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Mormons in Victorian England

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MORMONS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jan Harris
April 1987
This Thesis, by Jan Harris, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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12 March 1987
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the members of the Manchester Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1838 to 1860.\(^1\) It is a local history in the sense that it is a study of people who lived together in one place and were brought together by a common interest in religion. It occupies the stratum of history below the national level and above the level of the family and individual. It is hoped that this will be an important study because it shows that Manchester was a microcosm of the English mission. Conditions and events that affected converts in Manchester were experienced by most urban converts of the time. By studying the Manchester Branch members, through their personal records and other community histories, it is possible to offer explanations for many of the events documented in the accounts of the English mission.

However, it is not for this reason alone that this topic merits examination. By studying the people who were

\(^1\)This study deals primarily with the time period between 1838 and 1860. However, some general observations have been made beyond these dates.
members of the Manchester Branch we can see them as individuals instead of statistics. The addition of this localized dimension to the body of historical literature concerning the English converts is the primary goal of this study.¹

The history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in England has been written largely from the perspective of itinerant American missionaries who proselyted during the early Victorian era. Missionary journals describe the life of the missionaries, but these sources rarely reveal what life was like for the average convert. Issues such as the physical environment of the members, their social and economic status, and the problems members had that were consequences of their membership in an unpopular church from America were rarely mentioned by the missionaries. The intent of this study then, is to fill in some of the missing gaps and describe the life of the typical Mormon who joined the church in Victorian Manchester.

Previous works published about the English converts who joined the church in England considered the urban working class origin of converts, and the religious ideas that made Mormonism attractive to them. These studies have convincingly demonstrated that the majority of converts were primarily from the working classes and that most came

¹Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (London: Longman Group LTD., 1977) p. 4 (hereafter cited as, Rogers, Approach to Local History). Rogers definition of local history is adapted to this study.
from large towns. Despite the number of converts from rural communities, some of them property owners, over eighty percent were common people and there is no evidence of any converts from the aristocracy.\(^1\)

According to Malcolm Thorp's study of English Mormon converts,\(^2\) one main reason why the Latter-day Saints were more popular among the working classes than the middle and upper classes was because the appearance and manners of the Mormon missionaries were similar to their own. However, the fact that the Mormon missionaries came from a similar background was not enough incentive for the working class English to join an unpopular church from America. The majority of converts had fundamentalist beliefs that prepared them for the message of the restored gospel and Christ's imminent return and reign on earth. The Mormon converts were actively seeking a religion that matched their


\(^2\)Thorp, "The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Great Britain," 1837-52.
beliefs of a church patterned after the early Christian church outlined in the New Testament. For many converts, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints matched their ideal.

These studies have painted a general picture of the social and religious characteristics of the English membership. This thesis builds upon this foundation and provides more specific information about the membership of the Mormon Church in Manchester. This information will then be used to draw conclusions about the Church in England as a whole.

The Manchester Branch was chosen as a community to study because it in many ways typified the Mormon Church in England. A study of this branch reveals some aspects of Mormon life during early years of growth in the English Mission because it was one of the largest branches in England, and was located in an industrialized and urban setting, an environment that was similar to the kinds of places in which the majority of the converts lived.\(^1\) In addition, Manchester was one of the branches for which data is most abundant. The prime source for quantitative material is the branch records. These records give information concerning the birth dates, birth places, age at baptism, place of baptism and members that joined in family groups. Statistical tabulations made from these records

\(^1\)Taylor, *Expectations Westward*. 
reveal some important characteristics about the age and family structure of the branch and the frequency of long and short distance migration of the members who lived in Manchester. The statistical tables derived from the branch records provide a bare skeleton of some of the characteristics of the population of England and Manchester during the same time period. The sources indicate that Mormons were similar to other members of the Victorian working classes in their social and economic backgrounds. In addition, the social status of converts was identified by looking at the addresses listed in the branch records and comparing them with the types of neighborhoods in which the converts lived. In order to round out and verify statistical findings, the *Manchester Branch History* and journals and letters of members and missionaries were studied to discover some of the more human elements of the people. They also provided more information about the occupations, social status, and religious backgrounds of the converts. Finally, the *Journal History of the British Mission* was used to evaluate the Manchester Branch as an organic entity and relate it with the general framework of the church in England and the United States from 1830 to 1860.

Even though surviving data from branch records and literary sources is more plentiful for Manchester than it is for many other branches of the same time period, there is still not enough information to make it possible to delve
into every aspect of the converts' lives. Available source material has determined the questions posed and the major topics included. In spite of limitations, the Manchester Branch has been studied as a community as much as it was possible to do so. The definition guiding this approach is patterned after the viewpoint of H. P. Finberg, who described a community as an area with specified territorial limits and so far united in thought and action as belonging together.\textsuperscript{1} This study describes the Manchester Branch with the realization that the branch, like any other community, is a part of a series of concentric circles which requires study with a constant reference to wider trends.\textsuperscript{2}


\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p. 39.
CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS SETTING

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ENGLAND AND MANCHESTER
IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

Mormonism was introduced to Great Britain in 1837. The Manchester Branch was founded two years later in 1839. This was a time when religious loyalties were undergoing a process of transformation. It was a matter of great concern to many pious Englishmen that the nation was losing its religious commitments in proportion to the increase in urbanization. It appeared that the Church of England could not respond to the challenges of the industrial revolution. The Church was originally designed to minister to a predomi- nately rural population. Thus, the Church was most successful in the south, the south midlands and the south-east where the changes from industrialization and urbanization were minimal compared to the impact these trends had on the midlands and the north. As the demographic and occupational nature of society changed, the Church found itself removed from the urban centers. Noncon- formists were strongest in the areas where the established church was the weakest. However, even the nonconformists
found it increasingly difficult to appeal to the masses of industrial workers in the cities. In addition, church attendance also rose with social status. As a result, by the 1830's, the majority of inhabitants of major cities did not attend church services on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{1} There still remained a substantial minority of church goers, however, and a multitude of religious bodies sprang up, representing every shade of theological and social distinction.\textsuperscript{2} Thus the national pattern of worship showed wide variations between classes and regions.

In 1851 the government designated a census Sunday where all places of worship submitted attendance reports on the number of people who came to worship on the specified date. According to the census report, 61 percent of the population of England and Wales attended church. In rural areas and small towns 71.4 percent attended, and in large towns, of more than ten thousand people, 49.7 percent were accounted for. Manchester's attendance was below the national average. Only 34.7 percent of the adult population attended church. Of those, 43.8 percent attended a nonconformist church, 34.4 percent went to the Church of England,


\textsuperscript{2}Hugh McLeod, \textit{Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City} (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. x.
and 23.8 percent worshipped with Roman Catholic congregations.¹

There was a consensus among observers of nineteenth century Manchester that the working classes were indifferent to religion and generally did not attend public worship. Friedrich Engels noted widespread disinterest.

The working man does not understand religious questions, and does not trouble himself about it... All the writers of the bourgeois are unanimous on this point, that the workers are not religious and do not attend church.²

Leon Faucher, a Frenchman and observer of Manchester, wrote and published in 1844 a book on his impressions of that city. He used considerable space analyzing the religious habits of its citizens. According to his study, a majority of Manchester's adults expressed some religious preference. Some 50,429 of these adults professed adherence to some denomination. Over half of these claimed membership in the Church of England, over 12,000 to various other Protestant denominations, and over 7,000 to the Roman Catholic Church. There were 51 Jews and about 4,400 who either had no preference or declined to state it. Faucher's impression was that the "latest imported (religious sect)


is generally the most acceptable." He thought that there were more Methodists, Quakers, and Independents than adherents to the established church. There were some 137 places of worship in Manchester and Salford, only 39 of which belonged to the Church of England, plus many preaching rooms and assemblies of sectarians who were not influential or wealthy enough to erect chapels of their own.¹

Faucher described a typical Sunday morning in Manchester. The families he saw were:

...walking along in silence and with a reserved and formal attitude toward church and chapels. You cannot be deceived, they belong almost exclusively to the middle class. The operatives loiter on the thresholds of their cottages or lounge in groups at the corners of the streets until the hour of service is terminated, and the public houses are opened. Religion is presented to them in such a sombre and gloomy aspect; it succeeds so well in addressing neither the senses or imagination, nor the heart that it remains the exclusive patrimony of the rich.²

Since church did not appeal to the working classes, their only social alternatives were the public houses and gin shops. According to Faucher public promenades, avenues, gardens, and even a public common did not

¹Leon Faucher, Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects, (London: Simpkin Marshal and Company, 1844), pp. 26-27 and 63-64, (hereafter cited as Faucher, Manchester in 1844). Faucher does not give the source of his information, however, his editor recorded in a footnote on page 24 that figures in Parliamentary document number 759 confirm Faucher's findings.

²Ibid., pp. 26-27.
exist.\textsuperscript{1} However central Manchester was about a twenty minute walk from the country.

In 1832, James P. Kay, a physician and resident of Manchester, noted in his pamphlet on the conditions of the people employed in cotton manufacturing in Manchester, that their religious observances were neglected. He observed,

With rare exceptions, the adults of the vast population... spend Sunday either in supine sloth, in sensuality, or in listless inactivity. A certain portion only of the labouring classes enjoys even healthful recreation on that day, and a very small number frequent the places of worship.\textsuperscript{2}

Contemporary explanations for the phenomena varied. Some felt that the lack of churches and pastors and ministers in the large cities was responsible. In 1851 Horace Mann wrote a report in conjunction with the 1851 Religious Census. He noted that in cities and large towns, an insignificant portion of the congregations was composed of artisans.\textsuperscript{3} He occupied a large percentage of his report.

\begin{flushright}
1Ibid., pp. 55-56
\end{flushright}
with estimates of the number of church seating which would be adequate for the cities' populations and the disparity between what was needed and reality. Dr. Kay agreed with Mann's conclusions:

The present means or methods of religious instruction are, in the circumstances in which our large towns are placed, most evidently inadequate to their end. The labours of some few devoted men of whom the world is not worthy, in the houses of the poor, are utterly insufficient to produce a deep and permanent moral impression on the people.\(^1\)

In addition to this problem, some felt that the demand of making a living and surviving in a hostile religious environment obliterated any religious feelings.

Alexis Tocqueville, a French visitor in 1835, noted in his journal:

What room for the life of the spirit can a man have who works for about twelve hours a day every day except Sunday? What a need he must have for rest or lively distraction on Sunday. So in Manchester the workers stay in bed that day, or pass it at the pub. Few but the Catholics go to church.\(^2\)

Something more drastic than the lack of churches and boring church services, along with the six-day work week, was involved in the working class indifference to organized religion. It was the great social and political changes that divided society into classes. Organized religion among


the working classes became a casualty of these changes. Working class people regarded organized religion as institutions for the middle and upper classes. Therefore, their non-attendance at church services was a form of social protest, not an indication of the absence of religious feelings and belief. Thomas Wright stated in one of his three books about the condition of the working classes published in 1873, that the working classes "do not regard public worship as an essential of religion, but only an optional accessory."¹ This comment indicates that they were Christian, but could not relate to sectarianism and the demands for participation. Wright went on to say that they were willing enough to listen to people who were sincerely trying to help uplift them spiritually, but the poor felt that most philanthropists were hypocritical:

What makes them resentful to their reproachers is the belief that they never tackle rich sinners ... and take liberties with the poor man that they themselves would see as liberties, did they not think of applying to the rich.²

not be done for the poor. For example, when the Prince of Wales was seriously ill in 1871, the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered prayers to be said for his recovery. The


²Ibid.
people of the working class tended to judge the official action negatively because they felt that this action would not have occurred if there had been a mining disaster. They felt that there would have been no formal prayer for the trapped miners and their families, and the working class was disgusted that the life of the prince was of more value to the church than the lives of numerous miners.¹

Horace Mann also felt that the working classes were not infidels. Instead, their unconscious secularism stemmed from the fact that they did not have the philosophical grounds for rejecting Christianity, but practical objection to the forms given to it by the churches.²

Horace Mann wrote in his report concerning the religious census, "working men it is contended cannot enter our religious structures without having pressed upon their noses some momento of inferiority."³

While some religious denominations did appeal to the working people, the separation of the working classes and the more affluent classes made it often difficult for many working people to join a church because they may have felt like they were repudiating their peers. Even though, for

¹Ibid.


³Mann, "Census of Religious Worship," p. 163.
the most part, the working classes did not attend to regular worship, certain religious acts remained customary among them. All but the most doctrinaire unbelievers were baptized, married, and buried by ministers of religion. This may indicate that many had religious feelings that were not expressed in the terms of the middle classes' definition of proper Christian behavior.¹

There is also evidence that rapid urbanization contributed to the lack of attendance at church. The sharp contrast between the religiousness of the countryside, and the religious apathy of the towns, has been attributed to the culture shock experienced by the new city dweller and the increased awareness of class distinction.² It may have also been the case that, while people in the countryside seemed to be more religious, their actual ties to a church were very loose, and disappeared altogether in the anonymity of the city.

Manchester, as one of the first urban centers of the world to experience the growing pains of rapid industrialization, developed a rapidly changing religious environment. These conditions provided a productive seed bed for

¹Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, p. 332.

Mormonism. A new religion provided security in the lives of some converts who found the changes in their society disconcerting. Their new religion was an anchor in an unsettling world.
CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL SETTING

MANCHESTER

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY

The previous chapter described the religious conditions that prevailed concurrently to the rise of the Manchester Branch. Now we turn our attention to the physical description of the city, and some of the problems the converts faced as citizens of the fastest growing urban center in the world during the Victorian Era. It draws a picture of the way the converts and their contemporaries saw Manchester.

It is impossible to look upon the face of Manchester as people saw it in the Victorian era because the city as it was then has disappeared. The native members who wrote journals did not describe their environment. Perhaps they did not write about the city because they saw it as not so horrible to cause despair, and not wonderful enough to praise. Also, most had no other urban environment with which to compare it. However, several contemporary
nineteenth century social commentators wrote some descriptions of the city.¹

Manchester was one of the early headquarters of the Mormon church in Great Britain and was typical, in many ways, of the urban areas where the church proved to be successful. Manchester was located in Lancashire, the county considered by census authorities in 1851 to be the most urbanized in England.² At that time over half the population of Lancashire lived in fourteen towns with populations over ten thousand. Although the authorities' definition of what constituted a town is rather vague, a community of ten thousand was definitely considered urban in the mid-nineteenth century.³

According to the 1851 census, Manchester was the largest city in the county and contained 388,500 people. Population grew rapidly with the growth of industry. From 1801 to 1851 the number of inhabitants grew from 93,400 to 388,500, a four fold increase. Table 1 shows the estimated population of Manchester from 1801 to 1871. This growth was

¹Most authors depicted Victorian Manchester as a smokey, dirty, and souless place in which to live. A few saw it as a great city filled with beautiful buildings and public facilities. A more accurate description would probably be somewhere between the two extremes.


³Ibid., p. 33.
primarily the result of immigration from surrounding towns and villages, rather than from an excess of births over deaths. According to the 1851 census, only twenty-eight percent of the population were natives of the city.¹

**TABLE 1**

**ESTIMATED POPULATION OF MANCHESTER, 1801-1871**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Manchester Population (Including Salford)</th>
<th>Manchester's Share of Lancashire Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>93,400</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>113,800</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>158,700</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>232,800</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>273,900</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>388,500</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>441,200</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>478,000</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The citizens watched the boundaries of the city expand to accommodate the extraordinary growth of the cotton industry and its accompanying population boom. The invention of cotton spinning and weaving machines in the

late 1700's greatly increased the production of cloth, and moved the industry from the household to the factory.  

Table 2 shows the remarkable increase in the number of factories and the people employed by the industry. This growth created a demand for subsidiary activities, and prompted an increasing interest in the building of railways, canals, and roads. Thus, new modes of transportation marked the landscape. Along with these changes, modern buildings replaced old ones, church spires were dwarfed by mill chimneys, and the density of housing increased dramatically. The surrounding towns also grew and acquired the characteristics of urbanized cities so that Manchester and its suburbs formed a giant web of industry.

**TABLE 2**

**GROWTH OF COTTON FACTORY EMPLOYMENT IN MANCHESTER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Mills</th>
<th>Number of Hands</th>
<th>Percentage of Labor Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48,300</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28,300</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>51,800</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

Manchester's industries attracted newcomers looking for employment. As a result of the rapid increase in population due to immigration, there was a shortage of working class housing and the price of rents soared. Developers took advantage of the problem by crowding as many dwelling units into a vacant building lot as possible. Where housing already existed, court yards were filled in with new dwellings and when possible, an older house was divided into several apartments, making it possible to house more people in the same amount of space. The city boundaries did expand, but not fast enough.

Some of the new housing was of a reasonable quality, but the number of rooms in each unit was certainly inadequate for the large families of the time. (The average range was 5.8 members in 1821 which decreased to 4.47 in 1861.)¹ Most of the speculative housing built in the newer districts managed to duplicate, if not surpass the intensity of development in the old town. A developer would subdivide his property into long blocks, about 250 feet by 60 to 90 feet. To provide further access to the interior of these already narrow blocks, he would construct an intricate system of courts and alleys. The row houses were built back to back so that as many as four houses could be constructed within the width of a block. Of course there was no

¹Cook and Keith, British Historical Facts, p 232.
possibility of adequate ventilation, and in many cases the
narrowness of the passages precluded natural lighting.¹

Table 3 summarizes the town's development from 1801
to 1831 in terms of population, the number of houses, and
the density of inhabitants. The increase in thirty years in
each of these areas is phenomenal. The increased density
figure is the most significant because it shows that crow-
ding was one of the most noticeable results of urbanization.
The result was inadequate housing for the working classes.
For example, The Manchester Board of Health took a survey in
in the early 1820's, only a few years after the development
of the peripheral working class districts. The results of
this survey which some observers felt were conservative, are
shown in summary in table 4. These results show that much
of the city needed improvements.

The rapid growth of Manchester brought the predic-
table sanitary and housing problems that plagued the working
classes throughout England. Many of the main streets were
respectable, but the back alleys were a different world.
There were long rows of blackened two-story terraced cot-
tages, some built back-to-back. Narrow twisting lanes
wandered past enclosed courts of a dozen or more houses.
Plumbing and paving were nonexistent in many areas. In some
parts of the city, many lived in cellars.

¹Vigier, Change and Apathy, p. 137.
TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MANCHESTER AREAa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1801</th>
<th>1811</th>
<th>1821</th>
<th>1831</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>90,310</td>
<td>110,138</td>
<td>154,712</td>
<td>227,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>28,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(persone per acre)

SOURCE: Condensed from table 7 in Vigier, Change and Apathy, p. 137.

aThe Manchester area includes the towns of Manchester, and Salford and the suburbs of Ardwick, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Hulme, Beswick, Karpurhey, and Newton.

TABLE 4

CONDITIONS IN MANCHESTER IN THE 1820'S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area (in acres)</th>
<th>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</th>
<th>1.577.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (1821)</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>108,016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density (persons per acre)</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Houses</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>17,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of houses in need of major repair</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of houses without adequate plumbing</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of streets ill-ventilated</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of streets unpaved</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of streets partially paved</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of streets unscavengeda</td>
<td>. . . . . . . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Condensed from Table 8 in Vigier, Change and Apathy, p. 141.

a"Streets containing heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, ordure, etc."

The working men and their families were being crowded into every available cellar and room, partly because of the disparity between the wages they were able to earn and the rents charged by speculators. In addition, they had
to live close to the factories in the absence of any means of public transportation. The most appalling results were the cellar apartments. One observer described some of the most deplorable housing in Manchester.

... On ground below the level of the river and overshadowed on every side by immense workshops, stretches marshy land which widely spaced muddy ditches can neither drain nor cleanse. Narrow, twisting roads lead down to it. They are lined with one-story houses whose ill-fitting planks and broken windows show them up, even from a distance, as the last refuge a man might find between poverty and death. None-the-less the wretched people reduced to living in them can still inspire jealousy of their fellow beings. Below some to their miserable dwellings is a row of cellars to which a sunken corridor leads. Twelve to fifteen human beings are crowded pell-mell into each of these damp, repulsive holes.¹

However, the interiors of many of the houses were as clean as the smoke and dirt of the town allowed. Even so, the houses were very cramped. Two bedrooms was the rule, and beds were frequently placed in the main rooms of the house. This would have been a necessity if the family was large, or the cottage was shared by boarders of more than one family.²

It is not surprising that under these conditions, sickness was common and mortality rates were high. No family was immune from death. Minor stomach disorders must have been part of daily life. Occasionally epidemics of more serious diseases such as cholera, typhus, and typhoid

¹Tocqueville, Journeys to England, p. 106.
occurred. Scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, small pox, and tuberculosis were other killer diseases. The average male cotton operative in his thirties could expect to be ill for at least a fortnight (two weeks) once in every three or four years. Among older men the incidence of this length of illness was even higher. Small children were especially prone to illness and many children died before they reached adulthood.

Thus the uncertainties of sickness and death created by impoverished living was familiar to the majority of the population and members of the branch. This conclusion is verified by the statistical reports of the era. According to J. F. C. Harrison:

... The annual report of the Registrar General for England and Wales showed that between 1839 and 1851, the annual number of deaths of infants under one year was usually between 150 and 160 per 1,000 live births. In the later forties the death rate for infants, as for the whole population, rose appreciably. All of which meant that the ordinary Victorian family was intimately acquainted with death in a way which is rare today. To ensure two surviving children, a married couple could expect to have five or six births. The infant death bed scenes so beloved by religious tract writers, and grief for the loss of a favorite child so often mentioned in contemporary biographies and novels were the results of these cold figures of mortality.

