton G. Park may have had this in mind when he told Brigham Young that the few baptisms taking place in Scotland were “one of a city and two of a Family.”²⁷ When an unusually large crowd attended a Mormon meeting in Edinburgh’s Seaton Hall in 1880, the missionaries interpreted it to mean that the time for uprooting the “apostolic foundation laid many years ago in this British ‘Modern Athens’ ” had not yet arrived, but the implication was there that it soon would be.²⁸ In spite of intense proselyting (there was an average of fourteen full-time missionaries in Scotland during the 1890s—with a peak of twenty-four in 1897), yet there was still a decided dearth of results as far as baptisms were concerned.

Other more pragmatic reasons for the decline included missionaries not applying themselves to their labors with enough diligence, the lack of worthy role models among the local priesthood, and the use of whiskey and tobacco by the Church members.²⁹ Whatever the precise reasons were for the decline, there can be no doubt that in contrast to the heyday of conversions in the earlier years, the task of converting the Scots to Mormonism in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a “slow business,”³⁰ and the results, in terms of numbers at least, must be

judged minimal. The Mormon church in Scotland did survive, of course, but barely.

Paralleling the decline in conversions and contributing to the overall reduction of the Mormon congregations in Scotland was a continual siphoning off of the faithful to Zion. Next to obeying the command to be baptized, the doctrine of the gathering loomed large as a test of one's faithfulness. Because of this, between 1850 and 1859 over eighteen hundred Scottish Saints emigrated and in the next decade approximately sixteen hundred left Scotland. Although the numbers leaving in the decade 1870–79 were only about 60 percent of the numbers leaving in the earlier decade, yet they still constituted a significant proportion of the growth in the Church during the years when the baptismal rate was dropping. The following table vividly reveals the extent to which emigration contributed to the overall decline.³¹

TABLE 2

Years	Baptisms	Emigration	Emigration as % of Baptisms
1850–59	3,477	1,871	54%
1860–69	1,864	1,559	83%
1870–79	767	956	125%
1880–89	874	772	88%
1890–99	546	171	31%
1850–99	7,528	5,329	71%

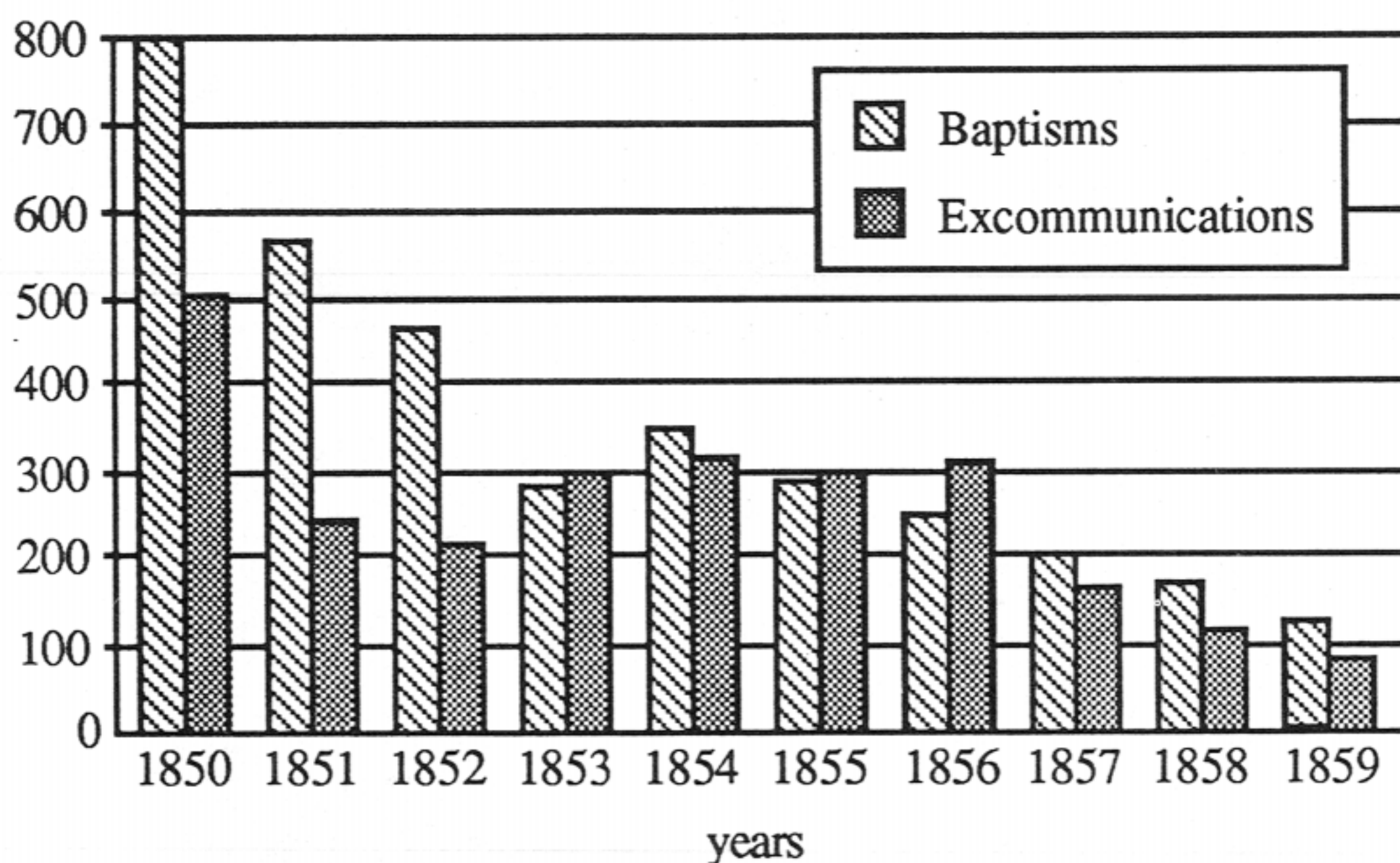
Reduced to its barest terms the point of becoming a member of the Church was to save oneself before the Judgment Day and to prepare for the imminent Second Coming. And the doctrine of the gathering was seen as an essential aspect of that preparation. The twentieth-century idea of staying in Scotland and creating a Zion society there was simply not part of the Mormon strategy. Not until 1899 were Scots told that God would look after them in Scotland as well as in Utah.³² By contrast, in the 1850s and 1860s there appears to have been a distinct notion that *not* to emigrate was going against the counsel of the brethren, and perhaps even of God. As Henry Hamilton recorded in his assessment of a new convert in 1855: "I could see he had some faith in the principles of the Gospel, he desired to go to America."³³

