

The Growth and Distribution
of
the Latter Saint Church in Wales,
1840-1860

Michael Ratcliffe
St. Antony's College

M. Litt. Thesis submitted in
The Faculty of Anthropology and Geography
University of Oxford
Trinity Term, 1989



The Growth and Distribution
of
the Latter Day Saint Church in Wales,
1840-1860
by Michael Ratcliffe, St. Antony's College
Submitted for the Degree of M. Litt., Trinity Term, 1989

ABSTRACT

The growth and distribution of the Latter Day Saint Church between 1840 and 1860 is an aspect of Welsh history and geography which has received little attention. Studies of Mormonism in Wales have tended to focus on the general history of the church, or on spirituality and eschatology, with only little reference to the society in which it developed.

This study examines Mormonism in Wales as part of a radical Christian movement which arose among the working class of Britain. This movement developed alongside the radical movement in Britain, and is typified by Christian Chartism. Radical Christianity can be characterized as anti-clerical, anti-creedal, Arminian, and, sometimes chiliastic. It was marked by the view that Christianity and communism were compatible, and that Christianity, rather than being a passive means of coping with social conditions, could provide a powerful ideology with which to bolster secular attempts at reform.

As a means of establishing the radical nature of Mormonism and the basis of its appeal to a portion of the Welsh proletariat, Mormonism is examined in its American context. The social climate in which its doctrines originated is discussed, with reference to the characteristics of radical Christianity noted above. These include: doctrines concerning the priesthood; salvation; the United Order, which provided the basis of Mormon communism; and the progression of men to godhood.

Finally, Mormonism is examined in relation to Nonconformity, to Welsh society in general, and to a growing radical, national identity among the Welsh. The distribution of Mormon congregations is discussed in relation to denominationalism throughout Wales, with the purpose of explaining a primarily urban-industrial distribution, concentrated in the valleys of Monmouthshire and eastern Glamorgan.

The thesis concludes with a review of methods of diffusion, followed by a discussion of reasons for Mormonism's decline in the 1850s and 1860s.

Table of Contents

Abstract		i
Table of Contents		iii
List of Tables		iv
List of Figures		iv
Acknowledgements		v
Chapter One	Introduction	1
Chapter Two	Radical Christianity	7
Chapter Three	A Working Class Sect	36
	I. Occupational and Social Status	36
	II. Self-Perceptions and Social Response	42
	III. Doctrines and Organization	60
	IV. Conclusion	74
Chapter Four	Mormonism in a Nonconformist Nation	77
	I. The Rise of Nonconformity	81
	II. Evangelism in Welsh Nonconformity	90
	III. Religion and Social Change	93
	IV. Mormonism in the Context of Social and Political Change	104
	V. Religion and the Search for National Identity	107
	VI. The Basis of Mormon Appeal	115
Chapter Five	Traversing the Cambrian Hills	130
Chapter Six	Diffusion and Decline	177
Bibliography		203

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
1. Occupations of British Mormon Emigrants	38
2. Occupations of Welsh Mormon Converts	after 38
3. Places of residence of members. Georgetown Congregation	167
4. Places of residence of members. Merthyr Tydfil Congregation	168

List of Figures

<u>Figures</u>	<u>after page</u>
1. Places of residence of members of the Brechfa Congregation	143
2. Locations of Latter Day Saint congregations in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with reference to the limits of the South Wales coalfield	159
3. Places of residence of members of the Dowlais, Georgetown, and Merthyr Tydfil congregations, 1843-1856	168

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people to whom I am grateful and indebted for their help in the researching and preparation of this thesis. Thanks go first to Prof. David Harvey, who supervised my research. His comments, criticisms and suggestions have influenced this work and have helped to focus my thoughts and guide them in the proper direction.

To Dr. Huw Walters, of the National Library of Wales, for his help in locating articles in the nineteenth century Welsh denominational press pertaining to the Mormons, and also for his hospitality during my occasional visits to the Library.

Thanks go also to Mrs. Annette Barr, of the LDS Genealogical Library in Merthyr Tydfil, who graciously loaned the library's microfiche copies of Udgorn Seion.

In the School of Geography, I must thank Mrs. Janet Bark, secretary to Prof. Harvey, for all her help in arranging an extension when it appeared that the thesis would not be submitted on time. Also to Pete Magee for all the help he gave when I ran into problems with the computer. If it were not for them, I would still be trying to finish.