Manchester, while being one of the most thriving cities in the country was also one of the most unhealthy.

\[1\] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

Differences in mortality rates among classes were directly related to differences in economic status. Table 5 shows the effects of occupation and living conditions on mortality rates as were compared between Manchester and Rutlandshire in the "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain (1842)."¹

TABLE 5

MORTALITY RATES OF MANCHESTER AND RUTLANDSHIRE COMPARED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional persons and gentry and their families</th>
<th>Manchester</th>
<th>Rutlandshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen and their families (In Rutlandshire, farmers and glaziers are included with shopkeepers)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics, labourers, and their families</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These problems illustrate the fact that Manchester was a growing city and had all the growing pains of a newly industrialized urban center. As a result the city had many faces. There were old parts and new parts mingled together.

Apart from the houses in the path of the railway, very little had been torn down by 1850 to make room for something else. Manchester had grown by accretion, bits and pieces added upon it haphazardly, irregularly and terribly fast.¹

Manchester was built up without the benefit of plans and designs, primarily because laissez-faire was the prevailing philosophy of the time. Government control in areas such as town planning was regarded as unnecessary interference.² The town could readily be described according to specific areas which were dedicated to business, manufacturing, and the dwellings of the lower, middle, and upper classes. The most noticeable feature of the city was the great gulf between the bourgeois and the working classes. All the major authors who wrote about Manchester dwelled upon this phenomena. Whether they were critics or defenders this chasm between the classes was obvious. These writers had different opinions about the causes and the results of the divisions of society, but they did not disagree that it did exist. Friedrich Engels wrote:

... this division is due partly to deliberate policy and partly to instinctive and tacit agreement


between the two social groups. In those areas where the two social groups happen to come into contact with each other, the middle classes sanctimoniously ignore the existence of their less fortunate neighbors.¹

Not only class differences, but simple economics made the division more acute. People lived in the areas where they could afford to pay the rent. Thus, workers had to live the in the districts closest to the factories which were also more crowded and dirty than the suburbs of the middle classes. The middle classes had enough money to pay for a more pleasant environment and they escaped from the confusion and the filth of the city whenever they could. William Cooke Taylor noted how the "poorest grade of all" live "hidden from the view of the high ranks by piles of stores, mills, warehouses, and manufacturing establishments."² In a similar vein, Engels described the city as "peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's cart or even with workers."³

John Aiken, an American who visited Manchester to make comparisons with the textile industry, had the general

¹Engels, Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, p. 54.


³Engels, Condition of the Working Class, p. 79.
impression that the majority of English workers were ill
dressed, fed and housed, and that the American workers were
in much better condition. He also noted the disparity
between the rich and the poor, and was alarmed at the pros-
pects of an economic depression and the way it would affect
the laboring people. In an article he published on November
17, 1848 he wrote:

In Manchester, for instance a large proportion of,
say, one half of the inhabitants are capitalists, manu-
facturers, merchants, and shop keepers, and the
remaining half are operative mechanics and
manufacturers. If business becomes very dull and
unprofitable, the factories must still be run if it can
be done without serious loss, for if they stop, one half
the people will be thrown out of a way to make a living;
and many of them in a single month, must either starve
or be supported by charity.³

Leon Faucher and Friedrich Engels wrote the most
detailed descriptions of Manchester of the 1840's. Although
both Faucher and Engels began their treatises by describing
Manchester as a mass of confusion, on closer examination
there was an approximate order to the city and their descri-
ptions of it. Faucher divided the city into five distinct
areas. They were:

1. the center, including the primitive municipal
building along the banks of the Irwell, and the one
great thoroughfare running from Pendleton in the north-
west of Longdon Road in the south-east, lined with shops
that ranged from grocers at its extremities of luxuries,
libraries and newspaper offices at the center;
2. adjacent to the center, the warehouses and
storehouses of merchants and manufacturers;

³John Aiken, Labor and Wages at Home and Abroad,
3. the railway termini, which delimited the central area, factories and machine shops, forming a girdle around the town and following the courses of streams and canals;

4. farther out still, beyond the Irwell to the north, and the Medlock to the south, the principal suburbs; Salford and Chorlton-upon-Medlock;

5. merchants and manufacturers in detached villas, situated in the midst of gardens and parks in the country.¹

Engels' description was more simplified and he divided the city into three general regions, or concentric zones. At the heart of the city extended the commercial district, which consisted almost wholly of offices and warehouses. Beyond the commercial district was the "unmixed working people's quarter." Outside this ring, the middle bourgeoisie lived on regularly laid out streets and beyond them lived the upper bourgeoisie in villas.²

Both Faucher's and Engels' initial descriptions were sketchy, but they moved on to describe the city in more detail.

Geographically, the layout of Manchester resembled a dart board. The inner city formed the bull's eye and was the business district. The changes due to industrialization that took place within the center of the city were the most striking. During the eighteenth century most of the leading


²Engels, Condition of the Working Class, p. 79.
inhabitants lived within a quarter of a mile of the city's medieval center. The commercial district of Manchester in the nineteenth century was about a half-mile long and a half-mile broad. It consisted almost entirely of offices and warehouses. Nearly the whole of it was without permanent residents, and was forsaken and deserted at night, when only the policeman on duty patrolled its lanes with his bull's eye lantern. The area was intersected by main thoroughfares where an enormous volume of traffic concentrated. The ground floors of the buildings located along these boulevards were occupied by shops which displayed expensive items in their windows that attracted the businessmen who came to work in the city center each day.

The surrounding ring was composed of working class housing and factories. This immense belt of crowded and packed dwellings existed close to the city center so that the workers could live within walking distance of the factories, warehouses, and wharves.

With the exception of the commercial district, the rest of Manchester's city proper, and the surrounding districts of Salford, Hulme, most of Pendleton and Chorlton, two thirds of Ardwick, and certain stretches of Cheetham Hill and Broughton were almost exclusively working class areas. These districts extended around the commercial quarter in a belt that on the average was one-and-one-half miles wide.
Within these working class districts were numerous lodging houses. Dr. Kay Shuttleworth noted that in 1830, there were 167 such places in the township of Manchester. He did not detail their size or condition.\(^1\) Friedrich Engels was more descriptive, and he observed that the typical lodging house accommodated between twenty and thirty persons a night. Engels estimated that the total number of people sleeping in temporary lodging could have been as high as 7,000. There were usually five to seven beds in one room. They were lined up so that very often human beings of both sexes were packed into them indiscriminately. However, the quality of rooms was often determined by the prices paid for them. In addition, the differences between conditions were dependent upon the owner or manager.\(^2\) Some places were probably decent and clean, while others would have been filthy. Since lodging houses were common in Manchester, many contemporaries were concerned about these houses because they saw them as a refuge for vagrants, prostitutes, and thieves, and as a bastion of anti-familistic values.

Outside the working class belt lived the upper and middle classes. The wealthier population residences were located past the working class district in the suburbs which were located as far away as possible from the smoke, sounds,

\(^1\)Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes* p. 49.

and smells of the city. As the city became congested, the wealthier residents moved to the outskirts of town. Faucher noted that:

At the very moment when the engines are stopped, and the counting houses closed, everything which was the thought—the authority—the impulsive force—the moral order of this immense industrial combination, flies from the town, and disappears in an instant. The rich man spreads his couch amidst the beauties of the surrounding country, and abandons the town to the operatives, publicans, mendicants, thiever, and prostitutes, merely taking the precaution to leave behind them a police force, whose duty it is to preserve some little of material order in this pellmell of society.¹

The main thoroughfares acted as buffers between the classes because the shops and businesses hid the workers' slums from view.

The middle classes lived on the regularly laid out streets near the working class quarter, primarily in Chorlton and lower lying regions of Cheetham Hill. The upper middle class was situated in the more remote parts of Chorlton, Pendleton, and Ardwick, or on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill, and Broughton where they lived in villa-like houses surrounded by gardens.²

Obviously, anyone who could afford to, left the city center as rapidly as possible, because as William Cooke Taylor observed, "the smoke, nuisance drives everybody from the township of Manchester who can possibly find means of

renting a house elsewhere."¹ Engels also noted that the presence of factory smoke influenced the middle classes to move from the city center:

... The east and northeast side of Manchester are the only ones on which the bourgeoisie has not built, because ten or eleven months of the year the west and the southwest wind drives the smoke of all the factories hither, and that the working people alone may breathe.²

Thus, the city center, the working class residential area, and the suburbs of the middle and upper classes made up the city. But it is the people who lived in the city who tell the human side of the story of Manchester. And just as different authors who wrote about the city had varying opinions about urban working conditions, the inhabitants had a variety of experiences and would have interpreted their environment differently. The Mormons, as a sub-community in Manchester, undoubtedly had similar experiences to their working class counterparts. However, their religious experiences were unique. That is what we must turn our attention to in the following chapter.

¹Taylor, Notes of a Tour. p. 15-16.
²Engels, Condition of the Working Classes, p. 83.
CHAPTER IV

THE MANCHESTER BRANCH:
A BRIEF HISTORY OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT,
GROWTH, AND SUBSEQUENT DECLINE

This chapter describes the introduction of Mormonism in Great Britain and specifically concentrates on the growth of the church in Manchester and some of the factors that contributed to its growth and subsequent decline. The story is told from the perspective of both the American missionaries (who baptized the converts), and the members themselves.

The history of Mormonism in England began on July 20, 1837, when the first American missionaries arrived in Liverpool. The original missionaries included Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards, Joseph Fielding, John Goodson, Isaac Russell, and John Snyder. Most of the newcomers were poor, but had friends or relatives there. By April 1838, only ten months after they had arrived, the missionaries had baptized four hundred converts in Preston and more than fifteen hundred members throughout the countryside. However, the gospel was not preached in
Manchester until 1839. By this time all but two of the missionaries had returned to America. Joseph Fielding and Willard Richards stayed behind to act as president and first counselor of the mission. William Clayton, a convert from Penwortham, Lancashire, was chosen to be the second counselor.¹

England had proven to be a fruitful ground for converts. However, after the main body of missionaries left for America the church in England did not prosper as it had before they left. Even though there were several hundred baptisms between 1838 and 1840, there was also substantial apostasy so that by 1840 there was little, if any, actual increase in membership.² The most significant boost of missionary activity and convert baptisms came in 1840 when all of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were sent to England to take charge of the work.

When The Twelve left England in April, 1841, just a year after their arrival, there were 5,814 Saints in Britain and another 800 that had emigrated. The apostles had established an effective missionary system that would soon become the most productive in the church. In addition, they laid the foundation of an important publication program

¹Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, pp. 1-7.
by producing the first European edition of the Book of Mormon, as well as a hymn book, tracts, pamphlets and the periodical, The Millennial Star. The success of their efforts is attested to by the great trans-Atlantic emigration program that resulted from their efforts. Within the next fifty years, more than 55,000 British Saints emigrated to the United States.¹

The Manchester Branch was organized during the interim period between the time the first missionaries left England and the arrival of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1840. The branch was established by William Clayton. Apparently, Clayton felt so responsible in his calling as a member of the mission presidency that on October 19, 1838, he left his job as a clerk for a large factory, and gave himself wholly to the ministry. Shortly after this decision he left his wife and two daughters with his wife's mother and became the first full-time missionary to preach the gospel in Manchester.

Clayton lived in Manchester in a boarding house operated by church members and depended entirely for his livelihood on donations from those among whom he labored when the Twelve arrived in England.² The branch in Manchester, like the rest of the church, prospered during

¹Ibid., p. 501, 524.

²Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 8.
this period (as is shown in table 6). The first official report about the number of converts in Manchester was published in the *Millennial Star* on January 6, 1840. At that time there were 160 members. Eighty more people were baptized in the next four months, and by July there were 280 members. This rapid growth continued, and at the conference held in Manchester in 1843 there were 469 members. The number of baptisms was more numerous than these figures indicate because the records do not include the converts who left Manchester for America, or who apostatized from the church. The branch continued to grow until 1852 when membership reached its zenith of 782 Saints. After that, the membership declined steadily until 1857, when there were only 166 members.

These statistics were taken from reports given at conferences and subsequently printed in the *Millennial Star* and *The History of the Church*, or preserved in the *Manchester Branch Historical Record*. These reports only gave the figures for the size of the branch at a given time. Statistics were not recorded on a regular basis over a long period of time, and therefore, they are not precise.

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1 Manchester Branch Historical Record, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah; Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2nd ed. revised, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978; and *Millennial Star* as cited in Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons*, p. 54.
However, they do show a definite growth over a period of fourteen years and then a sharp decline.

TABLE 6

SIZE OF THE MANCHESTER BRANCH 1840-1875

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 6, 1840</td>
<td>160 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 15, 1840</td>
<td>240 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6, 1840</td>
<td>280 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1840</td>
<td>400 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23, 1843</td>
<td>469 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1844</td>
<td>472 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23, 1844</td>
<td>392 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 29, 1844</td>
<td>377 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1845</td>
<td>492 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 9, 1851</td>
<td>730 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>166 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>168 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>100 a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Manchester Branch Historical Record, Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah; Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2nd ed. revised, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978); and Millennial Star as cited in Allen and Alexander, Millennial Star, p. 54.

aManchester Branch Historical Record.
bMillennial Star.

The Manchester Branch Record of Members provides information about the growth of the branch. These records provide the baptism dates of the converts which makes it possible to analyze the growth of the branch in terms of the number of baptisms per year. They also contain information
about migration, mortality, and excommunications, but the information is not accurate enough to identify trends because in many cases the entries are not complete. In addition, the records were kept in such a manner that it is not possible to determine the number of members in the branch at a given time because the records were continually added upon, but not necessarily updated. For example, a record may cover a time span of twenty-eight years. Members names were added at the time they were baptized, and the names were never deleted. Some members' records show that they moved, apostatized, or died, but the majority do not show that kind of information. The records also varied according to the time span they covered.¹

The growth rate of the Manchester Branch closely paralleled the growth of the British Mission between 1840 and 1850. Both grew at the beginning of the decade, and then declined until 1845. The next five years were periods of growth. The main difference between the two is that the dip and increase were more drastic in Manchester, and that 1849 was the peak year for baptisms in the mission and 1852 was the peak year for the size of the Manchester Branch. It is more difficult to compare the branch with the mission for the next ten years, (1850-1860), because there was a bigger

¹Manchester Branch, "Record of Members," Microfilm Serial No. 13656, Part 3, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." See appendix B.
variation between the two. The statistics for the number of
baptisms in the Manchester Branch compared with the number
in the British mission are shown in table 7 and in figure 1.

In Manchester, 1850, 1851, and 1852 were years of
growth, and after that there was a sharp decline. In fact,
only four baptisms were recorded for the following eight
years.

The picture of the British Mission during this time
was different. Whereas 1852 was the peak year for baptisms
in Manchester, 1849 was the peak year for the mission. In
addition, there was a period of maintained growth for the
first two years of the decade, and then a steady, but
gradual decline in the number of baptisms for the next eight
years.

A word must be added about the relationship between
the growth of the branch and the increase of its population
due to immigration of members to Manchester. Table 8 shows
the place of baptisms of the converts. Eighty percent of
the members of the branch were baptized in the city. Of the
remaining twenty percent, most were baptized in towns and
cities within fifty miles of Manchester. This shows that
although baptisms within the city were the most dominant
source of members, converts who migrated to Manchester were
also a contributing factor that affected the growth of the
branch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Number</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Percent</th>
<th>British Mission Number</th>
<th>British Mission Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for 3 years</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1,517</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ten Year Period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Number</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Percent</th>
<th>British Mission Number</th>
<th>British Mission Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2,326</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>2,883</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,762</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2,505</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2,354</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2,918</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>6,520</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>8,630</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Decade.</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>43,299</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ten Year Period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Number</th>
<th>Manchester Branch Percent</th>
<th>British Mission Number</th>
<th>British Mission Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>8,017</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>8,064</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>6,665</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4,603</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4,530</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3,711</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2,947</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2,405</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1,064</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total for Decade.</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>43,304</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** The Manchester Branch statistics were extrapolated from the branch records. Statistics for the British mission from Richard L. Evans, A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1937), p. 244.
Fig. 1. Baptisms by year: Manchester Branch vs. the British Mission. The fortunes of missionaries laboring in Manchester generally rose and fell with those of the British Mission as a whole. The announcement that the church openly sanctioned the practice of polygamy had a debilitating effect of baptisms throughout the mission. It is interesting that this announcement did not result in widespread apostasy among members of the church, but did make it harder to attract new members. It should also be noted that the decline in baptisms in the British Mission had already begun in 1850, two years prior to the announcement concerning polygamy.

SOURCES: Manchester Branch Records of Members, 1860, Microfilm Serial No. 13656, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. British Mission figures were derived from Jensen, A., A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain, p. 248.
TABLE 8
PLACE OF BAPTISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>79.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheshire</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schotland</td>
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<td>.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northumberland</td>
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<td>.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shropshire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jersey</td>
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<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwickshire</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hereford</td>
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<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
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<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Manchester Branch Record of Members

It is interesting to note that the areas where Mormonism was most successful were in the areas where the established Anglican Church was the weakest. These were the same areas where Nonconformist groups were also stronger than in other parts of the country. In terms of the percentages of members taken from the 1851 census, Lancashire with 11.6 percent of the membership in England, contained the largest group. Cheshire and West Riding also made up a substantial amount of the Mormon population. All of these
areas were industrialized in comparison with the rest of the country, showing that Mormonism was succeeding, at least at this time, in areas where major denominations were failing.¹

Horace Mann observed that most of the members of the Mormon Church were from the working classes and that:

Within a short period since the introduction of this singular creed, as many as 222 chapels or stations have been established with accommodations for 30,783 worshippers or hearers. The activity of the disciples of this faith is evidenced by the frequency with which they occupy these meeting places. Out of a total of 222 places as many as 247 (or 66 percent) were open in the morning, 187 or (84 percent) were open in the afternoon, and 193 (or 87 percent) in the evening. Comparison with similar statistics of the other churches will show that this is much above the average frequency of services.²

There are several explanations for the success the Mormons had in converting working class members. One theory is that people were attracted to the church during periods of economic hardship. The Mormon Church was introduced into


²Mann, "1851 Census of Religious Worship", p. 152.
England during a time of depression. The apostles arrived in 1837, the same year that the country plunged into a depression that lasted until 1842. Those six years were considered to be some of the worst in the nineteenth century. Unemployment was higher than it had ever been. Approximately one third of the population was unemployed. This factor combined with high food prices and inadequate public relief resulted in many people suffering hunger and destitution. Other major slumps occurred in the later 1840's, the mid 1850's and, later in 1861 which was labeled the year of "cotton famine."

Nevertheless the church's growth did not seem to be a response to hard economic times. In Manchester, growth was steady until 1852 which was a year of prosperity. The church's membership growth did not correspond with the economic cycle of expansion and depression of the country. This agrees with Malcom Thorp's study in which he found that of the two hundred and ninety eight converts he studied, only eight were unemployed at the time of their baptism. He concluded that what was significant was the little evidence that indicated that the converts were baptized as a response

---
1Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons*, p. 50.
3Thorp, "Religious Background of Mormon Converts," p. 64.
to economic hardships. It would appear that the converts were either prosperous or were at least making ends meet.\(^1\)

Thus, economic stress does not seem to be the prime motivating factor for baptism into the Mormon Church.

Horace Mann theorized that the unique doctrines of Mormonism appealed to the working classes. He attributed the growth of Mormonism to exciting adventist sermons:

\[
\text{. . . The preachers are far from unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain disciples. The surprising confidence and zeal with which they promulgate their creed, the prominence they give to the exciting topics of the speedy coming of the Savior and His personal millennial reign, and the attractiveness in many minds of an infallible church, relying for its evidences and its guidance upon revelations made perpetually to its rulers, these, with other influences have combined to give the Mormon movement a position of importance with the working classes.}\(^2\)
\]

Mann felt that this was proof that the masses were not inaccessible to religion.

\[
\text{. . . the progress of the Mormon faith reveals the presence in it the votaries of certain dim, unsatisfied religious aspirations, which need to attach to an orthodox belief, need only the existence, on the part of orthodox evangelists of zeal and perseverance similar to those displayed by Mormon "prophet" and "apostles."}\(^3\)
\]

Mormon missionaries were also impressed by the receptiveness of the working classes to Mormonism. Brigham Young and Willard Richards wrote:

\(^{1}\)Ibid.

\(^{2}\)Mann, "Census of Religious Worship," p. 15.

\(^{3}\)Ibid. p. 166.
We find the people of this land much more ready to receive the gospel than those of America... for they have not that speculative intelligence, or prejudice, or prepossession, or false learning, call it what you please... Consequently we have not to labor with a people month after month to break down their old notions.  

One of the reasons Mormonism was unique and appealing is because it dealt with the question of authority in the church. Many who joined called themselves "seekers," people who moved from various congregations in search of the true Church of God. Mormons claimed they had the true church because of the authority they held by virtue of the priesthood which was the power given to them from God to act in His name. This doctrine, combined with the Mormon concept that their church was the restored church of Jesus Christ attracted many converts.  