Utah's gain was Scotland's loss. It was difficult to sustain a viable Mormon community in Scotland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The enthusiastic Scottish response to the gathering forestalled that possibility. Almost 50 percent of the total new growth (through baptisms) in the nineteenth century was siphoned off through emigration. Given the emphasis among the Mormons of lay leadership,

the surprising thing is perhaps not that the Church didn't grow, but that it even survived.

When the loss in total membership through reduced conversions and emigration is considered alongside the loss through excommunication (especially in the early years), the survival of the Mormon church in Scotland is even more surprising. For example, in the decade 1850 to 1859 during which 3,477 people were baptized, a total of 2,269 excommunications are recorded, leaving a net gain for the decade of 1,208.

TABLE 3
Baptisms and Excommunications, 1850-59



Although the high rate of excommunications in the 1850s (65 percent of new baptisms) was actually atypical of other decades (13 percent, 14 percent, and 5 percent respectively in the 1860s, 1880s, and 1890s), the basis for natural growth was negated during the 1850s by the excommunication of so many members. From a purely numerical perspective there was no foundation upon which to build the Mormon community in Scotland. When combined with over eighteen hundred who emigrated during the 1850s and over fifteen hundred in the 1860s, the effects of this aggressive excommunication policy can be interpreted as no less than devastating. Nevertheless, the rationale appears to have been that if only a few could enter the strait and narrow way, then the Church would have to be purged of those who did not meet the exacting standards.³⁴

It must be acknowledged, however, that not all excommunications may have been justified. Authoritarianism and personal pique too

often were involved in the disciplining of members.³⁵ In some cases it may have represented a too strenuous striving for unquestioned obedience on the part of local leaders. According to David M. Stuart, the leaders of the Edinburgh Conference in 1860 were too apt to resort to excommunication when some opposed their plans. The leadership even questioned the authority of the mission representatives. Stuart suggested that the conflict arose because “we preach Salvation and they want donation” for the support of the Conference leadership.³⁶

The minutes of the Edinburgh Conference in 1851 express concern over the large number of people being excommunicated and regard it as evidence that new converts were joining the Church *before* they had a clear conception of what it meant to follow the “laws of God.”³⁷ The Mormon conception of being saved was more than simply *saying* one believed in Jesus, in Joseph Smith’s revelations, or in the principles of the gospel. There was a clear expectation that one should *act* in certain ways. Termination of Church membership could be justified by a person being found guilty of “keeping company with the world,” “treating the servants of God with contempt,” “drunkenness,” “neglect of duty,” “apostacy and sacriligious conduct.” Daniel Brown was called before the Dundee council because he had opened his shop on the Sabbath, while another brother was accused of “not comming to his duty, he had objections in regard to plurality of wives.” In 1852 a “Priest Adamson” was charged with “rebellion” when he argued with the presiding officer in the Falkirk council meeting. He was “cut off,” but a fellow backslider, John Frew, was forgiven when he came before the council and confessed his failure to attend meetings. He didn’t like being deprived of his *Millennial Star* and addressing the council he said: “i ask your forgiveness and desire an interest in your faith and prayers for i am determined to go on and be saved.”³⁸

Sometimes the presiding authorities disfellowshipped entire branches in order to discipline the Saints. The Girvan Branch in Ayrshire was charged with “filth, drunkenness, quarreling, backbiting” at the Glasgow conference in 1849. In the same year, most of the members of the Dalry Branch (also in Ayrshire) were disfellowshipped because they had been led astray by one of their leading elders who had been mixing his Mormonism with the “fire-and-faggot principles of Chartism”—the reform movement which in Scotland actually took on a religious aura.³⁹ While the high rate of excommunication in general reflects the seriousness with which the duty of a Latter-day Saint was viewed, it might also be interpreted as a measure of the leadership’s lack of tolerance for human frailty. Nor can the possibility be ignored that those who challenged the strict interpretation of the gospel laws did so because they felt their individual free agency threatened by the demands made on them.

Eventually a more tolerant attitude seems to have developed with respect to infractions of Church discipline because in the decades following the wholesale excommunications of the 1850s there is a decided *decrease* in the excommunication rate. Efforts were also made to retrieve those who had deviated from the faith; most of the members of the Girvan and Dalry branches were rebaptized shortly after they had been cut off from the Church. Alexander Gillespie reported that much of his time as president of the Cowdenbeath Branch was spent working with Saints who had, in his opinion, been cut off prematurely. For many he succeeded in “keeping the flickering light that was in them aglow.” One gets a keen sense of the personal concern that Alexander Gillespie felt not only for the eternal welfare of these people, but for their value as human beings who deserved to be treated with respect.⁴⁰ Perhaps the radical decrease in excommunication in the period after 1870 indicates that Alexander Gillespie was not alone among local leaders who resisted the temptation to exercise “unrighteous dominion” over their flocks.

The sense of urgency which went with being a member of the Church in those days is seen in the blessings given to two infants in the Dalry Branch in 1849, just a year after all the members of the branch had been reinstated in the Church. These children, Margaret McDonald and David Hutcheson, were blessed and promised that they would “see Jesus come in his glory and reign with him on earth.”⁴¹ Henry Hamilton expressed the common hope that the “day will soon be here when the childern of men will have no power over the servents of the leaving God, when he will overthrough the wicked and the saints wil reign with the Lord God a 1,000 years on the earth and may it soon be accomplished.”⁴² Such was the faith of many of the ten thousand Scots who joined the Church in the nineteenth century, who set their eyes “Zionward,” and who met the strict requirements of being one of the chosen people of the latter days.