Finally, I must thank friends and family without whose support this work would not have come to fruition. Thanks go to Steve and Louise Hodgkinson for the use of their computer, and for Steve's help in coping with the

intricacies of modern technology-- chapter three would have been lost without him. I owe many thanks to my parents and parents-in-law for their support-- moral and financial-- especially to my father, Dr. Roger Ratcliffe, who proofread chapters into, and through, the wee hours of the morning. And, of course, I must thank my wife, Kathy, who supported me and listened to me talk about my research for nearly two years, without complaint. I cannot thank her enough for her help in the preparation of this thesis, and for her patience with me as I completed this work.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Religion today is experiencing a revival throughout the world. Fundamentalism in particular, whether Islamic or Protestant Christian, has gained adherents, and, because of its active push to alter the organization and relationships of society, has captured the attention of many observers. The desire of fundamentalism to return to the values of a previous era, to the teachings of the Koran, or to Primitive Christianity and a literal interpretation of the Bible, is generally equated with conservative and reactionary outlooks and politics. We have only to look at the liberation theology of Latin American Catholicism to see that religion can be used to advocate progressive social change.

Within all these movements-- Islamic and Christian Fundamentalism, liberation theology-- people are looking for a response to conditions within their respective societies. They desire an ideology which will promote the changes they seek to achieve.

The Latter Day Saint Church¹ has shared in this revival. During the latter half of this century, membership in the LDS Church has increased considerably

1. Throughout this thesis, the terms 'Latter Day Saint', 'LDS', 'Mormon', and 'Mormonism' will be used interchangeably to refer to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, under the leadership of Joseph Smith, and, after his death in 1844, under Brigham Young and his successors. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, led by Joseph Smith III and his successors, will be referred to as the 'RLDS Church' or the 'Reorganized Church'.

throughout the world, making it one of the fastest growing churches today. In Britain, the church has grown from a total of approximately 6,000 members at the end of World War II, to nearly 150,000 people in 1987. In Latin America, Mormonism has also made impressive strides, preaching a message of hope and security to a people in the midst of change. It is in Latin America, however, in a religious atmosphere influenced by liberation theology, and charged by the radical politics of social change, that the conservative nature of twentieth century American Mormonism is coming up against a radical interpretation of its doctrines (see Gottlieb and Wiley, 1984). Converts have found within Mormon doctrines a theology of liberation which has been at odds with the current trends in Mormon beliefs as espoused by the leadership and much of the American membership.

Radicalism has been a part of Mormonism throughout its history, though often running as an undercurrent within the membership. Between 1900 and 1920, of 1,423 members of the Utah Socialist Party identified by Sillitoe and McCormick (1985: 122), 40% were Mormons. During the 1930s, when the leadership of the LDS Church was beginning to drift towards conservative politics, a number of bishops and ex-bishops were supporting communism and maintaining that it was simply the predecessor of the United Order (see below, chapter 3) (O'Dea, 1957: 254). This movement was strong enough to prompt President J. Reuben Clark to speak out against this interpretation of Mormon doctrines (ibid.: 254).

The recurrent nature of this interpretation, among converts from diverse cultural backgrounds, suggests that a radical ideology does exist within Mormon doctrines. This radicalism within Mormon thought is manifested during periods of social change, such as the depression of the 1930s, and in societies in which social and political inequalities exist-- Latin America of the twentieth century, and Britain of the mid-nineteenth century. By examining the Latter Day Saint Church in Wales (admittedly, a small religious sect in a peripheral part of the world) between 1840 and 1860, we can begin to discern the basis of this radicalism within Mormon thought; how it attracted converts, and what they believed it had to offer in terms of responding to conditions within capitalist society. And, though every historical study is limited somewhat by its context, the conclusions reached in this study can perhaps be applied to Mormonism in a more contemporary context.

D.W. Meinig (1965: 195), in his study of the Mormon culture region in the American west, wrote:

We need to know more precisely just where the Mormons are and just what is the context of their situation in each locality, which means knowing something about when, why, and how they got there and what is their relationship with other peoples.

This study hopes to do just that with respect to the Latter Day Saint Church in Wales. Therefore, the purpose of this study is twofold. The growth and distribution of Mormonism during the 1840s and 1850s will be examined. Secondly, following upon Meinig's suggestion, this growth will be examined in relation to general social, economic,

and religious trends within mid-nineteenth century Welsh society. This means examining Mormonism against a backdrop of Nonconformity and dissent in religion, and against a growing class consciousness among the working class. To do this properly requires extending the analysis beyond the temporal parameters set for the study, and looking at historical forces within Welsh society that gave the people their identity in the years and decades prior to the arrival of Mormonism in Wales. Mormonism shall be examined, not in isolation, but as simply one response available for the working class to capitalist society.