This may have made the converts more receptive to the gospel message. Therefore, it is understandable that under these conditions many converts may have joined the church because they saw it as a stabilizing influence in an unstable atmosphere. They derived comfort from its doctrines and the unity they felt with other members in the church. Evidence for this conclusion is found in members' journals.  

---

The converts' religious backgrounds prior to the time they joined the church, may have influenced their decision to be baptized. Several members left accounts of their previous religious affiliations. Of the twenty-one journals written by members affiliated with the Manchester Branch, nine wrote about dissatisfaction with organized religion before their conversion to Mormonism. From this group, there were two Anglicans, two Methodists, one Baptist, one Quaker and three "seekers," or those who had decided not to attend chapel, but were still very interested in religion. (See appendix A)

Admittedly, this is insufficient data for a detailed analysis of religious behavior prior to conversion, but it does follow the same pattern described by Malcolm Thorp in the study, "The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837 - 1852."1 His figures are shown in table 9.

In this study Thorp concluded that the converts came from a variety of religious backgrounds. Many were "seekers" or unsatisfied with the prominent religious denominations of England. Of those who belonged to a church, previous Methodists were the most numerous closely followed by Anglicans. Mormons may have attracted Methodists because concepts such as salvation by faith and good works,

1Thorp, "Religious Background of Mormon Converts," p. 51 - 56.
spiritual gifts, and lay participation were common to both the Methodist and the Mormon religions. Therefore, the former Methodist found much in Mormonism with which he was already familiar. The churches that the converts attended were composed of predominately middle and upper class congregations. The working class Mormons were socially atypical of those churches. This suggests that class attitudes may have been important in influencing defection to Mormonism.

TABLE 9
RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH CONVERTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiously inclined but not affiliated with a sect.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other denominations</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>207</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table condensed from Thorp's original figures.

Manchester Mormons, like the Mormons included in Thorp's study, felt that the major reason for their baptisms
into the Mormon Church was the concept of the restoration of Biblical truth included in the theology of Mormonism.

The experience of James Burgess was typical of many converts' searches for truth prior to being baptized members of the Mormon Church:

... I got a little astray in the world for a short time and thence I began to think about my soul and first to one chapel and then to another but I did not think that any of them was the Church of God. Then I joined the Latter-day Saints which I proved to be the Church of God. Then I joined this Church and began to serve the Lord. I was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the nineteenth of October, 1840.1

John Druce, another member of the branch had similar feelings and decided to devote his time to personal projects, rather than attend church on Sunday, prior to his baptism in 1841. He commented:

... I gave my mind firm, especially on the Sabbath Day to reading, drawing and writing until being introduced to a religious sect, Latter-day Saints, much despised by the Christian churches, so called or rather by those who pervert the truth into fables, keeping preachers to themselves having itching ears, who cannot endure sound doctrines when presented unto them by the servants of God called Latter-day Saints with whom I am now committed and have great reason to rejoice.2

Other branch members also recorded a few lines about their search for truth. Charles Miller, branch president in

1James Burgess, Diaries, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints; Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 2. (hereafter cited as Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints cited as HDC.)

2John Druce, "John Druce Journal," Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 6. (Brigham Young University, hereafter cited as BYU).
1843 was a zealous Methodist prior to his conversion. Nevertheless he wrote, "I examined every new sect to see who had the most truth."\(^1\)

Joseph Eckersley also stated that although he was a member of a Methodist Church, he attended a large variety of denominations before he joined the Mormon Church in 1886.\(^2\)

James Lee Newton was also a "seeker". He was baptized in Manchester in 1845. He wrote about his experiences with religion before he became a Latter-day Saint. In his autobiography he stated:

I was born of good parents and brought up to the best of their knowledge. At the year of twenty-one I was married to Elizabeth Blackburn, after which I lived as good as I knew how, yet according to the notion of the world, I was not good, for I did not go to any church or chapel nor had I done for some year. Yet I was brought up to do but when I began to think for myself and read my Bible for myself I ventured to think that all of them were wrong for I had listened and tried many of them by the Bible I tried them. For I read in the Bible that the Lord bestowed blessings upon them that obeyed His law.\(^3\)

When Newton heard the gospel preached he felt that the Mormons were different. He felt that Mormonism matched the Christian religion that was described in the Bible. He was baptized in 1845.


\(^2\)Joseph Eckersley, Journal, HDC, Salt Lake City, p. 2.

\(^3\)James Lee Newton Journal, HDC, Salt Lake City, p. 1.
Sometimes a crisis experienced by a convert before hearing the gospel prompted him to seek comfort from religion. In the case of George Morris, this search began as a result of the death of his wife and daughter. In January, 1840, George married a young orphan girl. One year later his wife died, followed by the death of their infant daughter. According to Morris, "These bereavements caused me to feel sorrowful, to reflect much about religion, to read the scriptures, and to pray for light that I might understand the principle of salvation."¹

He attended many churches, but could not be satisfied with any of them. At that point he decided to stay aloof from all sects. In March 1841, he heard about the Mormons from some children who played in front of his shoe making shop. After attending a small meeting in Dunkenfield, he walked eight miles to Manchester so he could attend fast meeting in Carpenter's Hall. After this experience he was baptized on June 18, 1841.²

Richard Daniels Brown joined the church after financial reverses. Richard lost his job in Wigan and moved to Manchester to work in a lower-paying job in a factory. While working at his new job he was told about the church by


²Ibid.
a fellow employee. Richard read the literature his friend gave him and heard John Taylor speak at a meeting. After these experiences he was baptized by Benjamin Peel in 1841. Brown's financial burdens were not alleviated, but his family remained active and eventually moved to Utah.¹

In another instance, Joseph Eckersley had investigated the Mormon Church and had read the literature, but he had made no commitment to be baptized because his friends said that the religion was a delusion. About that time he became very ill. During his convalescence he promised the Lord that if he were healed, he would be baptized. He regained his health and was subsequently baptized at the Mayfield Baths in Manchester.²

Still another explanation for Mormon success among the working classes is the identification of the laborers with the Mormon apostles and missionaries who were also manual tradesmen. The American missionaries were different from the majority of English clergymen who were from the upper and middle classes. The Americans could have empathy with the working classes. Brigham Young was a carpenter, joiner, and glazier. Heber C. Kimball was both a blacksmith and a potter. George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff had


²Joseph Eckersley Journal, HDC Salt Lake City, p. 3.
grown up on farms. The apostles were deeply stirred by the poverty they saw.\(^1\) Heber C. Kimball described the conditions among the citizens and Saints in 1840:

I was asking some of the brethren what made the people look so bad. They said because they were [sic] famished for the want of food. Say they to me thare are hundreds that are starving for the want of food and other things. I thought thare was misery a nough in Preston. It is nothing to compare with Manchester. I asked them if they thought the brethren went hungry. Yes, many of them have not to eat. Times are so hard they can't quit work. Therefore they have to go hungry. There has been such a change here in two years as never was known by the oldest men in this land.\(^2\)

Wilford Woodruff was also alarmed by the high unemployment and wretched social and economic conditions in Manchester. On January 20, 1840 he wrote:

... This morning in the town of Manchester about 8,000 souls is flung [sic] out of employ at the factories because of the pressure of the times and the lowering of wages and they are standing in every corner of the streets in groups counciling what to do, and their are at the present time (I have been informed) thousands of souls almost in a state of starvation.\(^3\)

The overall impression the American missionaries had about the industrialized cities in England was negative. In a letter to Joseph Smith, written on September 5, 1840, Brigham Young and Willard Richards demonstrated great empathy for the poor, and criticized the factory owners and high government taxes. They wrote:

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\(^2\)Ibid., p. 512.

\(^3\)Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons p. 23.
Manufacturing is the business of England. The cotton mills are the most numerous. The weaver will get from 6 to 10 shillings per week, the spinners something more. The hand loom weavers have to work hard to get 6 shillings per week, one half shilling for coal, beside taxes of every kind, we might say, for smoke must not go up chimney in England without a tax, light must not come in a window without paying duties, many must pay from 1 penny to 5 pence per week for water, and if we should attempt to tell all we should want a government list, after paying all taxes what thing you will a family have left for bread stuff? Add this to the tax on corn, which is a great shore of the expense of this article, and what is left but starvation, leaving out of account all seasonings, such as peppers, spices, etc. which by taxation is four times the value it is in the United States. . . . We scarce recollect an article without a tax except cats, mice and fleas.

Richards and Young were also horrified at the number of beggars and reported that all the spare change they had was given to the destitute.

All of the apostles were interested in the factories, but they felt the industrial system was exploitive. After Wilford Woodruff had a tour through Copeland's Pottery Works, he wrote the "final step in the process of making fine china was the manufacturers' aggrandizing themselves with the profits thereof."2

Joseph Fielding and Theodore Turley visited a factory, and Fielding recorded, "I was much affected to see the slavery that is there endured, the dust, the bad smell of oil, etc., the deafening noise and the confinement.3

1Ibid., p. 24.
3Ibid.
Brigham Young believed "Masters [i.e. factory owners] care little for their manufacturers, have reduced the workers way to almost the lowest extremity."\(^1\)

In addition to the appeal of the gospel message, and the identification the working classes had with the American elders, there were other factors that contributed to the growth of the branch. First, Manchester was the headquarters of the *Millennial Star*. As a result, it was a prominent meeting and gathering place for the American missionaries. Some of them were the most powerful preachers of the restored gospel in Mormon history. Because they were frequently in the city, they were available to speak at meetings held there. Brigham Young, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and Wilford Wooruff, all members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, often spoke in Carpenter's hall and in small meeting places. Undoubtedly, these missionaries were very effective and many members were baptized as a result of their powerful spirit and oratory. Richard Daniels, for example, wrote that he heard John Taylor speak and the sermon convinced him to be baptized.\(^2\)

Local member missionaries were also responsible for a major part of the growth of the church in England. Many

\(^1\)Ibid.

members' testimonies prompted them to make sacrifices for the sake of the gospel. Even though most English elders were not officially full time missionaries, they spent an incredible amount of time in church service. The converts joined a church that encouraged more activity than mere attendance at Sunday worship. Faithful members responded to the challenge and were a great strength to the missionary effort in the British Isles. James Lee Newton was a counselor to Manchester Branch president, James Walker, in 1848. At this time the branch contained over 700 members. It was divided into fourteen districts. Newton said that:

...I had to visit them as often as I could so I was at some meeting every night in the week almost. I continued in this office until I left England for Zion. I believe it was about five years in which time I preached the gospel many times publick in Manchester streets, also in rooms and halls, I also was appointed to go to towns, and villages twelve miles round. I bore testimony to all that I could it being wisdom so to do.

John Druce also spent much of his time doing work for the church. He was a member for only ten weeks when he was ordained a priest, and was called to be a local missionary on November 14, 1841. He worked with two other members of the branch, E. W. Hardman and E. John Brotherton. He reported that he baptized his first convert one month later. Less than a year after Druce was baptized, he was appointed to preside over the Middleton and Blakely churches. He also

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1James Lee Newton, Journal, HDC, Salt Lake City, Utah.
mentioned in his journal frequent preaching assignments in Oldham and Manchester. At different times he was president of the Salford Branch, the Pendleton Branch, and the Cross Moor Branch.¹

James Burgess was put into service after being a member for a few short months. He was baptized in October 1840, and was called on a mission to Wales three months later. After serving there for seven months, he returned to Manchester and spent much of his time preaching in that city. Apparently, Burgess' conversion to the gospel and devoted service to the Mormon Church changed him. He noted in his journal that his friends from childhood were surprised to see him speak since, "it being only ten months before that I had been carrying on in my mischievous ways."²

Joseph Eckersley was very active in his church callings and as a result, he was given many opportunities to serve. He was baptized in 1886, and by 1887 was an ordained elder and second counselor in the branch presidency. Later, he was called to be a traveling elder and labored in Leeds and then in Liverpool.³

¹John Duce, Journal, Provo, Utah, BYU, p. 64.
²James Burgess, Diaries, HDC, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 12.
William Clayton was another example of a convert who gave himself almost wholly to the church. He devoted his full time and energy in the missionary work. He preached without "purse or scrip" and relied almost totally upon members of the church for his livelihood. It is unclear what hardships this placed upon his wife and two children whom he left in Penwortham. However, Clayton did mention that on a trip home he had a conversation with his mother. According to Clayton, "she thought my wife was dissatisfied on account of me being from home," and it was hard for the Moons to keep her and the children. The people who befriended Clayton were not well off; yet, their willingness to share, illustrated their desire to promote the work of the church. Clayton wrote about many members who fed him, who gave him gifts of clothing and money, and those who gave him places to sleep.

Charles Miller also devoted himself to full time church work. He did this after a considerable amount of anxiety. During the last part of May in 1843 he wrote, "Body weak because of fatigue for I had charge of the conference books, Manchester branch, and my labors at my employ. I cried to the Lord for a way to give me full time to the ministry." Several months after this entry was recorded,  

1Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons* p. 69, 98.  
Miller left his job, which distressed his wife, and spent all of his time working for the church. It appears that Miller did this after receiving permission from the church leadership. John Needham noted that a vote had been passed that allowed Miller that privilege. Miller needed to be sustained for his action because, thereafter, he and his family depended on the church membership for their support.

Apparently some members did not feel that Miller should preach full time. Miller wrote about a young man in the conference who threatened to leave the church because of this. Miller recorded what the young man said, "No man ought to go out that had a family and he did not think he would come anymore while I was there and many things against me because of my family."

There were some other hard feelings in the congregation concerning Miller, and John Taylor found it necessary to speak at a branch meeting about the problem. Charles Miller recorded some of the proceedings of the meeting, "Taylor then spoke of the report brought to conference about supporting my wife and children. He showed it was a mean thing and contemptible spirit, and he wished them to be rid of it."  

\[1\]Ibid., p. 33.

\[2\]Ibid.
Mary Lois Walker was a daughter of a local missionary who had also devoted his efforts to the building up of the kingdom as a full-time missionary from about 1847 through 1849. Her father did not leave a diary, but Mary's journal reveals what life was like when her father was away preaching. Mary and her mother supported themselves doing millinery work for two entrepreneurs, John James and George Cooper, at a large warehouse in Manchester. When Mary's father had been preaching for about two years, Mary and her mother were invited by Mary's uncles, her mother's brothers, to come and live with them. In Mary's words, "My uncles, Joseph and Samuel, thinking no doubt that mother, their only sister, must be having a struggle to get along wanted her to come to their hometown, Lawrence, and live."\(^1\)

Mrs. Walker agreed to move in with her brothers. After living with them for one year, Mary's mother received notification from the Liverpool office that the family should prepare to sail for America. Mary was fourteen at that time. She wrote: "Father was released from his missionary labors to gather with the Saints in Zion. It did not seem long after that he came home before we were ready to go to Liverpool. I had not seen Father for a year."\(^2\)

\(^1\)Mary Lois Walker Morris, Journal, HDC, Salt Lake City, Book 2, p. 3.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 6.
These experiences illustrate the problems that arose from the sacrifices families made during the times when the breadwinner devoted his time to church service. Separations of families while husbands and fathers preached the gospel away from home must have been difficult for the families involved. However, local missionaries were close enough to home that an entire year's separation would have been uncommon. Charles Miller usually came home at least once a month, usually more often, and William Clayton made sporadic trips to Penwortham to visit his family.

Statistics gathered from the branch records also indicate that families did have a sizable influence in the conversion of most members. Table 10 shows that 71 percent of the converts had at least one other family member living within the branch and only 29 percent did not have kin in the same branch. This indicates that most converts did join in family groups or were later convinced to join the church by a member of their families. However, even though many converts had some family support when they were baptized due to the fact that other members of their family were also converts, most families were not baptized together. According to table 11, there was usually one year separating the baptism dates of family members.
### Table 10

**Members Who Joined in Family Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Relationships</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Family Members</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and Sibling(s)</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>24.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spouse and Children</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>13.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parent(s)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling(s)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Parent(s), &amp; Children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Parent(s), Children &amp; siblings</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Parent(s), &amp; sibling(s)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parent(s), Children, &amp; Sibling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse and Sibling(s)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse and Parents</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>644</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Manchester Branch Records (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1838-1890).*

Table 10 categorizes members according to their relationships to members of their families who were baptized. Thus, if a member's spouse joined, and no other family member was baptized, "spouse" would be the only category listed. If more family members were baptized, the member would be placed in the appropriate category.

However, many had to wait several years before there was a harmony of beliefs. The majority were baptized on different dates, usually at least one year apart. Apparently members of the family joined after a long and sustained effort by a spouse, parent, brother, or sister to convert them. Nevertheless, 29 percent of the membership joined with no other family members and lacked the moral support that could be given by members within the same family. The difficulties associated with joining the church
without family support and sometimes with family disapproval was noted in the description of the conversion experiences of John Needham, Thomas Schofield, Joseph Eckersley and others. All of these young men faced active opposition from their parents.

TABLE 11

YEARS SEPARATING FAMILY MEMBER'S BAPTISM DATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>185</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
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<td>08</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 +</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Manchester Branch Records (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1838-1890).

There were also problems created between husbands and wives when one spouse joined the church and the other was not baptized until a later date, or in some cases never at all. Charles Miller recounts in his diary an instance that occurred after he had been praying for the means to devote his full time into preaching the gospel. Finally he
was sustained at a conference to be a full time church worker. After he had told his wife, he related:

I heard my wife crying because I had left my employment where I had worked fifteen years for Mathew Gibbons. I told her God would provide and left home rejoicing in my God and at the close of the week, returned with means for her and for to buy a book that was important to me.¹

That experience would have been a trial to any wife's faith, but at the time, Charles' wife, Jane, was not even a member of the church. Eventually she was baptized, but there had been some conflict about the importance of the church service before she joined. There was also some friction between another couple about the church as is related in the Needham Journal. "Sister Poole's husband was there in the church, but since been cut off. She suffered much persecution from him and has since left him."²

It was not always the husband who took the initiative to be baptized first. In the case of Edward Robinson, his wife, Mary, was baptized a year-and-one-half before he was. However, during the interim there seemed to be no hard feelings because many times Edward, who was a railway conductor, let the elders ride free on the train. He told them "keep your mouth shut and sit still."³ Occasionally he took them to the tailor's shop and ordered clothes for them.

¹Miller, Diary, p. 16.
In most cases members had family support when they were converted. However, it was rare for an entire family to be baptized. Usually, both spouses joined and often their children were baptized if they were still living at home. There were even several families where the immediate and extended family all joined the church. All of Richard Daniels Brown's children and children-in-law were baptized. In addition, his wife's family joined and the entire family emigrated to America.¹

Many times members joined the church in spite of objections from their families. An example of this type of situation occurred when John Needham joined the church as a teenager. John first heard the gospel preached by Orson Hyde in Preston in 1837. At the time he was working as a clerk in a store. After hearing Hyde preach he continued to go to Mormon meetings. Mr. Higham, his employer, was alarmed by the boy's association with the Mormons and told John that he must stop going to the meetings or lose his job. John told Mr. Higham that he could not stop going and went to the meeting and was baptized the next day in the River Ribble. Unfortunately, his parents also disapproved of Mormonism and were so unhappy with John that his father came to Preston and took him home to Warrington. John then found another job in Manchester and met with the Saints

¹Holland, Richard Daniels Brown, pp. 15-40.
there. His father heard about his new association with the church there and took him home again. John, however, continued to make contacts with the church which resulted in his father's order not to see other family members. John then worked as a missionary for the church during the next five years, and then emigrated to America. The story has a happy ending because John was reconciled with his parents, and his father joined him in Saint Louis, where John had the privilege of baptizing his father.¹

Other members had similar problems. Thomas Jackson Scofield was baptized when he was seventeen in Droylsden, a town not far from Manchester. He was baptized by William Barton, a member of the Manchester Branch. His father and mother disapproved and forbade him to have any more association with the Latter-day Saints. He was under the age of eighteen and had no choice but to obey his father. However, two months later he felt that he must contact someone from the church so he went to Manchester without the knowledge of his parents and found the Millennial Star office. He asked for Parley P. Pratt, but he was not there, so he talked with Sister Pratt and a visiting elder. Schofield requested that he be confirmed. The elder agreed and confirmed him a member of the church and blessed him that his father's heart

¹John Needham, Journal.
would be softened. According to Schofield, the promise was fulfilled and in his words:

Soon after that I got permission to attend meetings of the Saints every Sunday, thus my prayers were answered for my father's heart was softened and he told my mother it was no use persecuting me any longer, but he would let me have my own fling, and that I should soon find out my error if let alone. This was joy to me.¹

Joseph Eckersley also found himself estranged from family and friends when he joined the church. Old friends shunned and ridiculed him. His mother did not want to see him. However, several years passed and hearts were softened. His mother allowed him to come home shortly before he sailed for America in 1898. However, she was still bitter and told him that when he left he would be "dead" to her.²

The major reason for growth within the branch was convert baptisms. The members were baptized through the influence of missionaries from America and local elders. Members who moved into the branch contributed to its growth, but this was not the main vitalizing factor. As illustrated in tables 6 and 7, the branch grew rapidly and then declined. There are several factors that contributed to the decline of the branch. The two major causes were emigration to the United States and the announcement of polygamy in

¹Thomas Jackson Scofield, Journal, BYU, Provo, Utah.
²Eckersley, Journal, p. 28.
1852. In addition, some dissatisfied members were excom-
municated. However, the majority of the disenchanted simply stopped coming to meetings. Another significant factor was migration to other areas of the British Isles.