II

The Mormon missionaries were not, of course, dealing with aggregates, but with individuals, and the Scottish Mormon experience cannot be adequately appreciated without an understanding of what it was like to become a Mormon in the middle of the nineteenth century. Who were these people who allied themselves with the strange doctrines from America? Why did they join such an unpopular group? What experiences did they have that confirmed them in their position? How were they viewed by the majority?

As already noted, the bulk of the Mormon branches were situated in the industrialized counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Midlothian, and Ayr. An examination of the occupations of a segment of those Mormons who

set out for Utah during the years 1850–70 indicates that Scottish Mormons were solidly working-class. Of 588 Scottish Mormon males who are listed in the Liverpool Emigration Records for the foregoing years, 40.6 percent were identified as from the mining industry; 11.5 percent were listed as being associated with the textile industry; laborers made up 7.8 percent; metal workers, including blacksmiths, accounted for 7.1 percent; and the leather industry was represented by 5.4 percent. Three major working-class occupations then accounted for three quarters of the sample group, with the remaining 25 percent consisting of carpenters, stonemasons, gardeners, farmers, bakers, and ropemakers. Middle-class professionals were apparently not absent, however, and one can find listed among the Scottish emigrants individuals who listed their occupation as a surgeon, dentist, druggist, schoolteacher, and schoolmaster.⁴³ However, these are a minuscule number compared to those who might be classified as members of the working class.

The foregoing figures compare very favorably with Malcolm Thorp's analysis of the class background of twenty-one Scottish Mormon converts for the period 1837–52. He identified 80 percent of the Scottish converts as being working-class, 10 percent lower middle-class and 10 percent middle-class. In contrast, his sample of English converts reveals that only 56 percent were identified as members of the working class. Given the limited number of persons included in Thorp's study, care must be taken not to read too much into it; however, along with the statistical breakdown of Scottish emigrants in the Church's emigration records, it appears to be a relatively accurate reflection of a general tendency for the Mormons to make converts among the working class, especially in Scotland.⁴⁴

This class basis of the Mormon converts may explain in part the success which the Mormons met in Scotland's industrial heartland. With their emphasis upon a lay ministry open to all, regardless of rank or status, the Mormons preached a relatively egalitarian type of Christianity which stood in stark contrast to the exclusionary policies of the established church with its pew rental fees and its middle-class emphasis upon proper attire for church attendance. One 1838 critic of the state church's "official errors" asserted that its leaders were "more concerned for the prosperity of Toryism (of if you will tyranny) than they are for the amelioration of the industrious poor, or the progress of genuine religion." In the course of this radical critique, mention is made of the assumption that the workers were "ignorant," "rude," and consisting of the "scum," "mob," and "rabble"—terms used in the 1840s to describe those who associated with the Mormons.⁴⁵

The relative poverty of the Saints, then, may have conditioned them to identify with the Mormon message. At least that is the impression one

gets from Samuel W. Richards, president of the Scottish Conference. In 1847, at the height of Mormon success, he wrote that hundreds of members wanted to leave Scotland with him and that “all is moving extremely well in this Country and Kingdom, belonging to the work of God. . . . The hearts of this People were bound up in us as servants of God.” After this expression of the faithfulness of the Scottish Mormons, Samuel Richards goes on to give his impression of their material status:

The Saints generally in this country are well but struggleing through adverse scenes of Poverty. They are generally Poor, and labour very little at many times to be got. And when Plenty their wages will scarcely get them a living. This is not Characteristic of the Saints alone, it is with all the Poorer classes of People in this Country and Kingdom. My soul feels the distress which pervades this Land.⁴⁶

Given these kinds of circumstances during the time of greatest conversions, the Mormon linking of spiritual salvation with a better life here and now cannot be entirely discounted as a factor in conversion. There is a strong emphasis on practicality which runs through the Scottish character, and there are enough references to the importance of temporal salvation in journals and in the *Millennial Star* to suggest that for some converts the Mormon message, in addition to saving souls, was also viewed as saving people here and now. Indeed, when the Mormons won a public debate in Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, in 1842 by a margin of five to one, their opponents charged that those who had voted for the Saints were actually Socialists. And they might well have been, given the long Ayrshire history of nurturing radical politicians and social reformers.⁴⁷

One Scottish convert of some stature, William Budge, was interested in the social reforms of the day, and his uncle, David Budge, was a member of Robert Owens’s New Lanark community as well as being editor of a socialist newspaper in Lanarkshire.⁴⁸ During another debate on the merits of Mormonism, the leader of Glasgow’s Socialists publicly defended the Latter-day Saint point of view, saying that what he had heard about Mormonism “was a decided improvement on Christianity” and expressing the hope that it would be universally accepted and practiced.⁴⁹

While explaining the conversion process as nothing but a “reflex of despair” grossly oversimplifies the process of conversion, it still must be recognized that Mormonism had within it elements of egalitarianism and social justice which coincided with the rise in Scotland of social democratic trends. The Mormon missionaries spoke, in the words of John Greenleaf Whittier, “to a common feeling; they minister to a universal want.”⁵⁰ In a land permeated by the social democratic cult of Robert Burns, the popular notion “that a man’s a man for a’ that,” if it does not completely explain the Mormon success among the “unchurched masses,” certainly must have made the work of the

Mormon proselyters easier than if they had had to overcome a disposition favoring social elitism and autocracy.