The study of the Welsh contribution to the LDS Church in Wales is an aspect of Welsh history and geography which has received little attention. As Huw Walters wrote:

Although Welsh history has enjoyed a vigorous popularity in recent years, the Welsh Mormons have apparently escaped the attention of both scholars and students alike (in Dennis, 1988b: i).

Dr. Walters' comment should be extended to include, also, Mormon history, for within the literature relating to Mormonism, the church in Wales has been largely neglected. Ironically, it was David Williams, later Sir John Williams Professor of Welsh History at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and dean and mentor of many Welsh historians, who published the first work of an academic nature on Mormonism in Wales. Williams' article, 'Y Cymry a'r Eglwys Formonaidd' [The Welsh and the Mormon Church], published in 1927, remains

the starting point for any study of the Mormons in Wales. And, for nearly thirty years, Williams' work remained the only studies devoted exclusively to Mormonism in Wales.²

In 1956, T.H. Lewis published Y Mormoniaid yng Nghymru [The Mormons in Wales].³ Lewis offered a much more thorough examination than had Prof. Williams in either of his articles, but the work focuses more on the general history of the church, rather than analyzing Mormonism in relation to the society in Wales in which it grew. Nevertheless, Lewis' study remains the basic text in a very limited body of literature. Perhaps its greatest limitation, shared by Williams' 1927 article and Roberts' manuscript, is that it is written in Welsh, and, therefore, inaccessible to many people.

In recent years there has been a renewal of interest in Welsh Mormonism. Both D.J. Davies (1972 and 1987) and Ronald Dennis (1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b) have made significant contributions to the literature. Davies has focused on Mormon eschatology and spirituality in developing a Mormon world view. Dennis has taken wider interests, but concentrates on the translation from Welsh of a vast body of apologetic material from the mid-nineteenth century.

2. Prof. Williams published a second article, 'The Welsh Mormons', in 1948. One chapter in R.L. Evans (1937) was devoted to Mormonism in Wales.

3. Lewis won a prize for his essay at the 1952 National Eisteddfod, beating L.G. Roberts. Roberts' essay, 'Hanes Genhadaeth y Mormoniaid yng Nghymru' [History of the Mormon Church in Wales] is on file at the National Library of Wales (NLW MS. 22439E). Prof. David Williams was the adjudicator.

With such a small body of literature, there is still much to be studied about the Latter Day Saint Church in Wales; indeed, there is still much that can be written about Mormonism in general. In the examination of the former, this study hopes to speak to the latter. By looking at the growth of Mormonism in Wales, it is hoped that our understanding of what Mormonism, as a theology and ideology, had to offer to people is increased. However, because of the general lack of information and knowledge in some areas of Mormon history, in the attempt to understand and explain the growth of Mormonism in Wales, some assumptions and inferences have been required. Where this has occurred, the conclusions drawn have been based, as reasonably as possible, on available information.

CHAPTER TWO
RADICAL CHRISTIANITY

The diffusion of an idea or trait depends to a large extent on the receptivity of the recipient population. Successful diffusion results when the trait meets the needs of a portion of the population. The trait can originate entirely outside of the recipient population, or, as Blaut (1987: 34-6) maintains, can arise simultaneously within different populations, which then diffuse traits to each other in a pattern of 'crisscross diffusion.' The genesis of radical Christianity in Britain and America followed the latter course, with a left-wing Protestantism arising among the working class in both societies. Radical Christianity in Britain provided the context for the growth and distribution of Mormonism in England and Wales. It is this movement among the working class as a response to the conditions in which they lived, and a general consideration of the role of religion in working class society that provides the starting point for the examination of Mormonism in Wales.