Emigration to the United States was the most visible reason why the Manchester Branch shrunk. However, members were not encouraged to go to America during the first four years after the mission was established. In fact, the British leadership tried to dissuade members from emigrating to the United States. This was probably due to the fact that during this time period, the Saints had been driven from Missouri and were just beginning to establish themselves in Illinois. It was not until 1841 that the brethren counseled the converts to prepare to emigrate to Zion.¹

The great migration to Zion began in 1841. This massive movement culminated in the transfer of over 18,139 English Saints to America between 1840 and 1860. This figure only includes members who traveled in groups chartered by the church, and does not include the many members who left England individually or in small groups. Research done on the Manchester Branch records shows that there were many instances when families, or individuals emigrated, but their departure was not noted on the branch records, and

therefore, the Church's official records. If they were included, the number would be higher.¹

In 1841 George D. Watt noted, "there had been so many added to the Manchester Branch of late, that its deficiency [sic] for the sixty to eighty souls who had lately sailed for America is more than supplied."²

Emigration was encouraged by the church leadership in the form of editorials printed in the Millennial Star and in sermons preached at branch and conference meetings. The philosophy guiding church leaders was the belief that the Kingdom of God was not reserved for heaven alone. It was also an earthly institution that was to be established by the Lord's appointed. Because of this belief, "the gathering" became one of the major tools for the establishment of Zion.

In an epistle from Nauvoo dated August 28, 1841, the Twelve Apostles instructed English converts:

All Saints we desire to do the will of heaven, come . . . to the places of gathering as speedily as possible, for the time is rapidly approaching when the Saints will have occasion to regret that they have

¹Note: Research on the Manchester Branch records revealed that there were several instances when certain families' departures for Zion were not recorded on the branch records. However, journals and family group sheets prove that some people sailed for America that were not recorded. If this lapse in record keeping was a normal occurrence, more people emigrated than branch records indicate.

²Manchester Branch Historical Record, HDC, Salt Lake City, p. 10.
neglected so long to assemble themselves together and stand in Holy Places, awaiting those tremendous events which are so rapidly approaching the nations of the earth. . . . We recommend to the brethren to emigrate in the fall or winter.\footnote{Joseph Smith, History of the Church, 7 vols., 2nd ed. revised (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978) Vol. 4. p. 410. (hereafter cited as Smith, History of the Church).}

Emigration was a concrete way for members to show their devotion to the kingdom. Most members who really wanted to go were able to emigrate to Utah, even when finances were strained. At first the converts financed their own journeys, but later the church assisted the members. Family members who went ahead also sent money to those who were left behind so that many of the faithful Saints were able to emigrate.\footnote{Gustave O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom, (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company): and P. A. M. Taylor, Expectations Westward.}

The significance of the emigration factor is spotlighted by the fact that 50 percent of the members who were baptized by 1840 and did not eventually emigrate to Zion were excommunicated from the church.\footnote{Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 22.} The reasons why half the members decided not to emigrate were as varied as the individuals. Records do not contain that kind of information.

The public announcement of plural marriage in 1852 had a tremendous impact in the number of convert baptisms.
Prior to 1852 convert baptisms exceeded emigration. After 1851 this was not the case. In Manchester there were 129 baptisms in 1852, and only 3 in 1853. In the British Mission there were 6,665 baptisms in 1852, and 4,605 baptisms in 1853, a noticeable decrease.

Rumors, and the subsequent formal announcement of the practice of plural marriage was a factor which influenced apostacy. However, it is interesting that polygamy did not drastically affect the branch membership in terms of excommunications. At least 372 members were excommunicated between 1842 and 1860 for a variety of reasons. Table 12 shows statistics tabulated from the minutes of weekly council meetings between January 1844 and September 1852. This table indicates the grounds for excommunication and the frequency for each. Manchester Branch records demonstrate an increase in the number of excommunications from 15 in 1849 to 32 in 1850, to 41 in 1852. The increase was probably due to the polygamy issue.¹ There were also many members who avoided confrontation with church authorities and simply drifted away and were never heard from again. It was during this period that the Mormons could not replenish the branch with new converts.

¹Manchester Branch Record of Members, Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Manchester Branch Records).
TABLE 12
FREQUENCY AND GROUNDS OF EXCOMMUNICAION 1844 - 1852

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounds for Excommunication</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transgressions</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denying the Faith</td>
<td>42*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of Duty</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to Appear at Council Meeting to answer a summons</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Attendance</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Marriage</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Request</td>
<td>5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping a Disorderly House</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idolatry</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebellious Conduct</td>
<td>4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villifying the Brethren</td>
<td>3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonesty Toward the Brethren</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fornication</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a Bad Spirit</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoredoms</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating Wife</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusing Heads of Church of Practicing False Doctrine</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No desire to serve God</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting a House of ill Fame</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-Christian Conduct</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not accepting the right hand of fellowship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecency</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striking Father-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slander</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejecting counsel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrighteous conduct</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concealing Knowledge</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutal Conduct</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn't believe in Jesus Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated that the Book of Mormon was false</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*These are categories that could be attributed to polygamy.
It is not clear when rumors of polygamy reached Manchester. However, there were rumors of the practice as early as 1846. Charles Miller recorded:

... The Brothertons sent for me and read a letter showing that Brigham Young had wished Martha to marry him though he had a wife living and said it was righteous. The family of Brothertons forsook the truth and became enemies to God.

At another time Charles Miller wrote:

... The knowledge of plurality of wives was at this time whispered among a few Saints and with not knowing the laws, etc. of the same was a fruitful source of trouble for many were dissatisfied with their husbands and then fell to make covenant with others, thus viciousness brooded over the churches in England, especially, while Hedlock and the Joint Stock Company were operating, but thank God the Priesthood rules and all was known to the presidency and they sent three of the Twelve and all was put in order again.

On May 19, 1848 Thomas Miller was called before the council and was charged with having taught the "two wife" system. Miller denied it and claimed he had only one wife. The council had evidence against Miller and asked Miller to make a commitment to give up the company of Elizabeth Thompson who was not his wife. Miller refused and was excommunicated.

In March of 1851, Brother and Sister Taylor were cited for accusing the heads of the church of having more

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1 Miller, Diary, p. 23.

2 Ibid., p. 24.

3 Manchester Branch Historical Record Book, May 19, 1848, HDC, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Manchester Branch Historical Record).
wives than one. The Taylors were excommunicated afterwards for transgressions. At the same time Sister Hansen was excommunicated for cohabiting, and Sister Ann Salt was "cut off" for bigamy.¹ These problems suggest that some members were practicing illicit polygamy.

It was not until February 1853, six months after the doctrine of plural marriage was announced formally in a conference at Salt Lake City in August 1852, that the Millennial Star published articles about the practice. The announcement and publication of articles clarified the issue for members of the church who then either had to accept it, or reject it.²

Polygamy was not the only issue that disaffected members. The many reasons given for excommunication indicate that there was not a consistent policy among different branch leaders regarding church courts. However, the listing of these various reasons does show that many members

¹Branch Historical Record, March, 1851.

²The first article about polygamy that appeared in the Millennial Star, The official Church periodical in England, after the practice of plural marriage was announced was, "Polygamy, Is it Consistent With the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, The Millennial Star, 12 February 1853, Number 7, Vol. XV, p. 97. There were three other articles explaining the practice that year. They were, "Celestial Marriage in Deseret," 2 April 1853, p. 214; "Monogamy, Polygamy, and Christianity," 6 August 1853, p. 513, and "The morality of the Latter-day Saints Contrasted with the Morality of Their Accusers," 3 December 1853, p. 785.
were not ready to completely accept and practice their new religion. (See table 12) The manner in which authorities dealt with the members depended largely upon the personal feelings of the branch president. Some leaders were more compassionate than others. For example, there were numerous instances when William Clayton recorded in his journal his love and concern for branch members. Clayton was particularly concerned about Arthur Smith and Betsy Holden, a couple that was secretly married against the advice of the brethren because of Betsy's previous marriage to a soldier who had disappeared several years before. Even though Smith was excommunicated for this, he continued to respect Clayton. The couple's reconciliation with Clayton and the church was evident in the fact that when Clayton was preparing to emigrate to America, Smith, a tailor by trade, purchased cloth for Clayton's trousers and cut out his clothes. Arthur and Betsy later emigrated to Utah, where Arthur became a high priest and served nine years as a steward to Brigham Young.\(^1\)

Other leaders seemed to be stricter in disciplining members for offenses than was Clayton. For example, one member was "cut off" for dancing in a public house. Her granddaughter recorded:

Grandmother joined the LDS Church and not long afterwards she went to a public house for her husband who did not join the church. He was step dancing and when he saw her come in he said, "Here comes my little girl. Come in Alice and give us a dance." Grandmother loved to step dance and when the music started she danced. It just happened that some Mormons saw her dancing in a public house. Of course, in those days of intolerance, this resulted in her being cut off from the church. She being a new member and knowing she had been innocent of harm did not again join the church.  

In another case, members were disfellowshipped for a conflict that led to a lawsuit. According to John Druce, "we suspended Sister Stansfield and Sister Warburton from church fellowship until their lawsuit was at an end and Sister Stansfield made full restitution." On September 14, 1845 another sister was "cut off" for running away with a boatman and afterwards living with him. Her parents would not allow her to go home.  

A Brother Shawcroft was excommunicated for repeated transgressions because John Druce, the branch president, did not want people to think the church condoned Shawcroft's actions. However, the president wrote, "the church would extend the right hand of fellowship when he would humble himself."  

2John Druce, Autobiography, p. 31.  
3Ibid.  
4Ibid., p. 33.
Another problem was stirred up when Joseph Smith was martyred and Sidney Rigdon attempted to recruit followers. Charles Miller's brother, William, and his sister, Susan, slipped away from the church after reading a letter from Rigdon. According to Charles Miller, they, "drank of the personal influence." Miller was disturbed by the letter and went to Liverpool to receive counsel from Brother Hedlock. Apparently, he was able to resolve the conflicting claims of authority in his own mind and as a result wrote a letter to Brigham Young stating, "...the Twelve we knew, but Rigdon we knew not." However, Charles Miller's brother and sister were not convinced and when Charles returned to Manchester, he found his brother and sister preparing for the arrival of Rigdon's apostles. Consequently, the brother and sister were "cut off" and Charles Miller was the only member of his family to remain faithful to the church. Unfortunately, the attitude of his family caused him problems when he preached the gospel and administered in church affairs. Both members and non-members would often note that the rest of Miller's family had apostatized, and they felt that they were either a bad example for the rest of the congregation to see, or caused people to have negative feelings about the missionary effort.

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1 Charles Miller, Diary, p. 14.
2 Ibid.
Another phenomena that was responsible for the loss of members in the branch was due to migration within England. There was considerable movement of members from one branch to another because members were forced to leave Manchester in search of jobs during difficult economic times. There were several comments made on membership records that were devoted to recording the areas where the Saints had moved.

Ultimately, a variety of factors affected the size of the branch at any given time. The branch grew from 1838 until 1852. It had the most members in 1852 when there were 782 Saints. After that, the membership declined rapidly to 166 members by 1857. The drastic drop in the number of baptisms due to negative publicity about polygamy, combined with the many emigrants leaving for the United States are the major reasons for the branch's decline. In addition, some became disaffected with the church, and others moved to other areas of the country. As a result, converts who lived within the branch's boundaries and remained active saw tremendous changes because of the instability of the branch population. They saw many people join and then leave the their congregation for a variety of reasons.
CHAPTER V

THE MANCHESTER BRANCH:
A COMMUNITY WITHIN A CITY

Journals kept by members of the Manchester Branch reveal a great deal about the way in which their religion affected their lives. These journals show the interaction of members of the Mormon community in Manchester and some of the effects membership in the church had upon their social and economic conditions. These records show many parallels between how membership in the Mormon church affected people's lives in the nineteenth century and the effects of membership on people's lives in the twentieth century. The majority of journals that were available for study were written by members who were leaders in the Manchester Branch. (See Appendix A). Consequently, these writings emphasized the things the leaders did as servants of the Lord. Many journals were kept as missionary diaries of local English converts. As a result, much of the church life in Manchester is seen through the eyes of a missionary.

Because converts usually remained in England for at least a couple of years after their baptisms, some of them confronted negative social pressure as a result of their
membership in the Mormon Church. A personal experience is related by James Jepson who was a native of a factory town next to Manchester. Jepson was a worker in a cotton mill. When his employer found out that Jepson had joined the Mormon Church and planned to emigrate to Utah, Jepson was fired. A few weeks later, Jepson passed his former boss on the street. His former employer asked him if he still planned to go to America. Jepson told him that he was still going. His employer then said that he had fired him in order to discourage him from going, but if he was still planning to leave, he could work until he sailed for America.¹

This shows that James Jepson, like many other members of the church, was motivated to live the gospel's teachings, and his actions showed his devotion to the church. However, complacency was a problem among other members. In 1863 George Q. Cannon, the mission president, complained in a letter he wrote to Heber C. Kimball that some members felt it was an honor to have been acquainted with one of the twelve apostles, but that it did not motivate some into doing good works.²

¹Jepson, Journal, p. 5.

Some of the converts had been members of middle class congregations, and it was not a new experience for them to have different religious opinions from those of their working class neighbors who were not active members of any church. However, Mormonism did not have the social sanctions of the more established religions, and members felt greater prejudice against them from family, friends, and social superiors. Mormons lacked respectability in the eyes of the higher classes and conversion sometimes led to social ostracism and loss of employment.

The statements made in the journals of those who joined the church do not mention anti-Mormon literature as a deterrent to their conversions. Nevertheless, some may have been exposed to it, since it was a common method for leaders from some religious sects to discourage their congregations from investigating the Mormon Church. Included in this literature were caricatures intended to represent prominent members of the church as destroying angels clad in skins carrying deadly weapons. Anti-Mormon accounts alleged that more than half the Saints perished on their way to Utah, because of the vast numbers of bears, wolves, and snakes with which the route was infested. In addition, there were rumors about "Priesthood Assassination" and kidnappings of young girls to be added to the harems of wives of the
insatiable polygamists.¹ Also, stories of Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young and their many wives were popular.² The Millennial Star printed an account of a crowd of 1,200 persons outside the Mormon mission house in Sotham witnessing village youths enacting a Mormon wedding to which seven brides rode on donkeys.³ Also, a "yellow back" entitled Female Life among the Mormons sold 34,000 copies by 1855.⁴

The sentiments which public officials had about Mormonism were rarely positive. Brigham Young wrote about an event that occurred on November 8, 1840. The priesthood of the Manchester Branch had the habit of meeting early on Sunday mornings and receiving appointments to preach on the streets. In this way, some forty places in the city were visited by these elders every Sunday. On this particular day, President Young felt impressed to tell the elders not to go out, but to return home instead. Had they gone out, they would have been arrested, as the mayor of the city had given an order that all street preachers were to be placed under arrest on that day. The police took up about

¹Ibid., p. 82.


³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.
twenty, who all proved to be Methodists. "Since they were not Mormons, they were dismissed."¹

These examples illustrate that the native Manchester Mormons experienced some unfavorable reactions from their social superiors and peers because of their membership in the church. However, there were also times when the Mormons were too impetuous in attempting to prove the truth of Mormonism. They sometimes put themselves in positions that made them vulnerable to criticism. William Clayton was concerned with one brother's actions and took two opportunities to caution him. On January 28, 1840, Clayton wrote, "Spoke to Brother Berry about talking against the sectarians." The next day he again noted that he "spoke to Brother Berry this A. M. about being rash in his preaching — speaking of sects, etc."²

Another brother, James Mahoon, foolishly accepted a challenge to speak in tongues. When, on October 1, 1840 he attempted to perform in public, he failed. The critics of the Mormons reported his failures:

The Mormon missionaries and disciples in Manchester claimed to possess "the gift of tongues," and one of them was put to the test, 12th October. Elder James Mahoon having declared to Mr. Thomas Taylor, of the Mason Street Sawmills, that he was willing to appear before anyone who might be selected, and convince them of his inspiration, a formal meeting was held. Some Hebrew was read to him which he could not understand.

¹Manchester Branch Historical Record, p. 6.

²Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 123.
He then spoke what he declared to be Hebrew, but the teacher of the languages, who was the referee, declared that there was not a word of Hebrew in his jargon.\(^1\)

William Clayton felt that much of the opposition to the efforts of the missionaries came from Satan. Clayton wrote a letter to Willard Richards in which he said:

We have some mighty opponents and surely Satan is seeking not only to disturb the peace of the Saints, but to destroy the body and spirit also. If my judgment is correct in these things, we are only just beginning to feel the smart.\(^2\)

Because of opposition and the circulation of anti-Mormon literature, Mormon leaders developed the philosophy that it was best to give opponents as little opportunity as possible for criticism of members.

During a general conference held on April 6 - 9, 1844, there were some comments concerning the approach missionaries should use when they were confronted with antagonistic discussion from ministers of opposing sects. Charles Miller, the president of the Manchester conference said that he had been challenged to discussion and had accepted. Apparently, other elders attending the conference did not think that was a wise decision. Elder Ward made some remarks. He felt that little was accomplished in general by such discussions, "and that it was beneath the


\(^2\)Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 25.
servants of God to turn aside from the path of duty to wrangle and dispute like people of the world." Elder Hedlock, the presiding officer of the conference, agreed with Elder Ward and stated that it was "in perfect accordance with the advice of the First Presidency." ¹

Later, George Q. Cannon, British Mission president in 1863, discouraged debating the gospel with antagonists. He explained in a circular to all the presiding elders throughout the mission:

"...My teaching to the Elders and Saints have been, not to descend from the dignity of their positions, to argue and hold controversy, neither with the Devil nor with those filled with his spirit. Nothing can be gained, I have told them, by reasoning with apostates, men who have known the truth and denied it and forfeited the Spirit of the Lord and yielded themselves up to the Spirit of the Evil One." ²

In spite opposition from local citizens and ex-Mormons, the Manchester Saints derived comfort from the comradeship they felt from fellow members. These feelings helped to alleviate some of the isolation some may have experienced in a large and impersonal city. As a result, meetings were important to the converts after the branch was established.

Members frequently met together in small groups. The branch was divided up into small districts that met

¹Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 6, p. 329.
together in different locations throughout the city.1 These groups met on Sundays and also other days of the week, not only for religious instruction, but for self-improvement. According to John Druce, the Poland street room was open on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings for reading, writing, and arithmetic.2 Map 1 shows the location of meeting districts of the Manchester Branch in 1860. It also designates other important meeting places. The map illustrates the fact that instead of members meeting in one central location for regular church meetings, the city was divided into districts and meetings were held in each district in spite of the small membership. At that time there were fifteen districts with fifteen district presidents. In addition to the district presidents, there was a branch president, James Walker, his two counselors, James Newton and John Allsop, and a secretary, James Johnson.

James Newton, who was First Counselor to James Walker, President of the Manchester Branch in 1848, wrote that there were about 700 members who were divided up into 14 districts. He related that,

i had to visit them as often as i could so that i was at some meeting every night in the week. ...i preached the gospel many times publick in Manchester streets, also rooms and Halls.3

1Druce, Journal, p. 28.
2Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 67.
3Newton, Journal, p. 11.
Map 1. Location of meeting districts and other meeting places in Manchester. Map 1 shows the location of the meeting districts of the Manchester Branch and other important meeting places. Each dot represents a district. Instead of members meeting in one central location for regular church meetings, it appears that the city was divided into districts and meetings were held in each district in spite of the small membership, (Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 67). As of 1860, there were fifteen districts each with a district president. Eleven are shown, as the remaining four could not be located on the Manchester map. The branch presidency, which included President James Walker with counselors James Newton and John Allsop, presided over the several district presidencies.

--- Millenial Star Office
A: Branch Hall
B: Haywards Hotel
C: Mechanics Institute
D: Pollard St. Gym
E: Corn Exchange

--- Carpenters Hall

--- District Meeting Places
in 1850
Church leaders may have hoped that these meetings would attract investigators who could later be taught the gospel. However, those kinds of meetings were usually attended by active members only.

When the American elders first came to Manchester, they attempted to get permission to be guests at the meetings of established churches. Their efforts failed. Finally they were able to hold a meeting in a shop's cellar at Paul Harris's, a shoemaking establishment. Although this was not a prestigious place to hold a meeting, their efforts were fruitful. At least one person was moved by what he heard. Paul Harris, the host, joined the church.¹ There must have been many other similar meetings at homes and small rooms. However, the missionaries concentrated their efforts in procuring places where they could reach a large number of people at one time.

The Mormons later leased Carpenter's Hall in Manchester and advertised its meetings on handbills and by word of mouth. The meetings held in the hall were attended by both members and nonmembers. This was an ideal place to meet because Carpenter's Hall seated two thousand people at the cost of two pounds per meeting. According to John

Needham, a convert, "it was a large commodious place with a
gallery at each end."\(^1\)

William Clayton first procured use of the building
for the mission conference that was held on June 21, 1840,
because the conference, which was to be held at Temperance
Hall (the Cock Pit) in Preston was not large enough, due to
the rapid growth of the mission. Brigham Young and Parley
P. Pratt preached at the hall for the first time at that
conference. From that time on, regular meetings were held
there. Rental was five hundred dollars per year. The hall
was located on Garratt Road.\(^2\)

Other meeting places which accommodated Mormon con-
gregations for their more important meetings were the New
Corn Exchange, and a meeting room in Hayward's Hotel on
Ridge Street.\(^3\) The Saints also met in the Manchester Tempe-
rance Hall. In almost every place where the missionaries
went, they were able to use the local temperance halls
because of the Mormons' emphasis on abstinence.\(^4\) The use of
public buildings for Church meetings was readily accepted.