In sampling the conversion accounts of early converts, one gets the impression that those who converted were from homes in which religious values were dominant; only one indicated that he had a tendency toward infidelity in religious matters! The converts did not have to be convinced of the importance of religious belief—they were apparently predisposed to believing. What they identified in Mormonism satisfied some sort of idiosyncratic interest or longing. Alexander Baird recounted that even as a child he was puzzled over the belief that God would want to send children to hell and that he and his sister often prayed in the fields that this would not be their fate. When he heard a Mormon elder discourse about the Mormon concept of a loving God, he “knew” immediately that the doctrine was true and at the age of fourteen was baptized.⁵¹

James Ure recounted that he considered all the contending factions of Christianity corrupt and held aloof from them. When Ure first heard Alexander Wright and Samuel Mulliner preach, he was astonished to find that “two plain, simple and seemingly illiterate men” could be the bearers of the restored gospel. “I unhesitatingly received their testimony, embraced the Gospel, went and was baptized.”⁵² Some, like John Duncan, were attracted by the practice of immersion which to them had always seemed to be the correct way to be baptized.⁵³ Alexander Gillespie was attracted to the Mormon message because of the impression the missionaries had given him. He wanted to know more about an organization which could produce “such excellent young men” and applied the “by-their-fruits-ye-shall-know-them” test in deciding whether to join the Mormons.⁵⁴

Robert Gillespie was convinced by the arguments given in debates between Mormons and non-Mormons. The Mormons usually “came out best” although they were unlearned.⁵⁵ When William MacMaster first decided to attend a Mormon meeting, he did so because he wanted to satisfy himself if all the rumors being spread about the Mormons in Paisley were true. He heard Samuel Mulliner preach and was immediately convinced that what the preacher from America had said was true. He arose in that same meeting, bore testimony, and was baptized three weeks later as one of the first eighty persons to join the Mormon church in Scotland.⁵⁶

JoAnn Walker heard the message from her fellow factory worker, Elizabeth Stuart, as she worked at her loom in a factory. At her first meeting she witnessed the gift of tongues demonstrated, the interpretations of which indicated to her that she would join the Church and be gathered to Zion. She did both.⁵⁷ William McFarland and his friend, Thomas Crooks, had been actively seeking the true religion and

had visited all the churches in the town of Dysart, Fife. When George D. Watt brought the Mormon message to the village, McFarland told him that if the Mormons could give them the knowledge that angels had indeed appeared to Joseph Smith then Watt could “dip him in any mudhole he pleased.” Both McFarland and Crooks were baptized.⁵⁸ For some, like Robert McKinlay, the process of being converted extended over a number of years culminating in a manifestation involving a heavenly messenger who showed McKinlay in vision that the non-Mormon churches in Lochgelly were surrounded with darkness, while the Mormon meeting place was bathed in light. That was enough to convince McKinlay, and from then on he knew Mormonism was true.⁵⁹

Most of the converts were young men in their late teens or early twenties, and their conversion accounts focused on the one idea or notion that seemed to attract them to the Mormon religion. Some no doubt joined because of the influence of family members or close friends; some may have been baptized because of guilt feelings over sin or unworthiness; some were convinced because they witnessed healings and speaking in tongues. There is even evidence to indicate that the great cholera plague of the late 1840s in the west of Scotland “scared a great many into the church”—either because they believed they were in imminent danger of dying in a sinful state or out of a belief that being a Mormon would save them from the cholera.⁶⁰

In these accounts it can be seen that conversion to Mormonism was a process characterized by a great deal of diversity running all the way from what appeared to listeners to be the plain logic of the Mormon position, which seemed to characterize Robert Gillespie’s experience, to the almost mystical experience of Robert McKinlay. Although Mormons preached “one Lord, one faith, one baptism,” there was also a decidedly individualistic refrain in the testimonies which have been recorded. Everyone seemed to have come to his or her testimony from a slightly different perspective. The religious experience had to meet the individual needs of the converts.

III

The Presbyterian response to Mormon truth claims was to dismiss it as not being a genuine religious experience and that ignorance, credulity, poverty, and despair were at the roots of Mormon success. When the Edinburgh Presbytery debated the question of church support of state aid to schools in Scotland, the Moderator, the Reverend Dr. Robert Lee, referred to the “fearful ignorance that prevailed” in the “manufacturing parishes” that he had had under his care. Lee noted that much had been made in Scotland of the ignorance in the county of Kent, England, where a man named Thoms had claimed to be the Messiah and

had collected a following. Scots, he implied, should not forget that they too had ignorant masses, for instance:

When Mormonism was first preached in the west of Scotland, there appeared there a man who preached absurdities so gross that one wondered that any man, even a Hottentot, could receive them and believe them. And what was the result, even in the midst of all their parish schools and educational institutions! It was a fact that hundreds of persons were baptized in the faith of Joe Smith, and that scores of Scotchmen were at present expiating the follies of which they were then guilty at Nauvoo. With facts like these, would any man pretend that nothing was wanted in the education of Scotland!⁶¹

Lee's assessment of Mormonism as appealing to the "fearful ignorance" of the masses can be seen as a typical intellectual, and in large measure, secularized response of a Church of Scotland which in many ways had lost touch with its own New Testament roots as well as with the industrial masses. The established church had become very respectable, rational, and institutional in its interpretation of Christianity. As noted earlier, if the kirk could brand some of its own sons as heretics for encouraging the millennialist and restorationist movement in the west of Scotland in April 1830, it should not come as a surprise that they considered the Mormon claims to spiritual power as counterfeit and founded in credulity and ignorance. The emphasis on the gifts of the Spirit being used by uneducated Mormons was enough to brand them as fanatics in the eyes of the official kirk.

Lee's comments also reflect the dominant middle-class bias of the kirk's leadership in their belief that literacy and Bible reading would "console, reconcile and redeem" the unchurched, urban working classes.⁶² Although the Church of Scotland attempted to recapture the allegiance of the workers, they were not able to make any substantial inroads among the workers until they moderated some of their middle-class orientation and began to take an active part in efforts to change the social conditions of the workers. With typical Protestant faith in the value of education, Lee seemed to be saying that if people in the industrialized areas were literate they would not have become prey to the blandishments of Mormon fanaticism.

In 1849 the *Kilmarnock Standard* ridiculed the pretentious claims of the Mormons; poked fun at a local man, "St. John," for claiming power to heal the sick; and followed it through with an account of a failed attempt at healing by a " 'high priest,' a neighbouring weaver." The lack of hearing and the hunchback persisted even after repeated attempts to effect a cure, and the article concluded: "It may be mentioned that the adherents of Mormonism in this quarter of the country are invariably characterized by their ignorance."⁶³ Partly because they drew people from the unlettered and unchurched masses then and partly because they

claimed to be able to effect cures on the physically ill, Mormons were viewed as ignorant fanatics not worthy of serious consideration in press reports.