When Mormon missionaries arrived in Britain in 1837, they entered a society in the midst of immense and, in some areas, abrupt change. The rise of industrial capitalism over the century had altered the way in which society was structured. Gone were the paternalistic relationships between masters and journeymen, which had

typified the handicraft system of production. This mode of production had been gradually replaced by an increasing division of labour, and a production process, which, in general terms, had progressed through the putting-out system, employing domestic out-workers, to a final stage in the factory system (Pollard, 1965: 34-5). This process was not entirely negative, for 'part of the advantage of the putting-out system... had been the division of labour, and the specialization and the inventive talent which it encouraged..., 'not to mention the additional income it brought to small farmers and cottagers (ibid.: 34; Pollard, 1981: 10). However, it was only a transitional form, and the 'pressure for further progress' inherent in industrial capitalism, led to the concentration of resources, capital and machinery, giving rise to the factory system and its concentration and control of labour and production within the workplace (Pollard, 1965: 34; D. Harvey, 1982: 31). Under industrial capitalism (as is commonly held) the labourer, once independent and often versed in several skills, was reduced to little more than a tender of a machine, or the performer of one task in a larger system (D. Harvey, 1982: 31, 108). Forced to sell his labour power, which then became the property of the capitalist, the labourer became alienated from the means of production (Foster, 1974: 4). As industrialization surged forward, two distinct classes were created in its wake-- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The process of industrialization was long and its rate varied throughout Britain. Several factors determined its rate and location of industrialization, as well as the types of industry which developed. Mineral resources, for both manufacture of goods and generation of power-- coal in particular-- were of the utmost importance, but Pollard (1981: 5) also identifies costs of production, particularly cheap and plentiful labour supplies, and transport systems. Agricultural potential, or lack of it, also helped to determine industrial location, and Pollard notes a 'negative correlation between areas of agricultural comparative advantage and areas of industrialization' (ibid.: 5). Viewed broadly, industrialization seems to have progressed steadily. In general, however, regions experienced the rise and decline of industrial activity at widely different rates, with some areas-- Yorkshire and Lancashire, for instance-- experiencing industrialization at an early date, and outlasting other regions which developed subsequently. Industry in Yorkshire, according to Halevy (1971: 63), developed around 1688, and continued through the nineteenth century. The same is generally true for the West Midlands and Lancashire, with Langton (1979) locating the development of the coalmining industry in southwest Lancashire in the early seventeenth century.

Wales offers two different examples of industrial development. The iron, copper, textile, and coal industries developed in Northeast Wales around the mid-eighteenth century, taking advantage of low wages, good

harbours, and close proximity to South Lancashire (Pollard, 1981: 15).¹ Using the latest technology, industry in North Wales boomed (ibid.: 15). Yet, it was all short-lived, and, by the 1820s and 1830s, as copper and iron deposits were exhausted; as the coal industry failed to expand as demand increased; and as the textile industry succumbed to competition from Lancashire and Yorkshire mills, industrial decline began (ibid.: 15).

South Wales, on the other hand, experienced spectacular growth, particularly along the northern rim of the coalfield. There, at the heads of the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire valleys, the resources required for iron production were found in abundance-- iron ore and limestone outcrops, with an abundance of water power, and easily obtainable coal for firing the furnaces. South Wales provides an example of the 'classic' pattern of industrial location: the location of natural resources and the greater difficulty in transporting coal and iron ore, as compared to finished products, determined the location of industry (D.T. Williams, 1962: 234). Thus, industry came to the narrow valleys of South Wales, and transport links to ports at Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport developed subsequently.

The South Wales iron industry began to develop around 1760, and continued to flourish until 1860, when it was superseded by the steel industry (ibid.: 233-4). In 1788 South Wales produced only 12,500 tons of pig

1. See also A.H. Dodd (1933).

iron, or 18.3% of total output in Britain (Atkinson and Baber, 1987: 5). The attraction of skilled labour by the higher wages of the South Wales iron industry and innovative managers (some of whom, notably Crawshay, became powerful ironmasters) from declining industrial regions, along with the use of modern technology, led to the rapid rise of industry. By 1830, South Wales was producing just over 40% of all the pig iron in Britain, and though this percentage would decline, output in tons would continue to rise until 1860 (ibid.: 5). After 1860, though the importance of pig iron production declined, industry in South Wales responded^{to} the changes in technology, and, in contrast to North Wales, continued to expand.

The expansion of industrial production during the Industrial Revolution brought with it a larger demand for labour. Overpopulation, low wages, and a shortage of land in the agricultural sector created a reserve labour force for which industrial expansion provided an outlet. Large scale rural to urban migration occurred throughout Britain, resulting in the rapid growth of cities and towns such as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and in Wales, Merthyr Tydfil. Between 1801 and 1844, Birmingham's population nearly tripled, increasing from 73,000 to 200,000 (Engels, 1987: 59). Manchester, in 1844, contained 400,000 inhabitants, many of whom were crowded into houses which were poorly built, ill-ventilated and lacking in proper sanitation and drainage (ibid.: 85). Engels described Manchester south of the

River Irk as being 'a planless, knotted chaos of houses, more or less on the verge of uninhabitableness, whose unclean interiors fully correspond with their filthy external surroundings' (ibid.: 90). He goes on to describe in great detail the poor housing conditions, the cramped living quarters very often devoid of the comforts of life, and the general poverty of the working class, not only in Manchester, but throughout industrial Britain.