Also, the emphasis among the Saints in England at that

\(^1\)Needham, Journal, p. 13.

\(^2\)Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons*,
pp. 162, 166.

Vol. 5, p.418.

time was to emigrate to Utah, and permanent church buildings were incompatible with the church's policy for the Saints to gather to Zion.

Street meetings were another way in which missionaries made contact with many people in a short period of time. In this way about forty places in the city were visited every Sunday. This method appeared to be successful in attracting some converts. Rachael Robinson, the wife of George Robinson, joined the church "after having been prompted to attend a meeting while passing along the street." Her husband also became a staunch member, and the family emigrated in 1846.

Baptismal services were used as meetings to preach the gospel. In March, 1840, Charles Miller recorded,

... I went to the river, Irwell, and baptized four brethren. My heart was full of the spirit of God. I then preached on the bank to hundred assembled full of the spirit of mine office. . . ."  

George Morris was baptized at Staley Bridge on June 28, 1841. Apparently John Druce also used these occasions for preaching because he mentions speaking at both Staley

---

1Manchester Branch Historical Record, p. 12.
2Robinson, "Autobiography."
3Charles Miller, Diary, p. 18.
Bridge and Cumpstall Bridge.¹ These baptismal services in the openair were novel sights to most Englishmen. The only major English sect that baptized its members by immersion was the Baptist Church. They generally had fonts in their chapels and performed the ordinance privately. Mormon baptisms attracted crowds which gave the missionaries opportunities to preach the gospel.²

In addition to formal missionary contacts, many persons were converted by members of their families. John Needham was responsible for his cousins' baptisms. John Druce traveled to London to preach the gospel to his parents, and John Needham baptized his father after he emigrated to America.³

The Mormons gave many members the opportunity of becoming leaders because there was no formally trained and paid clergy. Preaching, missionary work, and church administration all had to be done by the convert members. The American apostles and elders usually "called" the local members to serve in leadership positions. Missionaries were supported by church members during their service, but there were no professional paid ministers. Both missionaries and other members preached at the church meetings. This was

¹Druce Journal, p. 28.
²Evans, A Century of Mormonism, p. 32.
much different from the other denominations that were in England where leadership came primarily from the middle and upper classes. Therefore, many members had opportunities for leadership that they would not have experienced anywhere else. Members participated in many of the decisions of the branch, and may have felt that they were contributing members of the organization. For example Charles Miller, branch President in 1843, was a shoemaker, and John Druce, an engraver, was president in 1844. Their social status would not have allowed them to have leadership positions in middle class congregations. However, both were artisans, which gave them a higher social status than working class members.

Members and leaders were buoyed up by conferences which were held in Manchester where representatives of the branches from all over the country were invited. Meetings were usually held three times a day, and instructions were given to unify the church and its policies. John Needham listed the speakers at a conference he attended. According to his notes, Elder Woodruff preached in the morning. The sacrament was administered in the afternoon, and Elders Clark, Hedlock, Coroon, and others addressed the meeting. In the evening, Elder Coroon preached again. Because there were so many members who visited the city during these
conferences, it was often difficult for them to find places to stay which they could afford. So members of the branch often hosted the visiting elders. John Needham wrote:

... There was a great cry for beds as there were many officers from different parts of England. So I started out in search of beds, but was not very successful. I went and slept at Sister Kate's with an Elder from America.¹

In spite of the problems of housing extra guests, most members enjoyed these times because it gave them the opportunity to visit with each other and to get acquainted with the apostles and other prominent missionaries from America whom they respected. During one of these conferences, John Needham wrote about an excursion he took with the apostles:

I went to the zoological gardens with Elders Brigham Young, Smith, Kimball, Richards, Pratt, Turley and Clayton. We enjoyed ourselves very much. The monkeys were playful and would take anything out of our hands without seeming afraid. We had some refreshment together in the garden. The brethren seemed to rejoice together, as it was some time since so many of the Quorum met together to enjoy one another's company.²

George Halliday, a visiting elder from another district, described the meetings as "happy reunions." After the meetings he went to Belvue Gardens. He wrote:

¹Needham, Journal, p. 35.
²Ibid., p. 36.
...it was a splendid sight. Next day went to New Park and enjoyed a kind of amusement...In the afternoon we went to the museum and then took tea and from there to the theater and saw King Richard, the Third plaid.\footnote{George Halliday, Journal, BYU, Provo, Utah, p. 58. (hereafter cited as Halliday, Journal).}

There were also other social occasions. Charles Miller and John Druce both noted attending socials and tea parties. John Needham described a party at the Hardmans.

...I went to Mother Hardman's where several brethren and sisters had met to join in a feast of pancakes. The serving was quite new to me and Brother Clift. We had to turn our own cakes, but unfortunately some went on the floor. We had plenty of -- -- -- to wipe our mouth and give us water. We sang a hymn and the seventies, Brother Clift, and myself went to Brother Beaches again.\footnote{Needham, Journal, p. 20.}

Instances where members needed help from one another were probably just as common, if not more common than social occasions. William Clayton wrote constantly about the sick members of the branch. Entries like these were common:

...Went to see Brother Burgess child. Very sick. Not likely to recover...Brother Green rather sick. Alice Hardman sick...Been to see Paul Harris -- sick...Went to see Brother Burgess. Very sick...Was called this A. M. at 3 o'clock to Sister Dea. I found her very ill -- insensible. Prayed with her and she appeared better.\footnote{Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, pp. 56, 93, 94, and 113.}

Manchester Mormons were human, and the Saints displayed their weaknesses in a variety of ways. William Clayton was constantly confronted with members who relied on
him to help and counsel them. Typical problems included family quarrels, petty jealousies, financial difficulties, arguments between members of the branch, and unexemplary public conduct of some members of the church. Clayton's faithful recording of all these difficulties leaves today's reader with an intimate insight into the lives of the members of the church in Manchester.¹ On January 2, 1840, Clayton wrote a letter to Joseph Fielding. In it, Clayton reported some of the personal problems of the members:

... John Walker has been getting drunk again. Sister Holden has been falling out and scolding Sister Battersby on account of some tales which D. Poole had told her and I suppose she believes Poole. No very good sign. Sister Ann Jackson is just telling me the old grievance between Elizabeth Prince and her sister, Maryann, has all but turned out again and they are both for leaving the Church...²

These types of problems were common. All through Clayton's journal are similar entries. Some other examples are:

... Sarah has been impudent and saucy with her mother... Called at Brother Paul's. Find him much grieved at Brother Jackson's conduct. It seems Brother Jackson has spoken false concerning him... I was much grieved at the Church for being talking and confused just before meeting time... After meeting I told Barlow what we had heard of him going to the churches and telling falsehood. He denied telling falsehood and promised to go no more to the churches... Sister Jackson drunk.³

¹Ibid., p. 51.
²Ibid., p. 66.
The list could continue with many other similar examples. It is sufficient to note that the range of problems was wide and that some were easily solved, and others were more difficult.

Some of these problems faced by members of the church in Manchester were related to their membership in the church, and some were problems that would have befallen them whether they belonged to the church or not. These problems spanned every aspect of their lives - social, environmental, economic, moral, and physical - and while the church could not solve many of these problems, it could help with some.

Many converts made social and economic sacrifices when joining the church. Among these were William Clayton, John Druce and Edward Robinson. William Clayton, who was a clerk before his baptism, moved from the middle class into a church whose membership was comprised of mostly working class people. He also gave up his livelihood as a clerk and left his family in care of his in-laws while he performed church service. John Druce, an engraver, was a skilled artisan and although he worked with his hands, made a good living which seemed to be above the average for the Manchester Saints. Edward Robinson, a railroad conductor, had such a comfortable living in Manchester that his wife had a difficult time persuading him to emigrate to America. Converts, such as Druce and Robinson, made sacrifices for
their religious beliefs when they gave up their comfortable financial situations to begin over again in America.¹

Some converts may have found greater economic and social advantages by joining the church. An example of such a convert was Richard Daniels Brown who was in dire financial circumstances when he joined the church.² While these circumstances did not change for him particularly while he was in Manchester, through the help of the church he was able to migrate to America where he had new opportunities for economic and social mobility.

Even though there were often advantages afforded to the converts through their membership, many also had problems because of their membership, such as family and social ostracism, and sometimes, loss of economic and employment opportunities. Other problems such as illness, death, social, and moral matters, while not caused by church membership, were often ameliorated or otherwise addressed by the church. For example, leaders tried to advise those with problems, sometimes disciplined members through church courts, and made efforts to alleviate difficult economic circumstances when the church had the means to help.

Because the Mormon Church entered into all facets of the Manchester converts' lives, many members were cemented

¹Druce, Journal; Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, and Edward Robinson, Autobiography.

²Holland, Thomas Daniels Brown, p. 25.
together in a bond of religion which transcended their social and economic differences. They also were bonded by their religious beliefs to the American missionaries and to the rest of the body of the church. The spirit of the Manchester Saints might best be expressed by one of its leaders, William Clayton, in his example of service in the Manchester Branch, and in these words of his hymn, "Come, come, ye Saints no toil nor labor fear; But with joy wend your way."
CHAPTER VI

THE CONVERTS

In many ways, the Manchester Branch was a typical cross section of the population of Manchester. The branch records contain information about the converts that help draw a picture of the structure of the branch. These records contain information about the converts' birth dates, places of birth, and places of baptism. This data reveals some facts about the age and sex structure and also provides information about emigration patterns within the country. Table 13 shows the members' years of birth and the proportion of males in relationship to females. Table 14 shows the age of members at the time they were baptized. These statistics indicate that there was a higher percentage of females than males, and that most members were baptized when they were in their twenties or early thirties. Although most converts joined the church as young adults, there was also a high proportion of children under fourteen and a substantial number of middle aged and older people. These statistics reflect the same trends as the general population.1

1Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 31.
TABLE 13

YEAR OF BIRTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760 - 1764</td>
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<tr>
<td>1765 - 1769</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1770 - 1774</td>
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<td>.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790 - 1794</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795 - 1799</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 - 1804</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805 - 1809</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810 - 1814</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815 - 1819</td>
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<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>1840 - 1844</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>355</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</table>

SOURCE: Manchester Branch "Record of Members," Microfilm Serial No. 13656; Part 3, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. (hereafter cited as Manchester Branch, "Records"

During this same time period, England, as well as the Manchester Branch had a higher percentage of females than males. According to one study, during the period between 1600 and 1900, boys exceeded girls in the age range of 0 - 12. Thereafter, females predominated. For example,
in 1821, males age 0 - 15 exceeded females by 76,500, i.e. 1 and 1/2 percent of that age range. From 15 - 40, the balance was dramatically reversed with 309,700 more females than males. This preponderance of females was maintained in the upper levels of the age structure. This pattern existed from 1801 and varied slightly throughout the nineteenth century.\(^1\)

**TABLE 14**

**AGE AT BAPTISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
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<td>12.5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>55 - 59</td>
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<td>2.4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total . . . . 289 100.0 355 100.0

**SOURCE:** Manchester Branch, "Records."

\(^1\)Rogers, *Approaches to Local History*, p. 31.
This trend was even more noticeable in the expanding industrial cities. This was because young adults were overrepresented among the migrants. For women, marriage was a major attraction of urban life in spite of the fact that the sex ratio was unfavorable to women. Even though there were more women than men in most towns, marriage prospects were still greater in the urban areas. This may have been because there was a lack of parental and traditional religious constraints, or it may have been because more women were wage earners. Since maximum earnings were attained early in adult life, there was no real reason to delay marriage. As a result, people married younger in urban areas than they did in rural areas.\(^1\)

The population of England in the nineteenth century was also relatively young because of a rapidly growing population due to a high birth rate. Therefore, it is likely that each age group successively exceeded the one older than itself, although the proportion of various groups clearly fluctuated as the expectation of life varied. Tables 6 and 7, which represent the Manchester Mormon population also show a similar trend.\(^2\)

Data recorded on the branch records gives a fairly accurate picture of the age and sex structure of the branch.

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1Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, pp. 42, 43.

2Rogers, *Approaches to Local History*, p. 31.
However, statistics that reveal the family structure of the converts were more difficult to obtain.\(^1\) Nevertheless, there is some information available that does lead to tentative conclusions about the family structure of the branch.

First, the marriage rates were examined. The imbalance of males to females and the way this affected marriage rates in England and Wales is only now being examined by scholars. It has been suggested that in the 1870's, 26 to 28 percent of the marriageable women never married. Obviously, the marriage rate was not favorable for a substantial number of women in the nineteenth century due to the disproportion of women in relation to men.\(^2\)

Branch records do not show the members' marital status. Therefore, it was not possible to get an entirely accurate statistic for members who were married and those who remained single as adults. However, a rough idea was derived by James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander in their study of the Manchester Branch during the first three years of the branch's existence. According to their study, there

\(^1\)Genealogical sources such as family group sheets record enough information about families to reveal family structure. The problem with the data is its selectiveness because it only represents the families who emigrated to America and later submitted their family records to the church's genealogical society. These records were used to identify some general trends later in this study.

\(^2\)Rogers, *Approaches to Local History*, p. 22.
were 112 men and 146 women who were listed on the records for this period. It was difficult to ascertain who was married, but an estimate was arrived at by counting the number of men and women with the same name who lived at the same address. They also took into account the possibility that many of these may have been brothers and sisters. It was estimated by Allen and Alexander that there were probably about twenty-six married couples in the branch.\(^1\)

However, this statistic does not take into account members who were married, but had a spouse who did not join the church. Branch records would not have noted such couples. Therefore, there is not enough evidence to attempt to determine the percentage of adults who remained single when they reached a marriageable age, and no conclusions regarding this matter can be made in this thesis because the sources used do not provide this kind of information. Nevertheless, if Mormon statistics reflect the same trends as the rest of the country's population, there would have been a rather large number of the Branch's population that would have been single when they joined the church, due to the fact that branch records show that many were young when they were baptized and that there were more women than men.

In England, the general trends in the size of families and marriageable ages suggest that the average

\(^1\)Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons*, p. 22.
family (which, of course, is somewhat smaller than the average household, due to the many boarders which shared lodgings with families) remained at a more or less static size of four and one-half persons throughout the early nineteenth century. But this national average conceals the true size of families with children, which was about 70 percent of all households. By the nineteenth century most families with children averaged seven and one-half persons per household. Of course, there were regional and social variations.1

Mormon families also appeared to be larger than the average. Data recorded on family group sheets showed that married couples often had more than four children. For example, Alfred and Mary Ann Lamp had eleven children, William and Malinda Barton had six children, the Batemans had five, and the Browns had thirteen.2

There were only sixteen families with group records available that could be identified as belonging to members of the Manchester Branch. All of these families later emigrated to Utah and had either given birth to all their children in England before they left or started their families in England and completed them in the United States.

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1Rogers, Approaches to Local History, p. 32.

2Family Group Records, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
This is a small sample of the families in the Branch, but it is interesting to note the average number of persons per household was nine. The average number of children was seven.¹

Because converts joined the Church in family groups (as shown in tables 10 and 11), and the age and sex structure followed the general population trends of early industrialized cities in England during the Victorian era, it is plausible to assume that the Mormon congregation was representative of a cross section of the city's working class citizenry in regards to sex and age distribution. These same statistics also indicate that the Manchester Branch was also typical of many other Mormon congregations throughout England.

A New York reporter who wrote an article about the English emigrant parties who came from England to travel to the Mormon Zion described the converts:

¹Ibid. The group sheets cannot be relied upon to give a fair statistical accounting of all the families in the Branch because the groups sheets were limited to the families who had their genealogical records sent to Salt Lake City to be in the Mormon Church's permanent file. This would exclude any families who did not submit their records. Those who did submit their genealogical information would probably be those families who emigrated to America and remained active in the church. Despite these facts, the group sheets do show that many members of the branch did come from large families. The group sheets also show trends, however, they cannot be relied upon as a representative data base, because the families are not randomly selected. The collected group sheets are subject to the bias that they only represent families who had members who remained active in the church and emigrated to America.
We were informed that it is not infrequent for whole families, from the little nursling in the first stages of infant weakness to the oldest member of the generation, to embark on these pilgrimages. Indeed, some must have embarked with no wider hope than of dying in Zion.  

His observation seems to be accurate of many Mormon congregations, including the Manchester Branch, during the last half of the nineteenth century.

The branch records also reveal the birth places and baptismal places of the converts (tables 8 and 15). The data demonstrates that the majority of Mormons, like the rest of the inhabitants of Manchester emigrated there from other areas of England. According to the official census taken in England in 1851, only 28 percent of the population of Manchester were natives of that city. Most Mormons, like the rest of the inhabitants of the city were not natives. Thirty-six percent of the Mormons were born in Manchester. This is a slightly higher percentage than the rest of the citizens, due to the slightly younger structure of the Mormon population. People who were not natives of the city, members and nonmembers alike, primarily came from nearby surrounding industrial and rural areas. They usually came from the local towns of Lancashire and the neighboring counties of Cheshire and Yorkshire. (See table 15.) The most noticeable difference between the Mormon

---

1Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, p. 50.

TABLE 15

CONVERTS' PLACE OF BIRTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>181</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheshire</td>
<td>43</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Yorkshire</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ireland</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwickshire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glostershire.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jersey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somersetshire</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicestershire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampshire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckshire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devonshire</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Man.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Manchester Branch, "Records."

*Figure of members from Lancashire do not include the City of Manchester. Manchester is treated separately since the largest percentage of members were born within the city limits.*
congregation and the rest of the city is the percentage of Irish. Only 3 percent of the branch members were Irish in comparison to the 13 percent of Irish living in Manchester in 1851. The Irish were probably not attracted to the Mormon Church because of the social and religious distinctiveness which set them apart from the English working classes. Generally the Irish were Catholic, poorer than the average English laborer, spoke a different dialect, and as a result, lived, ate, and dressed differently.

The primary reason for migration to Manchester was economic. Manchester was described in Chapter III as the chief emporium of the cotton trade and the most extensive manufacturing town in England. People were attracted to it because of opportunities for employment.

Migration of this kind seems at first odd, with men and women, some with families, uprooting themselves and moving away from kin and friends. Since most of this movement appears to have been to towns offering similar residential and employment opportunities. In fact, however, while some of this migration did occur in good times, most of it was forced on these people by unemployment during depressions. For example, William Barton, a branch member had lived in Carlisle, where his father was a printer. The business failed so the family moved to Manchester. They

1Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p. 35.
lived in the city for one year and then moved to Sunnyside, just a few miles from Manchester. After they lived in that town for about eight months, they moved back to Manchester where the children could get employment.¹

Richard Daniels Brown also moved to Manchester for similar reasons. He was a dresser in Wigan, near Manchester. He lost his job because of failing eyesight and moved to Manchester to get a job in the cotton mills.²

Joseph Eckersley also moved several miles from his home town, Eccles, to Manchester were he found a job at the Warwick sewing machine factory.³

The information about birth places recorded in the branch records made it possible to find out some details about the types of communities from which migrants had come. This seems important because of its possible effects on the ease in which the migrants might have adapted to Manchester.

In this study, the birthplace of each member who immigrated to Manchester was recorded and plotted on a map of the British Isles. The birth places are plotted on Maps 2 and 3. The 394 migrants whose birthplaces could be identified had been born in 31 different places. For each

¹William Barton, "Dairy," HDC, Salt Lake City, Utah. (hereafter cited as William Barton, Diary).

²Holland, Thomas Daniels Brown. p. 44.

migrant, the distance from town to birth place was then estimated. These findings show that most migration was of short distance. Most had come less than ten or twenty miles, and only a few were more than fifty miles from their birth places. In fact, most came from surrounding industrial areas near Manchester. (See table 16).

Thus, given that many people during that time were not daunted by the prospect of a walk of twenty miles in a day, the possibility of at least intermittent contact with friends and family at their birthplaces would have been open to the majority of the migrant population. A small percentage had come so far that even occasional contact presented special difficulties.¹ In the cases where there was still family at home, most members who lived close enough to visit became active missionaries to their families and friends. Often, they were successful in converting them. As a result, the church in branches in the towns surrounding Manchester also grew very rapidly and the Manchester Conference was the largest conference in Great Britain for many years.

¹Michael Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 37. Anderson's model for plotting the population's birthplace and economic profile of the communities was used as a model for this study.
Map 2. Birthplaces of converts born in Lancashire.

SOURCES: Map - Family and Local History Department, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
Birthplace locations - Manchester Branch Record of Members.

SOURCE: Birthplaces were extracted from the Manchester Branch Record of Members, 1860, Microfilm Serial No. 13656, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
MAP OF ENGLAND AND WALES
TABLE 16

TYPE OF COMMUNITY: ECONOMIC PROFILE OF CONVERTS'

BIRTHPLACES FOR MEMBERS BORN IN LANCASHIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth:</th>
<th>Type of Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire Born Mormons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manchester (town)</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial villages</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other towns</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                     | 401             |

Community Definitions:

Towns: Places with populations exceeding 5,000 in 1841.