However, it was not just Mormons who were viewed in this light. Even Wesleyan Methodists were characterized as being a subclass of ignorant people in the larger cities and a Presbyterian sponsored religious revival in Kilsyth in 1839 brought this censure from *The Scotsman*: “Surely the pure and rational religion of Christ has no connection with these faintings and convulsions. . . . Is it not evident that a faith planted in this way has its roots in the nerves and not in the rational faculties?”⁶⁴ Although the Mormons were never given to “faintings and convulsions” as manifestations of the Spirit, no doubt the kirk saw Mormonism as decidedly rooted in irrationality. What was and was not acceptable in religion was based on the premise that the kirk had the correct, rational interpretation of true religion. Consequently, the establishment condemned with equal vigor both native-born and foreign enthusiasts who departed from traditional patterns of belief and practice. For the Latter-day Saints, however, there was the added onus that not only were they misled, irrational, and ignorant, but according to the Reverend John R. Swan of the Bonhill Relief Presbyterian Church, the “Mormonites” were also advocates of “gross heresy & error.”⁶⁵

Criticism was not limited to rhetoric, but was also expressed in acts of violence. Latter-day Saints were stoned in Kirkpatrick and mobbed in Busby, and Joseph Smith’s effigy was burned at the tollbooth in Clackmannan in 1842. At Crosshill in Ayrshire in 1849 a mob of three hundred men, women, and children surrounded the house in which the meeting was being held and disrupted the assembled Saints with howling and the throwing of stones. After the meeting, a hundred members of the mob followed the Mormons to Maybole throwing stones and abusing them. In Ayrshire in 1844 Robert Campbell reported that a number of investigators were prevented from joining the Church because of being “bound down by their tyrannical employers” who threatened to dismiss persons who became Mormons.⁶⁶ So threatening did the disruptions become in Edinburgh in 1850 that the *Report of the Edinburgh Conference* carried the official British law which prohibited the disruption of religious assemblies.⁶⁷ When a mob actually broke up a Mormon meeting in Paisley, its leaders were arrested for disturbing the peace. The magistrate promised that he would mete out heavy punishment if they attempted to disturb another Mormon meeting, asserting that Scottish law would protect the preacher in the barn as well as the one in the pulpit.⁶⁸

However, the law did get involved against the Mormons when Elder Thomas Stewart’s reliance on the healing gifts of the Spirit led to his being charged with culpable homicide in the deaths of two young

Mormon women, Elizabeth and Mary Murray. The *Glasgow Herald*, reporting the case under the headline “Extraordinary Case. Cholera Treatment by the Latter-day Saints,” said it didn’t know whether to characterize the affair as one of “inhumanity, barbarism or fanaticism.” The report criticized the elders for failing to call medical aid for the two women and belittled the efforts of the elders to cure cholera through prayer and anointing. According to the newspaper report a group of male members of the Mormon church “with sisters to match . . . ranted around the bed of the poor girls all night till they died, instead of sending for a doctor.”⁶⁹ Although a charge of culpable homicide was made against Stewart, the *Millennial Star* reported that when he was brought before the magistrates, “he bore himself nobly, faced his accusers boldly, preached the Gospel to them in his defence, until they were ashamed of themselves, and were glad to dismiss the matter.”⁷⁰

This newspaper account also reveals a degree of class bias in its reporting the death of the two young women when it lists the trades of those who participated in the all-night vigil: a belt maker, two weavers, a clerk, a sawyer, and a collier. In doing so the *Glasgow Herald* seems to be holding up to ridicule the Mormon assumption that common people without any special training can be intermediaries in spiritual and even medical matters—not quite the conventional view of the requirements for the ministerial or healing professions. Such comments seem to suggest that Mormonism was criticized as much because of its close association with the working classes as for its peculiar or erroneous theology.

The formal religious journals of the day also responded negatively to the upstarts from America. That such a system founded on superstition could manage to find any adherents in Scotland at all was something of a surprise to rational Presbyterians who also saw a “striking analogy betwixt Mormonism and Popery, between Joe Smith and Pius the Ninth.” Both churches were perceived as “of human or rather of Satanic origin.” Both added to the scriptures, practiced despotism, controlled their people through physical force, and made great profession of religion. Ultimately, said the editor of *The Bulwark*, “Mormons and Papists will probably unite; but at all events they are only two branches of Satan’s great army against the truth and liberty of the gospel of Christ.”⁷¹ There is some irony in this comparison, because Catholicism in the nineteenth century was viewed by both Mormons and Scottish Presbyterians as the ultimate model of apostasy. It must indeed have been disconcerting for Mormons to find the Prophet Joseph being linked in the Presbyterian mind with the “man of sin” himself—Pius the Ninth. For the Presbyterians, however, democratic participation in the government of church and state, even when it leads to some confusion and disruption, was to be preferred over the control which both Catholicism and

Mormonism was perceived as exerting over their followers in Catholic-dominated countries and in Mormon-dominated Nauvoo and Utah.

Mormonism's peculiar institution, polygamy, also stimulated discussion—albeit reluctantly—in the religious press. An editorial in the *United Presbyterian Magazine* in 1852 referred to the “mysterious orgies of the Nauvoo temple” and the “plural wife system,” and the editorial admitted that it was with some reluctance that it made any reference at all to Mormonism with its immoralities. However, the editor did so only because such publication “might perhaps do good in warning some thoughtless persons meditating emigration to the great theocratic settlement in America.”⁷² The October 1853 issue observed that Mormonism was growing rapidly in the United States and that it was “not a little humbling to observe that while this increase is occasioned by importations from Europe, the largest number go from Britain.”⁷³ It is not possible to know how many Scots were “saved” from the Mormons by the religious press, but it is not unreasonable to assume that it played some role in reducing the numbers of converts over the years.