Conditions in Wales were little better, although the Education Commissioners in 1841 noted that Merthyr Tydfil was 'less dirty than similar localities in the Midland mining counties of England' (in Phillips, 1849: 31). Still, most towns in South Wales were unplanned, with rows of workers' houses climbing up the valley sides in clusters around the iron works and coal mines. Like their English counterparts, most Welsh towns were lacking in adequate clean water supplies, proper drainage and sanitation; towns were dirty and disease-ridden, with cholera, typhus, and typhoid fever prevalent (Howells, 1977: 102). The population of Merthyr Tydfil had increased from 7,705 in 1801 to nearly 35,000 in 1841, making it the largest town in Wales (Evans, 1988: 8; Phillips, 1849: 31). Glamorgan's population during the first half of the nineteenth century had grown by 227%, much of it due to the influx of migrants from rural areas within the county, as well as from adjacent counties (B. Thomas, 1969: 38).

Though the physical conditions of life were the same as, if not better than, in rural regions, industrial towns were a marked departure from relationships of rural society. Jenkins (1971: 4-5) noted that conditions in rural Southwest Wales at the beginning of the twentieth century differed little from those of fifty years earlier.² Migrants from the countryside left behind the familiarity and relative stability of rural life, with its paternalistic ties between landlord and tenant, close family connections, and a well defined sense of community gained from generations of families living side by side. This atmosphere of stability was lost in the industrial towns, as few familiar institutions existed to provide feelings of community among newly arrived migrants. Conditions in the workplace did little to ease feelings of insecurity. The paternalistic relations found in the agricultural sector, and in pre-industrial manufacturing, gave way to the impersonal wage relations of industrial capitalism (Engels, 1977: 6).

The result of intensive industrialization and the alienation engendered by capitalism was to produce a state of 'anomie', defined by Durkheim as a condition of 'social disorganisation in which established social and cultural forms break down' (in O'Dea, 1966: 56). Dr. Wilson (1970: 232) notes that such feelings of

2. Jenkins found that some farmers could name tenants of neighbourhood farms back several generations, attesting to a close-knit community. However, lest we run the risk of mythologizing rural society, it should be noted that landlord-tenant relations were not always good, particularly in Wales, and that rural communities could be divided by religious affiliation, and differences in farm size and income.

disorganization and insecurity can arise from several sources:

[a] sense of lost community among newly arrived urban migrants,... [a] feeling of inadequacy among native populations by the evidence of more advanced technology, and [an] awareness of life-styles and opportunities available only to others....

In such situations people search for responses which will enable them to cope with the new conditions in which they find themselves (ibid.: 232).

As the pace of industrialization varied between regions, so did the rate of change in the structure of society (Foster, 1974: 1). Likewise, the length of time involved in the process of industrialization seems to have influenced responses to change, particularly in relation to the growth and development of radicalism among the working class (ibid.: 1-2). As Foster (1974: 1-3) suggests, radicalism, and the response of the proletariat to capitalism, in different locations, varied in terms of intensity and duration of expression, type of response, and degree of development. However, despite these regional variations, enough similarities in types of responses exist to discuss them in general terms. It might also be said that, by the 1830s and 1840s, working class consciousness had developed to such a degree that it can be interpreted on a national, rather than local, scale (though even within a national movement, such as Chartism, there were local and regional differences.) As a means of coping with, or responding to these conditions, the working class employed a number of

options. Lambert (1976: 6) identified three options: the pub, religion, and radical politics. This is a rather restricted list, to which may be added: the maintenance of family ties, either within the new environment, or with 'home' villages; maintenance of folk traditions, customs, dialects, etc; and organizations promoting craft relations. None of these should be seen as having been created specifically in the urban-industrial environment, but, rather as having been invested, perhaps, with new meaning and purpose under industrial capitalism.

These responses might be categorized as either 'active' or 'passive', essentially referring to whether, in the end, they help to 'serve the purposes of social control', directly or indirectly, or serve the proletariat in their attempt to alter the social system (Foster, 1974: 4, 218). Regarding 'passive' responses, Foster (1974: 4) writes that

in order to recreate the conditions for a meaningful 'social existence'-- to establish apparent control over what society produces- people tend to limit their social contacts to those possessing roughly the same purchasing power as themselves. The result is a series of sectional groupings [which allow people] to find some measure of social fulfillment.