Industrial Villages: All villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants that were described as manufacture being the principle business of the village.

Mixed Villages: Places where both agriculture and industry were mentioned as principle occupations of the inhabitants.

Agriculture Villages: Locations where only agriculture was noted as the occupation of the villagers.

NOTE: The communities are classified according to the same specifications as those in Michael Anderson's, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire. (Pages, 37-38). Samuel Lewis's Topical Dictionary was consulted to determine what category the Mormons' birthplaces belonged.

Data on birthplaces made it possible to find out some details about the type of community from which the migrants had come. This is important because of its possible effect on the ease with which different groups of the population might adapt to urban life. (Anderson, p. 37)

The most noticeable feature of this table is the large proportion of migrants that were born in towns. Over 50 percent were born in Manchester and therefore, were not immigrants and did not have to make an adjustment of moving from their places of birth. In addition, another 25 percent were born in towns of over 5,000. Thus, the shock of moving would not have been as great for those who moved from nearby cities than those who had moved from villages and agricultural communities. The majority of converts who were born outside of Lancashire also came from large towns of over 5,000 inhabitants. Of the 244 converts who were in this category, 110 were born in towns. The migration pattern of the Mormon converts is very similar to those of the majority of the population. (See Anderson, Family Structure, page 38.)
Although the entire structure of the Manchester Branch cannot be totally analyzed, due to limited data and the scope of this study, there are several identifiable characteristics of the branch. First, the largest percentage of members were young adults. However, there was also a substantial number of fairly large families. Most members had at least one other family member join the church, so that they had some family support when they were baptized. In addition, the majority of converts were not natives of Manchester, but were migrants from surrounding areas. Manchester Mormons, as a prototype of the Mormon community, had a similar occupation and class structure compared with Mormons cited in studies done by P. A. M. Taylor and Malcolm Thorp.¹

According to Taylor, the greatest places for success for Mormonism were in industrialized cities. Forty-two percent of the convert immigrants Taylor studied came from urban areas where the population was in excess of 50,000 according to the 1851 census, and nearly 75 percent were from towns of 10,000 or more. Taylor also studied the occupations of the immigrants. He discovered that the majority were manual laborers, and that only 11 percent were classified as being members of the middle and upper

classes. As seen in table 17, Taylor's statistics closely resemble the profile of the Manchester Mormons. Malcolm Thorp's study of the religious backgrounds of the converts also reveals that the members he studied were predominately from the working classes. In Thorp's study, based on evidence from literary sources, 29.5 percent of the 207 converts surveyed were from the middle and lower middle classes. The rest of the converts were classified as either artisans or working class people. (See table 18)

Governor Arthur L. Thomas, an American politician wrote about the Mormon immigrants who came to America. He stated that, "...for a long time the bulk of their converts have come from the lower classes of England and Scandinavian countries and they are yearly brought over by the ship loads."

George Bancroft perpetuated similar observations. In one of his negatively biased essays he wrote:

It may be stated in general terms that the success of Mormon evangelism has been the most pronounced in countries where the climate is harsh, where wages are low, and the conditions of life severe, where there are illiterate men and women, prone to superstition and fanaticism.

---

1Ibid.
2Ibid.
3Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah. (San Francisco, 1890), p. 413.
4Ibid.
TABLE 17

OCCUPATIONS OF MORMON EMIGRANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Men</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks, etc.</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Middle Class</td>
<td>11.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Workers</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>14.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick and Stone Workers</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters, etc.</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal and Engineering Workers</td>
<td>10.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot and Shoe Workers</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Workers</td>
<td>9.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Workers</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Laborers</td>
<td>21.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>11.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Working Class</td>
<td>88.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Middle and Working Classes</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE 18

CLASS STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH CONVERTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{a}\)Table condensed from Thorp's original figures.
A similar statement was made in Congress in 1887. Consequently many American congressmen felt that the large number of Mormon English immigrants were a menace, because of their ignorant loyalty to the Mormon Church and its abominable institutions. However, there were also favorable comments about the quality of people who journeyed to Utah. William Chandless, who crossed the plains in 1855 as a teamster in a cattle train, had the opportunity for intimate acquaintance with a Mormon caravan. He referred to its members as:

...good plain honest sort of people, simple minded, but not fools, not yet altogether uneducated; an omnium gatherum from half a dozen nations, containing many excellent artisans and some trades people along with a large number of mere laborers and some few men of talent and cultivation.¹

Unfortunately, the existing records do not reveal the various occupations of all the members in the branch. However, some members did mention their jobs and the jobs of others in their journals. From these records, seventeen different occupations are identified. (See table 19)

All of the members surveyed worked with their hands. The only exception was William Clayton, the Branch President. Clayton had been a clerk prior to giving his time and talents over to the ministry. He was probably lower middle class, and was socially different from the majority of members.

¹Ibid. p. 242.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Charles Ramsden</td>
<td>Factory operative in cotton and glass works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. William Barton</td>
<td>Factory operative in cotton factory, dyeing, printing works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thomas Bateman</td>
<td>Bricklayer &quot;in good circumstance&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. James Bewshaw</td>
<td>Coachman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. James Burgess</td>
<td>Joiner and stayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Richard Daniels</td>
<td>Weaver, dresser, and cotton operative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Thomas Daniels</td>
<td>Cotton factory operative and coach painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. John Druce</td>
<td>Baker and engraver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Joseph Eckersley</td>
<td>Apprentice at gas engine factory, coal miner, and cotton factory operative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Paul Harris</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. William Harrison</td>
<td>Glass blower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. James Lee</td>
<td>Clerk and Steward of an Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Charles Miller</td>
<td>Manager of shoe and clog business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. George Morris</td>
<td>Gardener, coal miner, cotton factory operative, shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mary Lois Walker</td>
<td>Milliner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. John Needham</td>
<td>Apprentice draper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Edward Robinson</td>
<td>Footman for the gentry and railway conductor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Journals and diaries of the members listed. See Appendix A.
The occupations of the branch members indicate that Manchester Mormons were typical of the many British converts who joined the church in the nineteenth century. These people were quite different from the typical American converts who were usually from the rural areas of New England, and almost never came from the urban areas of the United States.¹ This is not to say that American Mormons were "frontiersmen," but only that their orientation was not urban because America had not yet industrialized.

Manchester Mormons, unlike most American converts, were urban laborers. During the Victorian period in England, the percentage of working class people was much larger than the percentage of members of the middle and upper classes, and as a result it was easy to completely separate the classes. The distinguishing mark was made by occupation. Those who earned a living with their hands did not associate with those who did not.

The middle and upper classes were careful to maintain their own identities from the working men who were manual laborers. They did this by distinguishing themselves

by the way they dressed, spoke, ate, and lived.\footnote{1} Urbanization seemed to further accentuate the differences because in cities workers were segregated into districts that divided them from middle and upper class neighborhoods.

In the eyes of some, the working classes were not respectable. This attitude is exemplified in a statement made by the manager of the Great Eastern Railway when he defended his company's policy that discouraged the working class passengers from mixing with "superiors":

Of a afternoon when our city trains are going out between 5 and 6 o'clock . . . they are filled with well-to-do city men and their wives and daughters, and it is not an agreeable thing for them to hob-nob with these working men, excellent men perhaps, in their walks of life, but the language they use is very offensive to most people. Again they have a rough, boisterous way about them; it is difficult perhaps to say that it is wrong; it is natural to them. But it is very annoying, indeed, to a large section of our passengers.\footnote{2}

Because of social pressures, the members must have been conscious of differences between classes. No matter how skilled workers were, or how high their earnings, their social status was determined by the kind of work they performed.


\footnote{2}{Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers, 1884-1885, Vol. XXX, "Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes," (as cited by MacLeod in "Class, Community, and Region," p. 154.)}
Naturally, jobs also determined pay, and consequently, housing, food, and clothing were dictated by what was affordable. For example, within the working classes, men usually wore shirts made of bleached or colored cotton cloth. Their trousers were made either of fustian, or some other heavy cotton cloth. Overcoats and jackets were made from the same material. Gentlemen, on the other hand, wore suits made from woolen cloth, and the term, broadcloth, was used to designate middle class clothing.¹

The differences between women's clothing were equally as great. One example of tension created by class within the branch was related to the clothing that Jennetta Richards wore. Because most members wore the working class garb made of the coarse cottons, just described, Jennetta stood out as being different. She was a daughter of a middle class minister and had married Willard Richards, an American apostle. Because of her background, she was used to wearing fine clothing. A considerable amount of dissension was created in the branch over this. She was criticized for wearing clothing that seemed too fine for a wife of someone devoted to full time church service. In her defense, it was pointed out that, being in ill health, she wore a muff to protect herself in cold weather.² Her

¹Harrison, The Early Victorians, p. 29.
²Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 97.
illness seems to have been genuine. John Needham noted Sister Richard's ill health in his journal:

...in the morning I went to meet Sister Richards. She was coming from her father's house near Preston. She was very unwell and could not walk. She came on a coach to Manchester. We then engaged a car and went to Carpenter's Hall where conference was held.¹

Nevertheless, to the poverty stricken members, clothing was an issue of class distinction, and for the sake of harmony in the branch, Jennetta Richards wore the poorest clothes she had. This did not soften some of the bitterness, and members criticized her husband, further, for supposedly not leaving her often enough to preach the gospel.²

However, this does not seem to be an uncommon reaction from the working classes over differences in social status. Clothing was the sign that differentiated one class from another. Generally, the working women wore calico shifts or dresses. Clogs and shawls were the standard wear for all. Robert Roberts, a sociologist who was raised in the slums of Salford, recorded an amusing incident related to the dress codes of the day. Although he grew up at the turn of the century, the incident he described was supposed to have taken place sixty years earlier. One of the girls who first defied wearing the traditional working class garb

²Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 97.
was ostracized. Her parents, who urgently needed money, had obtained her a job in weaving where the wages for girls were comparatively good. The family lived, however, in one of the newer suburbs with "parloured houses and small back gardens." To be seen in such a district returning from a mill in clogs and a shawl would have meant instant social demotion for the whole family. She was sent to the weaving shed wearing coat and shoes, and thereby, shocked the whole establishment. Here was a "forward little bitch, getting above herself." So clearly, in fact, did headwear denote class that, in Glasgow, separate clubs existed for "hat girls" and shawl girls."¹

Within the branch, manual workers were distinguished from each other by their receipt of daily or weekly wages, and by the degree of security in their jobs. Some earned good wages. Usually these men were skilled artisans who had steady employment and who had good educations. Others were not in such affluent circumstances and suffered poverty from sporadic employment and low wages.

In such a community each street had a social rating and one side or one end of the street might be classified higher than another. Weekly rents varied depending upon the type of housing. Every family also had a ranking.

Shopkeepers and skilled tradesman were at the top. Clerks and schoolteachers were also included. Next on the social ladder were the skilled, then semi-skilled workers in regular employment, and then, the various grades of unskilled laborers. A person was immediately rated socially by his job. And ultimately, the great social divide was between those who, in earning a living dirtied their hands and faces, and those who did not.¹

Living conditions varied substantially among the members according to the wage earner's occupation. Those who were day laborers or were low paid, lived in the worst areas of towns and in the smallest and most dilapidated housing. The more regular the employment, and higher the wages, the chance for improved living conditions increased. But wherever they lived, the problems of urban living were apparent. Even the better off were not able to get rid of these conditions. They were only able to mitigate them. Thus, there was great diversity among members, even though most of them made their livings with their hands.

Journals of members describe a variety of financial circumstances. Both John Druce and Edward Robinson had good jobs. John Druce was an engraver. He moved from London to Manchester in order to increase his earnings. After living

¹Ibid., pp. 6-7.
in Manchester for five weeks, he was admitted to the trade union and got a job with W. R. & F. W. Enteries. Shortly thereafter, he joined the church. He was a skilled worker and received good wages. He enjoyed a nice standard of living compared with some of the members of the branch.1

Edward Robinson was trained as a footman for the gentry. His job was to drive the coach and care for the horses. When he was twenty-one, he married Mary Smith, who worked as a tutor for the same family for whom Edward worked. Edward and Mary had enough money for their needs, and circumstances improved when Edward was promoted by his employer to be a conductor on the "Rocket," the first train to run in Manchester in 1837. Edward's son described their home as comfortable because his father made "a good salary and had a thrifty wife." After being members of the church for two years, the family left Manchester in 1842.2

Conditions for the family of Richard Daniels Brown were quite different than those of the Edward Robinson family. The Brown's were originally from Wigan, Lancashire, only a few miles from Manchester. In Wigan, Richard was a dresser and weaver. While living there, he and his wife, Margaret, had seven children. Richard lost his job because his eyesight was failing him, and he could not continue his

1Druce, Journal.
2Edward Robinson, Autobiography, pp. 2-5.
trade. He moved to Manchester to work in a cotton mill. It was there that he heard about the church and was baptized. He earned only twelve shillings a week. He felt fortunate to get that job because work was scarce at that time. However, twelve shillings a week was not enough money to support a family, so the children were put to work in the factories as soon as they were old enough to get jobs. Richard's son, Thomas, was listed in the 1851 census as a twelve-year-old factory operative.\(^1\) In the case of the Browns and families like them, the cycle of poverty went like this: as a young single man, Richard was able to earn plenty of money to meet his needs. When he was first married, his wife also worked. Their combined incomes were sufficient for a comfortable life. As children were born, Margaret could no longer work, and the family lived at a subsistence level. By the time Richard was middle aged, his children became young adult wage earners and they helped ease the financial burden.

Intermingled with this cycle were periodic bad times caused by unemployment and sickness. Times were difficult even when there was work, but the family could not save for difficult periods because their wages were so low. In the case of the Brown family, poverty forced them to ask for public charity. Not long after the family had moved to

\(^1\)Holland, Thomas Daniels Brown, pp. 21-42.
Manchester, they suffered intensely from lack of food. The small wage that Richard made did not furnish the most dire essentials, so in December 1841, just five months after Richard was baptized, the family went to the workhouse for help. The county appropriated two shilling, six pence per week. This small amount did little to help. Finally, the officials took the family back to Wigan, the town where Richard and Margaret were born. This was normal procedure because the law mandated that the parishes in which people were born were responsible for poor relief.¹

When the Browns arrived in Wigan, there was no room for them in the parish workhouse, so they were taken to the relief office, but were refused admittance there. Next, they were told to go to the police office. However, Richard insisted that they be able to stay at the relief office just for that night. The reaction of the officials was to have Richard arrested. He was in jail five weeks. Meanwhile, the rest of the family was allowed to stay for one night in the Indley workhouse. The children were then allowed to work half of each day in Manchester, because the law did not permit children under thirteen to work full time. When Richard returned home, he found some of the older children maintaining the family as best they could. The family continued to struggle for a living in England until 1864

¹Ibid., p. 46.
when Richard's son, Thomas, sent the money for his parents, brothers and sister to emigrate to Utah.¹

The Brown family was typical of large families where it was not unusual for children to work and contribute substantially to the family's income. William Barton worked at the River Print Works dye house and earned three shillings a week when he was about ten years old. As he became better skilled, his earnings increased. By the time he was sixteen, he obtained a position in a cotton factory where wages were higher. He worked there for nine months until he badly injured his hand in the factory machinery. There was no compensation from the company that employed him, and he returned to his old job at the print works.²

Joseph Eckersley was also ten years old when he went to work. He worked in the factory a half day and went to school the other half. When he was thirteen, his father died, so Joseph had to begin working full time. He worked from six a.m. to six p.m. at the silk and cotton factory. At the age of sixteen, he changed jobs and was employed at the Warwick Gas Engine Factory in Manchester.³

Charles Miller was nine when he worked at Olberenshaw Hatters, and George Morris was only seven when

¹Ibid., p. 52.
²William Barton, Diary. pp. 2-6.
³Eckersley, Journal, pp. 4-5.
he was hired by a farmer to herd cows. George Harrison was eight years old when he went with his father to work at a glass blowing factory. George's job was to carry articles from the ovens so they could cool off slowly. These children often worked long hours and were not always treated kindly by their employers. George Morris recalled being repeatedly whipped by the farmer who hired him. George Harris wrote that when his foreman was drunk, he beat him.¹

Other children had more pleasant jobs. Mary Walker worked with her mother who made hats. Mary helped with the millinery work. She commented that it was hard to sit all day. However, they worked for "...messrs. John, James, and George Cooper at a large warehouse where they did a big wholesale business. We worked in a large well-lit beautiful room filled with bright, attractive girls.²

The children who worked, and it appears that many did, had varying amounts of education, depending upon their ages when they went to work, and the emphasis parents placed on education. The education of working-class children was dependent on economic considerations. The family economy determined the education children received. Sunday schools


and self-help groups were available, to even the poorest. However, often meager resources demanded a premature end to schooling because the children had to quit school and go to work. Time and again, working class autobiographies described the ending of school days because of economic necessity. Because the opportunity for, and quality of education varied, it is difficult to ascertain the rate of literacy. Nevertheless, scholars have devised some methods for assessing the overall literacy rate in the country. Generally literacy was lower in the newer industrialized towns than in older market towns. In the 1840's it has been estimated that about 50 percent of the women were literate and 66 percent of the men. At least these people could sign their names in a register. However, in Manchester, the statistics may have not been so good. Only 199 of 963 unemployed girls at a sewing school in Manchester could read and write. This seems to point out that industrial change, especially the textile factories and the expansion of out-work, both of which relied extensively on child and young adult labor, retarded the educational development of many people.1

Many of the members of the Manchester Branch were not literate, and many of them asked William Clayton to write letters for them. However, there were others who

1Walvin, English Urban Life, pp. 93-94.
could read and write. Their proficiency was often dependent upon the educational opportunities which they had.

Charles Miller began school when he was five and attended classes for two years. Then he was unable to go to school because of sickness until he was nine. He went back to school when he recovered, but only went for a short time because he started work the same year.¹

George Morris had very little formal education because, in his own words, "there was not enough money for me to go to school, but I loved books and learned to read. I worked to earn money instead of going to school."²

Some children had good educations according to Victorian standards. John Needham went to a select school kept by a Reverend Symson, and according to Needham, "Father gave me good schooling, but I didn't enjoy it." Therefore, when he was fourteen, he was apprenticed to Messrs. Crop and Pierpoint, Drapers.³

Mary Walker had pleasant memories of school. She attended a school taught by two Scottish ladies: "Classes were held in a long, lofty room with a gallery at one end for children to sit in while they were being taught. There

¹Miller, Diary, p. 5.
²George Morris, Autobiography, p. 2.
³Needham, Journal, p. 3.
were pictures of animals pasted on smooth white boards."\(^1\) Academics were not the only subjects taught at this school. Mary also learned to do needle work and to knit.

However, many of the members did not have an opportunity to attend school. Those who did not go to school and did not learn to read and write, obviously could not keep journals. The only evidence that is available concerning the illiteracy of the members is derived from William Clayton's journal. The number of letters which Clayton wrote for church members is a commentary on the degree of illiteracy among the lower classes who were members of the church.\(^2\)

Although William Clayton did not write a great deal about his own economic hardships. The only personal hardship frequently alluded to was sore feet caused by long walks, (i.e., seven to ten miles that probably could have been avoided if he had money for train fare). His journal is filled with descriptions of the economic problems of members in the branch. This may have been due to the fact that he wrote his journal during a time of economic depression.

Clayton wrote about the Lee family who came to Manchester without any money. James and Ann Lee lived in

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\(^1\)Mary Morris, Autobiography, Book 2, p. 2.

\(^2\)Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 115.
Leicester before moving to Manchester. In Leicester, James had been sent by his employer to operate an inn until his master could run it. The Lees found themselves far from other members of the church. Discouraged because his employer was not treating him fairly, by having him stay at the inn longer than they had agreed, the Lees moved to Manchester. When they arrived, a controversy developed over a debt which the Lees supposedly owed their former employer who followed them to Manchester to try to collect.1

Apparently work was often hard to find. In Clayton's January 24, 1840 entry, he mentioned three brethren whose jobs were non-existent or shakey:

... Brother Bateman ... has heard about some work 17 miles from Manchester and wants to know if it will be wisdom to go. He can get little here and I can hardly say, nay. I feel on account of his office ... Brother Walker is much troubled about his situation at work ... Called at Brother Pauls ... He has only little work. But seems humble.2

John Needham described his own hardships in his journal. Neeham was a draper. Mr. Higham, who was his employer in Preston, told him he must stop his association with the Mormons or he would loose his job. Needham continued seeing the Mormons and was baptized. As a result he lost his job. He then moved to Manchester where he found a job with Mr. Hut. However, he lost his new job after a

1Ibid., p. 29.
2Ibid., p. 79.
few months because business was doing poorly due to the depressed economics in Manchester in 1840. He wrote of this experience:

. . . One of the brethren gave me lodging for nothing. I was in great distress of mind. This time as I was out of situation for several months, my clothes began to look shabby and most of my money I had spent on board. I was afraid to write home to my parents lest I make them uneasy. I did not want them to know I had been out of situation so many times.¹

After looking for a job in several nearby towns and cities he found a job in Staffordshire. After working in Staffordshire for awhile, he was called on a full time mission and went to Wales to preach the gospel.