In spite of a poor press, and being characterized as superstitious, ignorant, credulous, and under the complete control of their leaders, thousands of Scots listened, believed the message from America, and joined the Mormon church. The faith they espoused became an important part of their personal value system, gave them a deep sense of their place in the world, and contributed to their perception of themselves as a people with a mission—to build the kingdom of God in the last days. In this respect they were also aligning themselves with the traditional perception of Scotland as a redemptory nation. According to Bernard Aspinwall, nineteenth-century Scots perceived their nation's mission in essentially religious terms, and in this way they easily identified with the American ethos: “Whatever force drove the Scots forth, they could find solace in some providential plan for individual, national and universal regeneration. They had been and still were a chosen people.”⁷⁴ Because of this the Scots related easily to America and its values. If this is indeed an accurate description of the Scottish temper it may also explain why so many Scots gave their allegiance to the prototypical American religion, Mormonism.

IV

If the years between 1840 and 1870 were bountiful years for the growth of Mormonism in Scotland and give the appearance of a field ready to harvest, the 1870s and 1880s may best be described as sparse and with the appearance of a pasture well-trodden over. The foregoing discussion has attempted to delineate a sense of some of the social, economic, and personal factors which may have contributed to the early

success of the Mormon missionaries. Also suggested were some of the internal Mormon circumstances (reduced conversion rates, increased excommunications, and emigration) which depleted the Church and kept it from growing. To round out the picture it is necessary now to briefly consider some of the external, non-Mormon factors which may have had a bearing on the reduced capability of the Mormon missionaries to make converts in the period 1870 to 1900. It should be noted, however, that what follows is more in the nature of a series of hypotheses which need further investigation than a list of thoroughly documented historical conclusions, at least as far as explaining the Mormon decline is concerned.

Scotland of the last part of the nineteenth century was a different country from that of the 1840s and 1850s. Although there was persistent depression in trade accompanied by price declines during the period 1873 to 1896, Scottish workers still enjoyed relative prosperity during these years.⁷⁵ In the social arena many of the reforms the Chartists and others had fought for had been realized as universal education became a reality, public health measures made cities safer places in which to live, and working people acquired more power through extension of the franchise. It is no accident that two of the first members of the British Parliament representing the rising power of the labor unions were Scots, Alexander MacDonald in the 1870s and Keir Hardie in 1892. Hardie, the miner's leader from Ayrshire, is generally recognized as one of the founders of the British Labour party and partly because of its Scottish roots and Keir Hardie's role in its founding, British Socialism developed a strong moral and religious overtone. Absent were the strident and bitter tones which characterized the Marxist perspectives. In their place was a "strong redemptive urge" which even saw the creation of Scottish Labor Churches and Socialist Sunday Schools in the 1890s: "Socialism, for Hardie, was the industrial expression of Christianity."⁷⁶ If the lay features of Mormonism had attracted some Scots in the 1840s, the possibility of the working classes seeing their political aspirations realized in the 1880s may also have taken the edge off the Mormon appeal in the later years.

In addition to recognizing the aspirations of the working classes for more political power, there was a revival of interest in the preservation of Scotland's cultural heritage and increased sensitivity on the part of the centralized government in London to the need for some degree of devolution in the government of Scotland. During the 1880s it was recognized that the needs of the Scots were not well served by the London government. Consequently, a Secretary for Scotland was appointed and adjustments were made which gave Scots a fairer representation in the imperial Parliament. When felt needs for national identity were attended to, there may have been less impetus for fewer Scots to identify with Mormon "nationalism."⁷⁷

Important as the foregoing developments may have been for the decline of Mormonism in Scotland, perhaps the most compelling reason lies in the fact that the Presbyterian church of the 1880s had undergone a revolution and was not at all like the kirk of the 1840s. The traditional, austere, sparse theology and practice of its basic Calvinism had collapsed by the 1880s. The extreme emphasis upon predestination and the notion that God had already chosen his elect, the literal interpretation of the Bible, and an obsession with Sabbath-keeping gave way to a church dominated by the “healing of the New Testament” rather than the “ferocities of the Old Testament.”⁷⁸

The changes were not only in theology, however. The mode of worship changed with the introduction of hymn singing in 1864, and in the following year the Reverend Norman McLeod took a public stand against the Sabbatarians who supported the closing of public parks on Sunday, the only day that the workingman and his family could enjoy some recreation. Pews in church were no longer dependent on fees, and inhibitions on how one should dress for worship were removed.

In such ways the established kirk began to bridge the gap which had separated it from so many of Scotland’s working class. In addition, the Church of Scotland recognized the need for active intervention on behalf of those who had been dispossessed by the Industrial Revolution: the existence of extremes of poverty and wealth was inconsistent with the concept of the social gospel. Church leaders seemed to be moving toward accepting the notion that “religion could only be real once a certain material level of living had been attained,”⁷⁹ an idea which finds its echo in the traditional Mormon notion that a “religion which has not the power to save men temporally and make them prosperous and happy here, cannot be depended on to save them spiritually.”⁸⁰

The transformation of the Church of Scotland was not simply a pragmatic accommodation to the realities of the age and its own need to survive as an institution. The change from a rigid Calvinism to a more liberal and humane perspective was rooted in a genuine intellectual and spiritual ferment and questioning which came to a head in the 1880s. Concurrently another kind of American religion came to Scotland when the noted evangelist and preacher Dwight L. Moody and the singer Ira D. Sankey brought their revival crusade to Caledonia in 1873. While there had been opposition to earlier emotion-filled revivals in the 1840s, the kind of revival instigated by Moody and Sankey in the 1870s took Scotland by storm and influenced the religious scene there more profoundly than in England. The enthusiastic preaching, the joyous singing, and the sense of “uplift, together with happy conversion” brought to the Scots a “religious populism that cut across theological refinements by its fundamental appeal.”⁸¹ If this is an accurate assessment of the impact of the Moody and Sankey type of revival, then

one can see within its success yet another factor which made the Mormons—with their emphasis on an Old Testament type of leadership, practice of polygamy, precise definitions of what is correct belief, and exclusive claims to being the only true church—less appealing to the Scots of the late nineteenth century.