The categorizing of these responses can be difficult. The maintenance of family ties and folk traditions can be termed passive responses, though, folk traditions and culture can provide an ideology for change. Welsh cultural nationalism, for example, came to be linked with radicalism and social change (see below,

chapters 4 and 6). Likewise, the role of the pub in working class life is ambiguous. It served the purposes of social control by providing a location, and the means (drink), by which to escape. However, the pub was the focal point of working class society, and as such, came to be the focal point of radical politics (Foster, 1974: 218).

Radical politics and craft organizations were active responses. The former sought to directly alter the organization of society by agitating for reforms which would protect the worker, and would give the working class power within society. The radical movement reached its highest expression in Chartism and the campaign for universal male suffrage. Trades unions and benefit, or friendly, societies actively promoted the needs of the workers, and, at least sought to protect whatever gains had been achieved. Foster suggests that the friendly society may have indirectly served as a means of social control (ibid.: 218). It might have, if by providing insurance against job loss due to sickness, injury, or lay-off, it reduced the labourers' desire to agitate for more far-reaching changes.

One response has been left, conspicuously, for last. The role of religion in British working class society, especially in relation to radical politics, is a controversial subject. This controversy stems from whether religion was a passive means of coping with, or even escaping, the realities of capitalist society, or whether it was an active response, providing an ideology

and theology to bolster attempts at reforming society. In a sense, Christian theology provided for both responses, but it has generally been accepted, by Marxists in particular, that religion was a controlling factor in society, used by the bourgeoisie to maintain power and to keep the proletariat in a position of submission and acquiescence to the established order. Acceptance of one's station in life on earth, along with piety and faith, so the ministers and bourgeoisie preached, would be rewarded with salvation in heaven. For the working class, hope of riches and glory in the next life offered a means of coping with the poverty and oppression of industrial society (Hobsbawm, 1984: 279). As Marx expressed it:

Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people (On Religion: 39).

Marx recognized that religion was a means of coping with the alienation of capitalist society. But, for him, it was only that. As society, and moreover, the proletariat, advanced towards communism, reliance on, and belief in, religion would disappear due to communism's ability to 'satisfy the desires which religion expressed in an alienated form' (McLellan, 1987: 30-1).³ Religion was a 'secondary phenomena... dependent on socio-economic

3. See also, Engels (1977: 27, note 5), quoting from the June Draft of the Communist Confession of Faith: 'All religions so far have been the expression of historical stages of development of individual peoples or groups of peoples. But communism is the stage of historical development which makes all existing religions superfluous and brings about their disappearance.'

circumstances', and the sooner the proletariat threw off such a delusion, the sooner it could take up the task of transforming society (ibid.: 31). This, the proletariat could do by realizing the true nature of production. Marx wrote:

The religious reflections of the real world can, in any case, vanish only when the practical relations of every day life between man and man, and man and nature, generally present themselves to him in a transparent and rational form. The veil is not removed from the countenance of the social life-process, i.e. the process of material production, until it becomes production by freely associated men, and stands under their conscious and planned control (Capital, vol. 1: 173).

That religion was dependent on socio-economic circumstances will not be disputed here; what will be questioned is the notion that religion invariably supports the status quo (in this case, capitalism), and must be opposed to communism.

Marx's views emerged from the mid-nineteenth century as the dominant socialist or communist ideology. Along with his theories on capitalist society have come also his views toward religion's role in society. While we cannot give Marx full responsibility for the development of this view (Marx's thoughts on religion can be traced through Feuerbach and the Young Hegelians)⁴, Marxism has become identified with the belief that God and religion were the creations of man (V.A. Harvey, 1985: 291); religion was a means of coming to terms with the material circumstances of life. This view was shared by Engels as

4. See McLellan (1987, chapter 1) and Van A. Harvey (1985) for discussions of Marx's relationships with the Young Hegelians and Ludwig Feuerbach.

he described Calvinism's unique applicability to the needs and goals of bourgeois society. Calvinism provided the ideology which propelled the English middle class of merchants and industrialists into a position of dominance over society. It provided the motive force behind the Parliamentarians in the English Revolution, which signalled the transformation from an aristocratic, semi-feudal society to a capitalistic, bourgeois society (Engels, 1975: 26-7).⁵