Old age was a difficult time for most people because they were unemployable and were forced to depend on benevolent children or public charity for their support. An example of hard times was the case of the parents of James Jepson. James emigrated to America. His parents, who did not join the church, remained in England. James wrote to them regularly until they grew old. Then he lost touch with them. Finally, he discovered that his parents were unable to pay the rent for their cottage and were evicted. He was never able to find out what happened to them after their eviction.²

¹Ibid., p. 23.

The account of the diverse economic circumstances of Manchester Mormons illustrates how difficult it is to make a composite profile of a typical Mormon converts because there were so many different situations. Even to catagorize that they were mostly from the working class, gives only a partial picture of what their lives were like. It appears that most who joined the church were at least making ends meet economically. However, they lived from day-to-day because of low salaries and the inability to save. They feared difficult sickness, and old age. Therefore, it can be assumed that many suffered extreme poverty during low points in their lives.

During these low points, members tried to help each other the best they could. At that time the church did not have a formal welfare organization, so all aid had to be elicited by sympathetic family, friends, and members of the branch. For example, there was an effort to help Sarah Duckworth and Joseph Millwood at a branch council meeting where members planned for future activities and tried to work out branch problems. On January 7, 1840, it was decided that Sarah Duckworth should go to Brother Jackson's for two weeks and that money should be collected to help Joseph Millwood during his illness.¹

¹Allen and Alexander, Manchester Mormons, p. 70.
Unfortunately, Sarah Duckworth's problems were not easily solved. Sarah and Ann Jackson, Brother Jackson's wife, did not get along well. William Clayton recorded in his journal that:

Sarah Duckworth came and said Brother Jackson's wife told her she must seek other lodgings, etc. I have talked to her about being clean and submissive and try to get something to do. Sister Bewsher says she can lodge with her a little while.¹

Later, a subscription for her was made, and after that, William Clayton made one more entry concerning Sarah Duckworth's problem where he stated:

...Sarah should have lived at Brother Jackson's two weeks, but his wife was not willing. Sarah has been at the Bewshers five days -- But Bewshers could not do with. I had talked with Sister Bewsher about Sarah had no where to go--no bed to sleep on and something must be done immediately. The subscription was to purchase a bed and she might have Mary Ann Johnson's room and the Church pay the whole rent of the house.²

Ultimately the Church could not continue to support her and she spent the last part of her life in a workhouse, a place for the indigent. She died in 1852.³

On several occasions, economic hardship was responsible for strained relationships among members, as noted in the case of Sarah Duckworth. Sister Jackson was reticent to give aid. There were three other cases recorded which

¹Ibid., p. 77.
²Ibid., p. 88.
³Ibid., p. 225.
showed that giving was not always easy, especially when there was nearly nothing to give.

One crisis developed when a certain Brother Owens lent Brother Booth a suit to wear. When Brother Booth came to the meeting, the lender asked Brother Booth why he was not wearing the suit. Booth replied that the sleeves were too long. Finally the truth was dragged out. Booth had pawned the clothes for money.\(^1\)

In another case, Brother Jackson gave Brother Harris six shillings and six pence for leather so that Harris could make Jackson a pair of new shoes. Jackson gave Harris permission to spend one shilling and a half-pence because the Harris's had nothing to eat. However, before he had bought the leather, his wife got sick and he spent the money for subsistence, intending to make the shoes as soon as possible. Harris finally got the leather and made the shoes, but in the meantime, Brother Jackson was guilty of gossiping and word got around about the situation. This caused the leather cutter, a nonmember, to say, "One of your Latter-day Saints has turned Latter-day sinner." In addition, Harris was keeping shop for Jackson. There were some bitter feelings because Jackson expected Harris to work steadily for nineteen to twenty-one hours a day.\(^2\)

\(^{1}\)Ibid., p. 77.

\(^{2}\)Ibid., p. 81.
In the third instance, Clayton wrote about the bad feelings members had when they thought that Brother Davies, the leader of the Cookson Street meeting group, was hinting for money.¹

Unfortunately, because many of the members were living at subsistence level, there were times when they did not have food or money to spare to help other members. Thus, many members in need could not be helped. The 1844 Manchester Branch Historical Record preserved a pathetic plea from a member for help, due to "extreme poverty." He was told by the leadership that the church could not help because of the "extreme poverty" of the branch membership. In a branch council meeting held later in the same year, it was reported that there were many cases of poverty, and some Saints were perishing from lack of food. Members of the council decided it was necessary to take action in order to alleviate some of the problem, so they passed a resolution that Sunday evening collections should be given to those in need.²

The area of town in which the Manchester Mormons lived also indicated that they were working class citizens of the city because they primarily lived in the working

¹Ibid., p. 79.
²Manchester Branch Historical Record. March 8, 1844 and May 24, 1844, HDC, Salt Lake City, Utah.
class districts.¹ (See map 4, Mormon residences in Manchester) According to the branch records, the highest concentration of members lived near the mission office on Oldham Road. This street divided, what was called New Town, from Ancoats. Many lived in New Town which was adjacent on the north side of the city center, but the majority lived in the area south of New Town called Ancoats. (See Figure 2) Friedrich Engels described these districts as he saw them in 1844, just five years after the Manchester Branch was established in 1839:

... The New Town, also known as Irish Town, on the other side of the Old Town, is situated on the clayey oil of the rising ground between River Irk and St. George's Road. (Name was later changed to Rochdale Road.) This district does not give one of the impression that it is part of a big city. The New Town is composed of single rows of houses and groups of streets which might be small villages, lying on the bare clayey soil which does not produce even a blade of grass. The houses, or rather, the cottages - are in a disgraceful state because they are never repaired. They are filthy and beneath them are to be found damp, dirty,

¹The addresses of many members of the Manchester Branch were listed on the branch records. In as many cases as it was possible, the streets of the members' dwellings were located on an 1890 map of the city. These locations were plotted on the map and contemporary descriptions of the makeup of the city were consulted to determine the kinds of neighborhoods in which the converts lived. The 1890 map was used even though it was made later than the 1840's and 1850's when the branch had the most members, because it was the most detailed map available of the city. Nevertheless, it did fulfill its purpose because as the city grew, it expanded outward, rather than removing existing streets and buildings, so that the areas where the members lived would have remained fairly constant in terms of street names and major places.
cellar dwellings; the unpaved alleys lack any form of drainage. The district is infested with small herds of pigs; some of them are penned up in little courts and sties, while others wander freely on the neighbouring hillside. The lanes in this district are so filthy that it is only in the very dry weather that one can reach it without sinking ankle deep at every step. Near St. George's one reaches a maze of lanes, blind alleys and back passages and courts. The nearer one gets to the centre of town, the more closely packed are the houses and the more irregular is the lay-out of the streets. On the other hand, the streets here are often paved or at least have adequate pavements and gutter; but the filth, and the disgusting condition of the houses, particularly the cellars, remains unchanged.

The type of houses in which the workers lived, both in New Town and Ancoats, were row cottages of back alley construction. (Refer to Figure 1, Engel's rendering of working class housing.) These homes were built close together often sharing common walls. Many times there were no windows in the back rooms so no air could escape, except through the front rooms facing the street. Sometimes the front rooms did not have access to an airy street because the doors opened up into an alley or cramped court where garbage was dumped.

The Ancoats district was across the street from New Town. This is where the majority of members lived. Manchester's largest factories were located there. Those manufacturing establishments were six or seven story buildings, and bore slender chimney stacks which towered over the cottages of the workers. Usually they were built along

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Map 4. Mormon Residencies in Manchester. Map 4 shows the locations of residencies of approximately 30 percent of the members of the Manchester Branch, as derived from branch records. Each dot represents a household which included at least one Mormon resident. The dots indicate the areas in which the converts lived, and are not to scale with the map. However, residence patterns are evident. The map illustrates the fact that the majority of the members lived in the working class districts of Manchester, and that Ancoats had the highest concentration of members.

SOURCES: Addresses of members were derived from the Manchester Branch Record of Members, 1860, Microfilm Serial No. 13656, Part 3, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The map of central Manchester was copied from: Williams, Bill, The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1976, p. 365.)
Figure 1. Engels' rendering of the working class district, Manchester. This sketch illustrates the crazy layout of the district near the River, Irk. Note that no space remained between houses, making further building physically impossible.

Typical row housing in the new factory districts of Manchester. This illustration shows housing that was common in districts such as Ancoats. Cottages that faced the street were somewhat superior (Class A), and included a back door. These commanded the highest rent. Behind these houses was a narrow alley. The row of cottages (Class C) facing the alley only had one door, which faced the alley. The dwellers in these buildings paid the lowest rent. The third row of houses (Class B), were better than those facing the alley, but were still not as nice as the cottages on the first row, and commanded corresponding rent.
the canals that went through this district. The inhabitants of this area were, for the most part, textile factory workers. Hand-loom weavers lived on the least desireable streets near the center of town where the buildings were the oldest.

Ancoats developed after the first expansion of industry in Manchester, so that much of the property was built upon in the early nineteenth century, making the buildings relatively new to contemporary converts. Nevertheless, many houses were already dilapidated in 1844, because the demand for housing close to the laborers' work places was so great that landlords did not need to maintain the dwellings to keep them rented. Another reason that New Town and Ancoats were occupied by the working class was that for eleven months of the year, the winds blew from the west and southwest, always carrying the smoke from the factories over that part of town.

After Ancoats and New Town, Salford contained the largest concentration of Mormons. Salford was located on a tongue of land enclosed by a great bend of the River, Irwell. The population of this suburb was about 80,000 in 1840. According to Engels, Salford was one large working class district. Unlike New Town and Ancoats, Salford contained old buildings, and as as a result, many of them were dilapidated. Tenants often lived in unhealthful conditions
because the buildings were built along courts and lanes which were so narrow, that fresh air could not circulate to cleanse the dank atmosphere from the crumbling dwellings.¹

Although the majority of members lived in New Town, Ancoats, and Salford, many others lived in other parts of the city, primarily those near the London Road Station, along the banks of the Rivers, Irk, and Medlock, and in the suburbs of Hulme. These were also working class districts.

Branch members also lived in boarding houses. As previously noted, the conditions and the people who stayed in the lodging houses depended on the management. There were portions of the respectable working class who were lodgers.² Usually they were single immigrants who had no family in the city.

William Clayton wrote about several single members who stayed in the Hardman boarding house. The Hardman family belonged to the church, and their business was located on Number Two, Maria Street, which was situated in Ancoats, not far from the Millennial Star's office. Apparently, William Clayton often stayed there. The American apostles and visiting elders also lodged at the Hardman house when they were in Manchester. Nevertheless, most people lodged with a family, rather than at a boarding

¹Ibid., p. 74.
²Anderson, Family Structure, p. 47.
house. It was a beneficial arrangement for both parties. The extra money the family received from the lodger helped pay the rent, and in return, the lodger paid less than he would have if he lived in a boarding house, or in his own residence.

Conditions were crowded wherever people lived, especially among working class members who often shared their homes with members of their extended families, or with lodgers. For example, the cottage of the Brown family must have always been full of people. Richard Daniels Brown was a father of seven, and a cotton factory operative. In addition to housing his own family, he also raised his wife's two brothers and sister. The family also took in boarders occasionally. In a letter to his son, Thomas, Richard Daniels Brown wrote about his relief when a boarder moved out of their home. He said:

William Stanley has gone to live with William Lee in Clayton, three weeks since, and now we are just our own family again; and I hope we shall live more happy and comfortably.¹

This chapter has described the kinds of people who joined the church, setting them in their social and economic environment. The Manchester Branch contained a rather typical cross section of the Manchester working class population. Most members were migrants to the city. Almost all of them had jobs which required manual labor. The

¹Holland, Thomas Daniels Brown, p. 13.
majority were able to support themselves, but they, like the rest of the working class population were susceptible to severe economic hardship during times of illness or during periods of cyclical unemployment, that was totally beyond their control because of the fluctuations of the economy. Although it can be safely concluded that the Mormons were representative of the working class people, it should also be emphasized that it is a broad classification, and that there were a lot of variations among members, even though they had common social origins.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

"Mormons in Victorian England" is a social examination of the Mormon converts and reveals that they were typical working class people. It shows them as prototypes of the many members who joined the church throughout England from 1838 to 1860. Besides identifying common characteristics of Mormon converts it emphasizes their personal lives and shows them as human beings.

Manchester Mormons were usually young, and were baptized when they were in their twenties or early thirties. There were more women than men, and many were single. Nevertheless, a substantial number of people were married and had families. Most members had at least one other family member join the church, so that they had some family support when they were baptized. However, in some cases the embracing of Mormonism meant the convert's alienation from peers and family. The majority were newcomers to the city and had moved to Manchester from surrounding areas to obtain employment. Almost all had jobs that required manual labor. The majority were able to support themselves, but they, like the rest of the working class population were
susceptible to hardships during cyclical economic depressions. These characteristics were typical of the majority of Mormon converts in England.

Manchester meant different things to different people because each person had unique experiences that affected his interpretations of the city. Mormons were a subcommunity within the city and had similar experiences to the rest of the working class citizenry. Their membership and association with the church gave them a different religious perspective from their neighbors. Religion set them apart as a community with its own set of unique experiences.

Mormons were united by a common bond which developed as a function of their religious zeal within a generally irreligious social environment. Mormonism was successful among the class of people most alienated from religion. Manchester was one of the first urban centers of the world to experience the growing pains and problems associated with rapid industrialization. These conditions were a productive environment for Mormonism.

One purpose of this thesis was to find out what made Mormonism attractive to the converts, and to determine if there were any common characteristics that members shared that made them responsive to the Mormon missionary message. Although Mormonism was introduced during a period of great economic distress in England, this examination confirms that economic hardships and personal tragedies, which often act
as catalysts for change, were not the main reasons for conversion. Instead, convert journals indicate that the main reason for conversion was that Mormonism satisfied their quests for a Christian religion that matched their conceptions of the true gospel. This inner longing for truth shows that the new converts were able to rise above the apathy induced by the daily struggle to survive, and reach for religious emancipation from conflicting sects by joining God's church restored by the prophet, Joseph Smith. Because Mormon theology appealed to many people the Manchester Branch grew rapidly from 1840 to 1852. After 1852 membership declined dramatically. This was a result of two major factors. One was the large exodus of members who emigrated to the United States. This phenomena was accompanied by a decrease in baptisms which was the result of the public announcement of the practice of polygamy. As a result, Mormons who lived in Manchester and remained active during the 1840's and 1850's saw tremendous change in both the leadership and membership of the church. Hundreds of members left Manchester and emigrated to the United States. Consequently, mission and local leadership constantly changed because so many left for America. Even more dramatic was the assassination of Joseph Smith and the transfer of authority to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and later to Brigham Young. Despite these events, the branch
thrived until 1852. Before 1852, people had the opportunity to hear the Mormon message without the adverse publicity associated with polygamy. Apparently, the majority of potential converts were unable to believe in a church that practiced plural marriage, and baptisms never approached their former levels. However, the polygamy issue did not cause a sweeping apostasy among members who had already been baptized. There were some who apostatized or dropped out of activity, but there were many who remained faithful and later emigrated to Utah.

Members of the Manchester Branch comprised a community of people who were united in thought and actions. Thus, even though converts faced problems such as the issue of polygamy, many members' testimonies of the truthfulness of the gospel remained strong. As a community of saints, they were cemented together in a bond of religion that transcended the multitude of problems facing the new converts as individuals and the church as a whole.
APPENDIX A

SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

MANCHESTER CONVERTS CITED IN THESIS

William Barton

William Barton was born in Catterall, Lancashire in 1828. His family moved to Carlisle in 1829, where his father was a printer. The business failed so the family moved to Manchester in 1833-34. His father was "out of mind," but recovered. The family moved to Sunnyside and back to Manchester. William's parents joined the church first. His father was baptized by Parley P. Pratt. William joined later and was baptized on November 29, 1841 by his father. At the time of his baptism he was working in a Manchester cotton factory. His mother was ill for three years and finally died of "dropsy."

William had only eight months of schooling and as a boy worked at the River Print Works dye house where he earned 3 shillings a week. He decided to work in a cotton factory to earn more money. After working nine months he injured his hand badly in a machine. He returned to the print works for two years. He then went to Liverpool to work.

He married Mathilda Jane Hewitt in 1847. He emigrated to America, sailing on September 11, 1847. He went to Utah as a pioneer in 1852 and settled in Manti, Utah. Four children were born to him by Mathilda. He married Frances Quirt and had eight children by her. He also married M. Ann Cook, and had ten children by her.

He was a missionary to England, Sunday School superintendent, choir leader, farmer and merchant. He died in 1886.

Samuel Bateman

Samuel Bateman was born on July 1, 1832 in Manchester England. He was the son of Thomas Bateman and Mary Street. His father, Thomas, was a bricklayer and in the words of his son, Samuel, was in "good circumstances." Thomas joined the Church in 1836 (according to his journal) However, that has to be incorrect because the first missionaries did not arrive until 1838, and the gospel was first preached in 1839. The Manchester Branch records list Thomas Bateman being baptized on March 17, 1839.

He emigrated to America sailing to New Orleans. According to Samuel, their family was the first family along with the James Rigley family to arrive in New Orleans from England. They arrived in Nauvoo in 1841.


Thomas Bateman

Thomas Bateman was born on September 17, 1808 in Bolton, Lancashire. He married Mary Street in August, 1828 in Manchester. He was a brick-maker "in good circumstances." Thomas was the father of twelve children. His wife was baptized in 1839 and he was later baptized in 1840. Seven of his twelve children were born in Manchester. The eighth child was born in August, in Lee, Iowa in 1842, so it is apparent the family emigrated to the United States between 1840 and 1842. The family then moved to Nauvoo, where they stayed for a short time and then returned to Augusta. They then moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, from which point they emigrated to Utah.

In 1852 Thomas died at sea, crossing the Atlantic Ocean as a missionary for the Church. He was forty-four. His oldest child was twenty-two and his youngest was three.

SOURCE: BYU. Thomas Bateman Papers.

William Blackburn

William Blackburn was born in Manchester on February 5, 1857. His parents, Samuel Blackburn and Sarah Lamb, joined the Church at ages seventeen in 1844.
William was ordained an elder on July 20, 1876 and set apart as presiding elder of Burnley and Rawstenstall branches. He presided until he sailed for America on May 16, 1883. He came to Salt Lake City and lived in South Bountiful, Utah.


Richard Daniels Brown

Richard Daniels Brown was born on March 1, 1811 in Wigan, Lancashire, twenty-five miles from Manchester. His family belonged to the Episcopal Church of England. His family dealt in groceries, dry goods, liquors, etc. and the family is quoted as having plenty of money.

He was a dresser (making warps for weavers). He was married to Margaret Parkinson, against the will of Richard's parents because Margaret was poor.

Richard lost his job in Wigan because his eyes were too bad for required work. He moved to Manchester to work in a cotton mill and earned only twelve shillings a week. He was fortunate to get that job because many were striking.

He was told about the church by a fellow worker. He read literature and heard John Taylor speak. He was baptized on August 5, 1849 in Manchester by Benjamin Peel and was confirmed by G. D. Watt. His wife was baptized nearly a year later on June 16, 1850.

The Browns had many hardships because of poverty. They had seventeen children, seven of whom died at birth. In addition, Margaret raised several of her orphan brothers and sisters. They had "many mouths, no money." They were forced to go to the workhouse, and still suffered. Richard was imprisoned five weeks when he asked for help from police. The children went back to Manchester where older ones worked half days to help. In 1864 their son, Thomas, sent money for rest of family to come to Utah.

Thomas Daniels Brown

Thomas was born December 16, 1838, the son of Richard Daniels Brown. He described an incident from his early childhood when the family moved from Wigan to Manchester.

'We moved from Wigan to Manchester on a boat drawn by horses along the canal. The canal was made especially for carrying passengers from one town to another. We moved three miles out of town to East-end. In 1848 we moved to Gorton near Manchester. It was there my father first heard the gospel. He was working for a man named John Scofield who presented to him, Mormon literature, which he accepted and investigated. He also invited him to attend conference in Manchester, which he did. The apostle, John Taylor, was the speaker and the spirit of his preaching was manifested to my father that it was true and he was baptized August 5, 1841 in Manchester.

Thomas was the ninth child, first seven brothers and sisters died in infancy. William, his older brother, lived with grandparents. Thomas was the oldest at home. After he was thirteen, he could work full time. He got a job as a railroad helper in repairing cars. At fourteen, he became an apprentice to a locomotive and carriage painter and served for seven years.

Thomas also wrote concerning events which occurred in 1856 when his mother was dangerously close to death after childbirth. Thomas had been saving for several years to emigrate to America. He had hidden his money in the floor. At this time he got his money out gave it to the midwife for fees and medicine. The family was very poor. This money helped save his mother's life. After that, he saved enough money to go to America, but instead gave money to older brother, William, to emigrate in 1858. Thomas continued to save after William left, was married and emigrated in 1861.

Thomas had difficulty getting permission from father-in-law to marry who stopped one wedding ceremony, however he finally gave permission. His wife's father also decided to take his family to America. After Thomas arrived in New York, he had to work there to earn enough money to get the rest of the way to Utah. His wife's family followed one year later.