The revitalization of the kirk did not mean that all of Scotland had been transformed into a nation dominated by spiritual concerns; as in all of Western Europe, the drift towards secularism could not be stayed by the enthusiasm of a Moody and Sankey revival, a regenerated Church of Scotland, or even aggressive Mormon proselyting. However, the long-term trend in the secularization of society, accompanied by the revitalization of the kirk, the popular involvement in the political process, and even the rise of spectator sports such as Scotland's national "fitba," were more than a match for the Mormon message.

Not that Mormons didn't try to convert the Scots during these "gie dreich" years—there was an average of fourteen full-time missionaries in Scotland during the 1890s, and time and energy were expended in reaching out to the population via the newspapers. In the 1870s David O. Calder traveled fifteen hundred miles throughout Scotland meeting with editors, merchants, manufacturers, ministers, "and others of the middle classes" but with little apparent return for his efforts.⁸² In 1889 the Scottish Conference president, Samuel T. Whitaker, conducted a newspaper campaign to inform Scotland about the Mormon message and claimed to have borne his testimony to 3.6 million people in this way. He spent a lot of time responding to "absurd ideas" which people had about the Mormons; some imagined that Mormon is another name for "marry" and that to become a Mormon meant "instantaneous wedlock without limit." Some inquirers were unaware that Mormons were believers in the Bible or that it was a religion at all, and one man expressed the desire to be "baptized into Utah."⁸³

No matter how hard the Mormons worked (or prayed), no matter how many missionaries were assigned to Scotland, no matter how many new ways of awakening the people to their message were tried, relatively few people responded, and Mormonism in Scotland almost became dormant. A faithful remnant persisted, however, and if the reports in the *Millennial Star* reflect fewer and fewer baptisms, they exude a note of hopefulness (pathetic at times) that Scotland would yet see better days. But the better days never came in the nineteenth century. Not until the 1960s, with new social and economic conditions, a new kind of Mormonism, and a radically different approach to proselyting, would the number of Mormons in Scotland climb above the benchmark of some 3,300 set almost a century before.

NOTES

¹For the details of Wright's and Mulliner's travels in the initial phase of missionary work in Scotland see Alexander Wright, *Diary, 1839–44*, and entries for 1840 in the Manuscript History of the Scottish Mission, Library–Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as LDS Church Archives).

²Daniel B. Weber, "The Transcendental Wilderness Aesthetics of John Muir," in *The World of John Muir*, ed. L. R. Murphy and D. Colins (Stockton, Calif.: University of the Pacific, 1981), 2.

³Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820–1920* (Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 2.

⁴Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941), 535–36.

⁵Sidney Checkland and Olive Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832–1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 25.

⁶*Ibid.*, 6.

⁷For a contemporary account of the impact of industrialization on the traditional religious community see Alexander Watt, "Social and Moral Conditions of the Manufacturing Districts in Scotland," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 50 (1841): 659–73. See also Checkland and Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*, 119–23; and James Mackinnon, *The Social and Industrial History of Scotland from the Union to the Present Time* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921), 151–54, 226.

⁸Rowland A. Davenport, *Aldbury Apostles: The Story of the Body Known as the Catholic Apostolic Church (Sometimes Called the "Irvingites")* (London: Neillgo Publications, 1971), 27.

⁹*Ibid.*, 29–35.

¹⁰Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 164. There is also a record of a delegation of Irvingites from Barnsley, England, visiting Joseph Smith around 1835 with the intent of offering the Mormons financial assistance if their religious views coincided (see "History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star* 15 (23 April 1853): 260.

¹¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951), 210. Professor Joseph F. McConkie drew this reference to my attention.

¹²Statistics are based on reports appearing in *Millennial Star* 1 (May 1840): 20; 10 (15 August 1848): 253; 13 (1 July 1851): 207; 14 (1 January 1852): 15; 15 (29 January 1853): 78; and in the British Mission Statistical Record, LDS Church Archives.

¹³The "reflex of despair" motif as applied to the English Mormons is discussed in Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963), 801–2. Thompson deliberately does not include the Scottish working-class experience in his book because of cultural differences between the two nations (13). Although the differences between English and Scottish culture begin to disappear after 1820, it is still important to keep in mind the separate identity which Scotland attempted to maintain (at least at the level of popular culture) even after 1820. One might even wonder if there might not exist some distinctive Scottish responses to Mormonism which are glossed over by the tendency of many historians to assume that the English and Scottish experiences were the same. Detailed analysis of Scottish Mormons in terms of their class, occupational structure, educational backgrounds, religious predilections, etc., would be necessary to answer this query.

¹⁴William Gibson, Journal, 130, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁵Dickens is cited in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 339.

¹⁶Peter McIntyre, Autobiography, MS, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Marriott Library).

¹⁷Elder Gibson to Orson Spencer, in *Millennial Star* 9 (1 December 1847): 362.

¹⁸Comparison of Scottish conferences is based on data for years indicated in British Mission Statistical Record, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁹"Editorial," *Millennial Star* 10 (1 October 1848): 299.

²⁰Peter M'Neill, *Tranent and Its Surroundings* (Edinburgh: John Menzies and Co., 1883), 79–80.

²¹Hamilton G. Park to Brigham Young, 14 October 1869, Brigham Young Letter Press Book, LDS Church Archives.

²²David McKenzie to Brigham Young, 22 December 1874 and 10 December 1875, in Brigham Young Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

²³"The Work in Scotland," 1 June 1885, in *Millennial Star* 47 (8 June 1885): 366.

²⁴"The Work in Scotland," 19 January 1885, in *Millennial Star* 47 (26 January 1885): 63.

²⁵"Letter from John Crawford, Glasgow," 5 January 1883, in *Ogden Daily Herald*.

²⁶Statistics are based on British Mission Statistical Reports in *Millennial Star* 46 (28 January 1884): 54; 53 (9 February 1891): 86; and British Mission Statistical Record, LDS Church Archives.

²⁷Hamilton G. Park to Brigham Young, 15 October 1869, Brigham Young Letter Press Book, LDS Church Archives.

²⁸Letter of H. Findlay to William Budge, *Millennial Star* 42 (8 March 1880):156.

²⁹“Minutes of a Conference of the Priesthood,” *Millennial Star* 35 (17 June 1873):379–81; Hamilton G. Park to Brigham Young, 15 November 1869, Brigham Young Letter Press Book, LDS Church Archives; David McKenzie to Brigham Young, 10 December 1875, Brigham Young Letter Press Book, LDS Church Archives.