Hard work, frugality and piety became the characteristics of Calvinist adherents. As members of Dissenting denominations increased in wealth, the doctrine of election took on a new meaning. Material advancement became a badge of piety, and the division of society into classes came to be seen as being preordained. The elect were blessed not only with salvation, but also with wealth and material abundance--poverty became a sign of sinfulness. Faith, though, would assure salvation, and, thus, a person's duty was to faithfully ignore their plight on earth and look forward to a blissful life in heaven. People were predestined to their particular life on earth, and nothing could (or should) be done to change it. This produced the obvious contradiction of the poor being taught that poverty and suffering were the marks of a good Christian, while the middle and upper classes adhered to an opposite view. The former view had always been present in Christian theology, and the idea that the pious are poor and

5. See also Christopher Hill (1962).

unconcerned with the material aspects of life served to support the upper classes in Western society. Many opponents of religion, Marx and Engels included, have objected to this belief that poverty and suffering would be rewarded in heaven, and that agitation for social reforms hindered salvation.

Was religion wholly opposed to social and political reform? In support of the Marxist viewpoint, many leaders within the Church of England and Nonconformity spoke out against reforms. Jabez Bunting, Wesley's successor as leader of the Wesleyan Methodists, maintained that 'Methodism hates democracy as much as it hates sin' (in Thompson, 1980: 430). Hobsbawm correlates Methodism's growth with periods of economic crisis and social unrest, not in conjunction with violent revolution, but as a passive alternative to it. This corresponds with the view that religion was a means of coping with poor or worsened conditions of life. Hobsbawm accepts Halevy's thesis that Methodism defused any violent revolutionary tendencies among the British working class at the end of the eighteenth century (though not without some reservations; the belief that change could be achieved democratically and constitutionally also exerted some influence), and focused attention instead on spiritual salvation.

Examples abound of ministerial hostility towards groups such as the Chartists and trades unions. Following the Chartist attack on Newport in 1839, a number of Welsh Chartists were expelled from their

congregations (E.T. Davies, 1965: 78). Officially, the Established Church opposed anything which threatened the nature of its authority. The Rev. Evan Jenkins, vicar of Dowlais, published a tract entitled, 'Chartism Unmasked', in which he argued that 'the Church of England and Chartism totally oppose each other' (in Yeo, 1981: 135). It was Jenkins' belief that the Scriptures opposed equality and that since God created poverty and riches, then the world must be so divided (E.T. Davies, 1965: 81).

Opposition to Chartism, however, was not confined to the Church. Clergy of Nonconformist denominations joined in denouncing the movement (though the attitudes of most Unitarians, and Baptists to a lesser degree, tended to be favourable), and thus add credence to Marxist interpretations of religion's role in society. There are instances of whole congregations disapproving of membership in unions, secret societies, etc. Calvinistic Methodists in Wales disapproved of union membership, and in 1832 published in their periodical, Y Drysorfa (The Treasury), a list of declarations concerning the matter. Declaration number three sums up their feelings on union membership:

Whoever wishes to be a member of such a society, cannot be tolerated as a Church member, because such societies are contradictory to the word of God and to the laws of the country in which we live, and we excommunicate them (in Turner, 1988: 92).

Benefit societies, such as the Iforites in South Wales, were similarly frowned upon, and 'one of the grounds of

excommunication from chapel membership was the wearing of the badge of a benefit society' (E.T. Davies, 1965: 77).⁶

Everywhere in Britain during the 1830s and 1840s, religion seemed opposed to reform, maintaining, instead, social control. With the Church and Nonconformity holding such feelings towards social and political reform, it would seem that radical politics offered the only option to the worker who sought to better his position. From the last quarter of the eighteenth century groups emerged to agitate for reform-- the Jacobin societies at the end of the century, various trades unions and benefit societies, and the Working Men's Associations, out of which emerged the Chartists. For the period under study (1840-1860), Chartism was the primary radical reform movement influential among the working class (Robert Owen's socialist movement, and the Communists in Europe also exerted substantial influence, though they often worked in conjunction with Chartists or former Chartists.)

The People's Charter had its origin among the London Working Men's Association, after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 enfranchised only a small fraction of the working class. The Charter hinged around six points, which called for: universal male suffrage; voting by ballot; equal constituencies based on the latest census; a Parliament summoned and elected annually; no property

6. Latter Day Saints did not disapprove of membership in the Iforites. Ironically, it was the Iforites who excommunicated Mormons (see chapter 4, below).

qualifications for members of Parliament; and payment for services to members of Parliament (Hovell, 1918: 2).