SOURCE: Holland, Vance M., gen. ed. Thomas Daniels Brown and Esther Wardle, Their Ancestors and Descendants,
James Burgess

James Burgess was born on February 25, 1818 in Barton, Lancashire. He was the son of William and Martha Burgess. He was baptized in Manchester on October 19, 1840. He wrote:

...I had tolerable good education. My parents were very steady religious characters. They had nine of a family...youngest, but two when my Father died. I was put apprentice to a joiner and stayer about four years and one half then I left and I got a little astray in the world for a short time and then I began to think about my soul and first to one chapel and then to another but I did not think that any of them was the church of God. I knew he had only one Church then I heard of the Church of Latter-day Saints which I proved to be the Church of God. then I joined this church and began to serve the Lord. I was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the 19th of October 1840, and then on the 12th of December 1840 ordained a priest to preach and teach the fullness of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour.

James was called on a mission to Wales with two other brethren on January 7, 1841. After preaching in Wales, he came back to Manchester and Barton, and preached often there. Friends from childhood were surprised to hear him preach because "it being only about ten months before that I was carrying on in my mischievous ways." He had problems with the Methodists who were his acquaintances before he joined the church. They "ragged" at him. He had a debate with a preacher and did a lot of preaching in and around Manchester.

After James returned from his mission he prepared to emigrate to America with his brother, Samuel, and sisters. He was a carpenter, joiner and stayer. He was married to Isabella Winner. He emigrated to Nauvoo in 1842.

William Clayton

At age twenty-five William Clayton was the presiding elder over the Manchester Branch. He was the son of Thomas and Ann Critchley Clayton and was married to Ruth Moon Clayton. William and Ann had two daughters at the time he became branch president. He left his wife and daughters with his in-laws and worked full time in the ministry and depended upon the Saints for his support. He was later called to become a counselor in the mission presidency. On July 6, 1840 he was released from this office and was called on a British mission.

However in August, 1840, he decided to emigrate to America and spent that month preparing to leave. He finally, after some delays, sailed with his family on September 8, 1840. He kept an account of the crossing during which "...some few children (6) died...and one man after she (the ship) came to anchor." He described the problems and illnesses of the Saints on the voyage. It took thirty days for the crossing. He travelled from New York by boat up the Hudson River, through the Erie Canal, through Lake Huron and Lake Michigan to Chicago. The company continued the journey a short distance overland by river to Commerce, Illinois, which soon became Nauvoo. The trip from Liverpool, England to Illinois took eleven weeks.

At the urging of Hyrum Smith, Clayton bought 185 acres in Iowa. He planned to pay for them by working on a Mississippi Steamboat. The farm failed and Clayton became in difficult financial circumstances. Also, he was called to be clerk for the "Zarahemla" Stake in Iowa. He was continually ill and finally decided at the urging of Heber C. Kimball to purchase two city lots in Nauvoo.

He was assigned as Temple Recorder and had several clerical and administrative callings in the church. He drew close to Joseph Smith and became his secretary. He also became treasurer for the City of Nauvoo. He was present when Joseph Smith received the revelation on plural marriage and proved his conversion to the principle by taking seven plural wives.

He moved west with the original pioneer company in 1847. He was assigned as scribe for Brigham Young. He was worried about his wife, Diantha, who was expecting a baby, and when he finally heard that she had safely delivered her child and that she and the child were well, he wrote the hymn, "All Is Well." (Come, Come, Ye Saints)
As the camp journalist he was supposed to record the daily mileage for the camp. For three days he conscientiously did this by counting the turns of a wagon wheel. He then proposed a mechanical odometer. Orson Pratt was assigned to design it, and the miles were recorded at the end of each day by Clayton. West of Fort Laramie, he marked the trail with sign posts every ten miles. He wrote the Latter-day Saints Emigrant Guide which was published in 1848 after remeasuring the pioneer trail with the new odometer. He was among those who returned to Winter Quarters in August 1847 with Brigham Young.

In Utah, he became treasurer of the Z.C.M.I. and Territorial Auditor of Public Accounts. He went on a short mission to England in 1852-1853. He was an accomplished musician and composer and sang for Joseph Smith. In Utah, he helped organize the "Nauvoo Legion Band" and played second violin in an orchestra sponsored by the Deseret Musical and Dramatic Society. He died December 4, 1879 in Salt Lake City.


**John Druce**

John Druce was born at Mitcham, Surrey, on June 18, 1818. He was the son of John Druce and Sophia Bragg of Mitcham. He was apprenticed as a baker in London in the 1830's, and later became a journeyman engraver and moved to Manchester and worked as an engraver. In 1841 he joined the Mormon Church.

He describes his parents as "good and loving" and was sent to Sunday School. At age twelve, he went to the parish of Metaham to study at St. Arthur's Academy for two years. His father then sent him to London to learn the profession of baker. He did not like it and returned to his father and the engraving business for two years. He had two other job offers, but declined. In 1840 he went to Manchester to increase his trade. He stayed with his brother, and was admitted to the trade union after five weeks. He got a job at W.R. and G.W. Enteries.

He was "religiously inclined" and the turning point was in Manchester when he found the Mormon Church and joined it. He had been a "seeker" and studied religions for a long time.
After he had been a member for ten weeks he was nominated to the office of priest by Parley P. Pratt and was ordained by Charles Miller on November 14, 1840.

After his ordination, he went as a local missionary with E. W. Hardman and James Brotherton. He baptized his first convert on December 30, 1840.

In June, 1842 he married Julia Ann Janks. He was married by the Rev. William Johnson in the Collegiate Church in Manchester. "...Marriage was solemnized after by Charles Miller, a member in the presence of other members: Elder Brotherton, Father and Brother John Janks, Mother and Sister Mary Janks, and Sister Mary Ann Daniels."

He was appointed to preside over the Middleton and Blakely churches. He did a lot of preaching in Oldham and Manchester. In his journal he records many experiences concerning the spirit in preaching and administering to the sick. He presided over Salford and took a collection to pay for the Poland Street room where meetings were held. He was Manchester Branch president in 1844. John Druce records the birth of his daughter, Julia Ann, in 1844, and the preaching at his wife's father's funeral. He was worried about being gone too much from his wife because of his employment and working in the church. He was appointed to take charge of Crofs Moor Branch. In February, 1846, John Druce sailed for America. Before leaving he was given a "testimonial of respect:"

Presented by officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Manchester, England this testimonial of respect to Elder John Druce who having laboured in our midst for upwards of four years during which period he has proven himself a man of God and faithful minister of the Gospel of Christ...We therefore recommend our Brother to All the Saints in the United States of America.

He reached the port of New York in thirty-seven days from the time in which he sailed. He was both a missionary and a mission president of the Eastern States Mission. He labored in New York for a few years on a mission. In 1853 he was in Washington by appointment of Elder Orson Pratt. In 1877 he was still in Eastern States Mission very active in mission affairs. His journal ended in 1877 in New York.
In Salt Lake City he was a high priest, president of
the 21st Quorum of 70's, counselor to a bishop, and was
ordained a patriarch September 1879. He died December 5,
1885 in Salt Lake City as a member of the 12th Ward.


Joseph Eckersley

Joseph Eckersley was born July 19, 1866 at Eccles,
Lancashire. He became very ill with smallpox when he was a
child. His father, a blacksmith, was religiously inclined
but did not attend any church. He encouraged his five
children to attend Sunday school. Joseph could not attend
school because of ill health. However, his family had
financial reverses and he was forced to work a half day in a
factory and went to school a half day. His father died when
Joseph was 13. At that time he went to work at a factory
for ten hours a day. At sixteen, he worked as a coal miner,
but did not like it so after a few months he was apprenticed
in a gas engine factory. He worked as a fitter for seven
shillings a week in Manchester.

After the death of his father, he was thoughtful
about religion. He attended night school two hours a week.
He was religiously inclined and attended a large variety of
churches. His mother later remarried and he worked with his
step father as a coal miner for seven shillings a week. His
earnings were "misused in a saloon," and he was falsely
accused. He decided to leave home. He became an active
Methodist. and was encouraged to become a preacher.
However, he was not sure about the Methodist Church and of
inconsistencies in all religions. He then moved to Gorton
as a fitter and was reconciled with his mother.

At this point he met a Mr. Munn, a former Methodist
preacher who converted to Mormonism with friends. Joseph
bought the Book of Mormon and other literature and went to
Mormon meetings. He became very ill, and his friends told
him that Mormonism was a delusion. He promised the Lord
that if he got better, he would be baptized. He recovered
and was baptized on February 5, 1886 in his nineteenth year.
On may 2, 1886 he was ordained a priest. He was called to
be superintendent at the Manchester Branch Sunday school and
to act as chorister and a teacher in the branch. On October
5, 1887 he was ordained an elder and set apart as second
counselor of the Manchester Branch. He was called as a
traveling elder in Leeds conference at the age of twenty-
one. Then he labored in Liverpool. He prepared to emigrate
and was finally received kindly by his mother before he left, although his Mother said he would be "dead" to her.

Joseph left for America on May 14, 1890 and came to Utah. He married Sarah Ellen Wilkinson on December 10, 1890, and later Alice Wright. He settled first at Springville and later at Loa, Utah. He became county attorney, county superintendent of district schools, and state senator. He was president of the 82nd Quorum of 70's; stake superintendent of Sunday Schools, and a missionary to Great Britain from 1898 - 1890. He became a high priest, second counselor to Willis E. Robinson, and president of Wayne Stake in 1903. He later became first counselor in Stake presidency.


George Halliday

George Halliday was born April 17, 1820 at Trowbridge, Wilshire. He started work at a cloth factory in 1831 and worked there until 1837. He then helped his father plaster. He was married and was a Baptist. He felt he lived righteously, yet things went wrong with him. His wife became very ill and died after thirteen months of marriage on November 10, 1844. He also became very ill and thought he was going to die. His brother, John, came from Nauvoo and preached to him, and he accepted the church and was baptized. He promised the Lord that if he recovered he would devote his life to serving the Lord.

He recovered and then became very active in the church and presided over the Road Branch, and went on missions and did devote his life to the church.


George Harrison

George Harrison was born August 24, 1841 in Manchester, England, to William and Hannah Halliday. His father was a glass blower. When he was eight years old George worked at the same factory as his father carrying articles to ovens, and from ovens to cool off. His boss drank and was very mean to him.
He heard the missionaries preach at a large hall. They later came to his home. His family and friends were converted and as a result were unpopular with many. He emigrated in 1856 and came to Utah with the Martin Handcart Company. At that time he was fourteen and became ill on the journey, and stayed with some Indians.

In Utah, he married Rosella D. White in 1865 at Springville. They lived in Springville with their six children.

He was a member of 70's, high priests, president of the elders quorum, and choir leader for twenty years. He was a Black Hawk Indian War Veteran, director of Springville Banking Co., and proprietor of Hotel Harrison in Springville.

SOURCE: HDC. Kate Carter Autobiography.

Charles Dutton Miller

Charles Miller was born August 24, 1816, in Manchester, the ninth child of Charles Miller and Ann Dutton. His father died when he was two. He went to school when he was five. He was ill six months with typhus. He stayed in school until he was nine. He read the Bible at the Lancastrian Day school. At nine he worked at the Obershaw's Hatters, and was there three-and-one-half years. He then worked for Matthew Gibbons for fifteen years and had charge of a shoe and clog business.

He was an Independent Methodist for twelve years. He taught and served in the church and was considering becoming a minister, but did not get the answer that he was called by God to preach.

He married Jane Marshall in Manchester on January 27, 1839. In 1838 he heard Joseph Fielding in Paul Harris' cellar. After a struggle with himself, he was baptized on July 31, 1839. In March 1840 he was ordained a priest. On August 1, of that same year he became an elder and then on October 10, 1840 he was ordained a high priest. On February 11, 1842 he was called to preside over the Manchester Conference with 31 branches and 1500 members. He wrote of meetings filled with "prophecy" and speaking "in tongues." He also wrote in his journal concerning the problems and spiritual blessings of many members of the church in the Manchester Conference.
At first, his wife was not a member of the church, and was very concerned when he left his employment to preach the gospel, full time. His wife later joined the church. Charles continued in labor for the church until 1849 when he sailed from Liverpool. When he was in Saint Louis, he lived next door to the Crompton family from Manchester. Charles Miller described how the entire Crompton family died of cholera. In Saint Louis, the Millers prepared for their journey to Utah.

SOURCE: BYU. Charles Miller Diary.

George Morris

George Morris was born at Hanley, Cheshire, on August 23, 1816, the son of Joseph and Elizabeth Vernon Morris. His father was a very strict Methodist and a "class leader running down deep into error and inconsistency." His parents were very poor with six children. His mother had one former marriage. George's father was a foreman shoemaker and "thus not enough money for me to go to school, but loved books and learning to read." He worked to earn money instead of going to school. He picked blackberries on the common to sell, at harvest time, gleaned. In the fall, he dug potatoes. At age seven, he was "put out among farmers to work." He was beaten and kicked every day. After going through this ordeal for several years, his father thought it better to teach him shoemaking, but he could not lean over on stomach all the time so went back to farming until fifteen-years-old. He felt that he had unjust treatment by his employer, and was struck in the face. He was praised by his friends. His employer threatened horse-whipping. His work opportunities improved, but he declined work for Squire Leech in charge of the hunt because his religious inclination made him fear he would become sinful. He tried shoemaking again and could not stand it. He then went to Dunkenfield which was near Ashton, about eight miles from Manchester. There he worked for a rich cotton manufacturer as a gardener. He was in charge of a fancy show garden. Later he worked for a steam boiler man. This was destructive to his health and happiness. He lost his hearing and crushed his right thumb. Next he worked in a coal mine and had many accidents including a split ankle, and crushed knee caused by falling rock. He had a difficult recovery, and went back to making shoes.

At twenty-one, he was a lover of books. He took care of his mother who died when she was forty-five.
George married Jane Higginbotham in January, 1840. She had a baby in January 1841, and died in April 1841. The baby daughter died in October 1841. George was sorrowful and reflected on religion and read scriptures and prayed that "I might understand the plan of salvation." He attended many sects, but could not "rest satisfied long with any of them." He decided to stay aloof from all sects. He first heard the gospel in 1841 when he heard some children call some people "dippers and spoke in tongues." He asked the children where they held meetings. He went to the meetings but was not hasty in joining the church. He was baptized on June 28, 1841. On September 5, 1841, he received the Aaronic priesthood and later baptized six people.

George emigrated to Zion on February 8, 1842. He came to Nauvoo. George married Hannah Maria Newburry and Mary Smith in Clay County Iowa. He crossed the plains to Salt Lake City. He moved to Provo, and then to Southern Utah. He had thirteen children. He died on January 29, 1897 at Salt Lake City, Utah.


Mary Lois Walker Morris

Mary Lois Walker Morris was the plural wife of Elias Morris. She spent her girlhood in the Manchester, England area. Her family was Quaker prior to their conversion.

Mary's diary described the difficulties her family experienced when her father went on a full time mission and she and her mother went to live with her mother's brothers. She also described her early schooling and work in a millinery factory with her mother. Mary portrayed the family's ostracism from their former friends, after the family was converted. Her family sailed for America on February 11, 1850.


John Needham

John Needham was born on April 1, 1819 in Leeds, York. His father was John Needham and mother was Mary Armatage. He was the fourth son of ten children. At age three, he was run over by a horse. At twelve, he scalded
his leg. His father sent him to a good school kept by the Rev. Doctor Symson. He didn't enjoy it. At age fourteen, he was apprenticed for seven years to a large drapery emporium where he served three years. The Company sold out and he was free. He worked in Liverpool and Preston as a journeyman. He was a clerk at a store in Preston when he heard about the church. He had been seeking for the truth for a long time. His family opposed the church and took him home. He got a job in Manchester and met with the Saints. His father still tried to get him to stop seeing the Mormons. Finally, his father let him alone, but he was forbidden to see his family. Two years later he visited his family. They were friendly, but were still not interested in joining the church.

He was called on full time missions, and while he was very poor, he managed to serve five years without any cash. He was president of Gavenny conference in Wales.

In the winter of 1842 - 1843, he left for Nauvoo. He left Liverpool on the ship, Yorkshire. He went to Saint Louis, and then to Nauvoo. He became a storekeeper of three stores. While he was there, his father wrote and said that the rest of the family had joined the church and that their means were reduced. John sent his brother, James, with funds to bring family to Zion. John baptized his father in America. He was sealed to Sarah Ann Booth in Nauvoo in 1845 by Hyrum Smith. He left Nauvoo with the Saints.

In 1860, John was called on a mission to England and left his business in care of his brother, James, and a Mr. Whitmore. His business partner, Elder Staines, was also called at the same time. When John returned to Utah, there was no business, but he was called to work with the Z.C.M.I. In 1890 he moved to Logan. He died in Logan, Utah on June 14, 1901.


James Lee Newton

James Lee Newton was baptized in 1845. At the age of twenty-one he was married to Elizabeth Blackburn. He mentioned in his journal that from the time of his marriage he lived "as good as I knew how. Yet, according to the notion of the world, I was not good, for I did not go to any religious church or chapel nor had I done for some year." He was a seeker who was not satisfied with any of the churches and studied on his own. He was in this situation
when he heard the gospel. On August 24, 1845, he was 
baptized. On December 31, 1847 he was called to the office 
of priest. On February 11, 1848 he was called to be an 
elder and then appointed to be first counselor to President 
James Walker of the Manchester Branch which at that time 
numbered 700 people. The branch was divided into fourteen 
districts which he visited as often as he could. He 
continued in this office until he sailed for Zion.

He left for Zion on March 29, 1853, and immigrated 
to Salt Lake City.


Edward Robinson

Edward Robinson was born in Cheshire, England, in 
1807, the son of Joseph Robinson and Margaret Davis 
Robinson. His father was middle class and Edward trained to 
be a footman for the gentry. He married Mary Smith who was 
the tutor of his employer's children. Edward and Mary had 
nine children, three of whom died in infancy. In 1840, 
their infant son, William, became very ill and Mary sent for 
the Mormon elders. Brigham Young was in Manchester at the 
time and came and blessed the child and he recovered. Mary 
and Edward were baptized soon after that healing.

Edward was the conductor of the first train that ran 
from Liverpool to Manchester. He often let elders ride on 
the train free and had his tailor make clothes for them. It 
took Mary a year or so to convince Edward to leave his good 
job and emigrate to America. Finally, in 1842 they left. 
After they reached Nauvoo, Edward's wife, Mary, died at the 
age of thirty-five of childbirth with their ninth child. 
The infant son died shortly afterwards.

SOURCE: BYU. Edward Robinson Diary.
APPENDIX B

MANCHESTER BRANCH RECORDS

There are several sets of Manchester Branch Records. The records contain similar information. The biggest difference between the records is the time periods they cover. All the records are divided into eleven columns. The categories that are described in the columns are:

1. The number. Each person is numbered consecutively.

2. Baptism year.

3. Day and month of baptism.

4. Names of the members. The members were listed alphabetically according to the first letter of their last names. However, there was no further alphabetization beyond that. Under the alphabetical category members were listed in the order that they were baptized. For example, Ann Snider, who was baptized in 1839 would be listed before John Smith because he was not baptized until 1841.

5. Residence. The addresses of many of the members were listed. However, there was a fairly large number of members who did not have their addresses recorded.

6. Office. This referred to the priesthood office that male members held. They would be referred to as a teacher, priest or elder. In many cases there was no office listed.

7. Cut off. When members were excommunicated the date was listed and in many cases the grounds for excommunication were also recorded.
8. Emigrated. The date the members emigrated to Zion was recorded. However, research on individual families revealed that the branch clerks did not always record all the families that emigrated to the United States. There were several families that emigrated, but their departure was not listed in the branch records. If that was a general tendency, the branch records do not give an accurate enough picture of emigration patterns to use them as a firm statistical base when evaluating the impact of emigration on the branch.

9. Removed. This comment referred to members who moved outside the branch, but who had not emigrated. Usually the clerks recorded the town or branch to which the individual moved.

10. This was an open-ended column. Examples of some of the remarks are: "Rebaptized see #148, had to remove to Barton, Poorhouse returned, died sudden."

11. Died, the date of death of several of the members was recorded in this column.

The information just listed was recorded in all the different sets of records. According to my research, there are three major groups of records. They are:

Salt Lake City, Utah. Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Record of Members, Early to 1848. Microfilm Serial No. 13656; part 3. (There were 1,088 names listed on this record.)

Salt Lake City, Utah. Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Record of Members, Early to 1852. Microfilm Serial No. 87017, library number 488. (There were 2,100 names listed on this record.)

Salt Lake City, Utah. Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Record of Members, Early to 1860. Microfilm, library number 490. (There were 655 names listed on this record.)

The records vary in the number of members listed and the dates they cover. The statistical tabulations of this
thesis were based upon the Early to 1860 record because this record covered the longest period of time and it was determined that it was a legitimate sample of the branch because the members who were listed on this record were also included in the other records. It also provides a large enough sample to be statistically significant.
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MORMONS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the members of the Manchester Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1838 - 1860. It is a social examination of the converts and reveals that Manchester Mormons were prototypes of many members who joined the Church throughout England.

Most Mormons were young, and were baptized in their twenties or early thirties. Many were single. The Mormon congregation was representative of the working class citizenry of town. Almost all worked with their hands. Living conditions varied. Some members were affluent by working class standards and some barely survived. However, the majority were able to live.

Manchester Mormons were people in a community within a community. Despite their diverse economic circumstances, they were united by a common bond, their religion. They were able to help each other economically and spiritually. While most of their neighbors were apathetic to religion, Mormons were seekers for truth, and found it in their new religion.

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