³⁰*Millennial Star* 32 (1 March 1870): 136.

³¹For information contained in tables 1 and 2, see statistical accounts of the Edinburgh Conference, 1840–68; Glasgow Conference, 1840–80; and Scottish Conference, 1880–99, in LDS Church Archives. Although there may be some slight discrepancies in the total figures because of the absence of some Dundee and Kilmarnock statistics, it appears that these figures give an accurate account of the overall trends.

³²Scottish Conference Minutes, 7 August 1899, LDS Church Archives.

³³Henry Hamilton, Journal, 28 November 1855, LDS Church Archives.

³⁴See statistical accounts of the Edinburgh Conference, 1840–68; Glasgow Conference, 1840–80; and Scottish Conference, 1880–99.

³⁵“Instructions on Excommunicating Members,” *Millennial Star* 23 (16 March 1861): 170.

³⁶David M. Stuart to Amasa Lyman, 13 December 1860, LDS Church Archives.

³⁷Manuscript History of the Edinburgh Conference, 9 March 1851, LDS Church Archives.

³⁸*Ibid.*; Falkirk Branch Historical Record, 21 March 1852, 18 April 1852, 20 January 1856, 28 March 1858, LDS Church Archives. See also Andrew Sprowl, Diary, 21 March 1847, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; *Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference*, 24–25 March 1849 and 24 June 1849; Letter of Eli B. Kelsey to Pres. O. Pratt, *Millennial Star* 11 (15 March 1849): 92.

³⁹*Report of the Glasgow Conference*, 24–25 March 1849. Reference to the “Chartist Elder” can be found in Matthew Rowan, Journal, 22 May 1849, typescript, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁰Margaret Gillespie Rawlings, “Biographical Sketch of Alexander Gillespie,” typescript, copy in possession of Richard L. Anderson, Provo.

⁴¹Dalry Branch Record of Members, June 1850, LDS Church Archives.

⁴²Henry Hamilton, Diary, 16 September 1852, LDS Church Archives.

⁴³Source for the occupational structure is Liverpool Emigration Records, 1855–70, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁴Malcolm Thorp, “The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–52,” *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 51–66.

⁴⁵“An Address to the Radical Reformers of Ayrshire. By an Ayrshire Radical Reformer” (Kilmarnock, Scotland: Ayrshire Examiner Office, 1838), 2.

⁴⁶Samuel W. Richards to Mary Haskin Richards, 26 January 1848, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁷Charles Hamilton to Parley P. Pratt, in *Millennial Star* 2 (March 1842): 169.

⁴⁸Edward W. Tullidge, “Biographical Appendix,” in *History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho* (Salt Lake City: N.p., 1889), 330.

⁴⁹Gibson, Journal, 58.

⁵⁰John Greenleaf Whittier, “A Mormon Conventicle,” reprinted in *Millennial Star* 10 (1 October 1848): 302. See also comments of William J. Coneybear in “Mormonism,” *Edinburgh Review* 99 (1854): 382–83 regarding the attraction of a lay ministry to Mormon converts.

⁵¹Alexander Baird, “Autobiography,” typescript, photocopy in author’s possession. It should be noted that this and the accounts in notes 52–59 were written after the persons had become members of the LDS Church—no diary that the writer examined had a contemporary account of the process of conversion. Most accounts are found at the beginning of a diary as an introduction to the events which followed baptism. This may explain why most of them have a decidedly Mormon flavor.

⁵²James Ure, Diary, LDS Church Archives.

⁵³John Duncan, Autobiographical Letter, 1902, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁴Rawlings, “Autobiographical Sketch.”

⁵⁵Robert Gillespie, Diary, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁶William A. McMaster, Diary, Marriott Library.

⁵⁷William Richardson, “Autobiography,” 12, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁸“Autobiographical Sketch of Archibald McFarland,” photocopy in author’s possession.

⁵⁹“The Vision of Robert McKinlay,” typescript, in possession of Richard L. Anderson, Provo.

⁶⁰William Richardson, “Autobiography,” 7, LDS Church Archives. See also Eli Kelsey, Journal, 26 October 1848 and 27 February 1849, cited in the Manuscript History of the Glasgow Conference 1848–49, LDS Church Archives.

⁶¹*The Scotsman*, 1 May 1847.

⁶²Checkland and Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*, 124.

⁶³*Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1849.

⁶⁴*The Scotsman*, 2 October 1839.

⁶⁵Session minutes of the Bonhill Relief Church, 18 October 1841. Paul Smart of the LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, drew my attention to this item.

⁶⁶Gibson, Journal. See also Robert Campbell, Journal, 3 July 1844, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo; and Eli Kelsey, Journal, 9 May 1849, cited in Manuscript History of the Glasgow Conference, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁷*Report of the Edinburgh Conference, January–June 1850*, 8, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁸Gibson, *Journal*, 8.

⁶⁹*Glasgow Herald*, 22 January 1849.

⁷⁰Eli B. Kelsey to President Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star* 11 (15 February 1849): 61–62.

⁷¹*The Free Church Magazine* 8 (1851): 369; *The Bulwark or Reformation Journal* 2 (1852–53): 166. The comment in *The Bulwark* was prompted by an article in the Jesuit *Dublin Review* which asserted that the existence of Mormonism was an example of what was wrong with Protestantism.

⁷²*United Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1852.

⁷³*Ibid.*, October 1853.

⁷⁴Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, xiii.

⁷⁵I am indebted to Professor Richard Tompson of the department of history, University of Utah, for this insight.

⁷⁶Checkland and Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*, 76–80.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 167–71.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 118–19.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 131.

⁸⁰Joseph F. Smith, “The Truth about Mormonism,” *Out West* 23 (September 1905): 242.

⁸¹Checkland and Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*, 124–25.

⁸²David O. Calder to President Albert Carrington, *Millennial Star* 34 (15 July 1872): 475

⁸³Samuel T. Whitaker to John M. Whitaker, 25 May 1889, John M. Whitaker Papers, Marriott Library.