Chartism represented the first working class reform movement in Britain with a defined political agenda. Though it was fuelled by economic distress, its purpose was not merely to reduce that distress, but to gain the franchise in order to wield political power, and thus remove the inequalities and oppression from society (D. Williams, 1939: 95). Bronterre O'Brien, one of the movement's leaders, remarked that the gaining of the Charter would bring about 'an entire change in society-- a change amounting to a complete subversion of the existing order of the world', and that the 'working classes aspire to be at the top instead of the bottom of society-- or rather that there should be no top or bottom at all' (in John, 1970: 43).

The Charter was presented to Parliament in 1839 and quickly defeated. The movement, however, continued despite hardships and government prosecutions following the failure of Welsh Chartists to burn the workhouse in Newport, and to institute a general rebellion.⁷ Chartism remained a strong force in working class politics throughout the 1840s and into the 1850s.⁸ Though the

7. Historians disagree on the intent of the Welsh Chartists' attack on Newport. Some feel it was only an isolated riot, directed primarily at the workhouse. D.J.V. Jones (1985) argues that it was the first move in a planned, nationwide rebellion. Its failure signalled that full-scale rebellion would be futile.

8. John (1970) disagrees with the view that Chartism largely declined after the mid-1840s, maintaining that the movement continued to be influential into the mid-1850s, when its members, at least in Wales, were absorbed by the Liberal Party.

points of the Charter were gained eventually, Chartism's significance lies not in the changes brought about by its agitation, but in its emergence from more primitive forms of rebellion as a well-defined, radical political movement.

Inherent in the ideology of radical politics was a secularist view of religion, which, as some would have it, leaned towards irreligion. Hobsbawm notes that those who followed Robert Owen did so 'not only for his analysis of capitalism, but for his unbelief...' (Hobsbawm, 1984: 270). The working class left the Church and chapels for several reasons-- lack of accommodation in the case of the former, and lack of interest in relieving their immediate problems on the part of both groups-- and replaced them with the secular ideology of the labour and socialist movements (ibid.: 280-1). Engels best captured this move to irreligion (as he interpreted it) when he wrote that

in order to find people who dared to use their own intellectual faculties with regard to religious matters, you had to go amongst the uneducated, the 'great unwashed', as they were then called, especially the Owenite Socialists (Engels, 1975: 19).

Yet, many people remained religious. With reference to Methodism, E.P. Thompson (1980: 391) writes:

Nor can there be any doubt as to the deep-rooted allegiance of many working class communities (equally among miners, weavers, factory workers, seamen, potters and rural labourers) to the Methodist Church.

Thompson continues:

How then should such a religion appeal to the forming proletariat in a period of exceptional hardship, whose multitudes did not dispose them any sense of group calling, whose experiences at work and in their communities favoured collectivist rather than individual values, and whose frugality, discipline or acquisitive virtues brought profit to their masters rather than success to themselves? (ibid.: 392).

In Engels' estimation (and perhaps also Thompson's and Hobsbawm's) the enlightened members of the proletariat, those who had accepted scientific socialism, had thrown off the cloak of religion. Everyone else remained deluded. Religion and socialism were, while not necessarily incompatible, at least two separate ideologies. Socialism, according to Hobsbawm (1984: 270), claimed to be based on eighteenth century rationalism, which was deistic at best. This distinction between religious and socialist ideologies surprises Hobsbawm, and he writes thus:

This is all the more surprising as we have seen the masses to have remained predominantly religious, and as the natural revolutionary idiom of masses brought up in a traditional Christian society is one of rebellion (social heresy, millennialism, and the like), the Bible being a highly incendiary document. However, the prevalent secularism of the new labour and socialist movements was based on the equally novel and more fundamental fact of the prevalent religious indifference of the new proletariat.... [B]y the standards of the first half of the nineteenth century there was no precedent for their (the working class and urban masses) remoteness from, ignorance of, and indifference to organized religion (ibid.: 270-1).

Hobsbawm, in the above passage, has captured the heart of the controversy. He states on the one hand that 'the masses...remained predominantly religious', yet then goes on to say that the working class and urban masses were indifferent to religion. Are there two masses in nineteenth century British society? The above would suggest that there were-- one religious and one irreligious. There is some evidence to support this. Nonconformity increased in membership during the first half of the century, while, according to the Census of 1851,⁹ there seemed to be a high degree of religious indifference in most industrial cities. To some extent

9. The Census of Religion, held on 30 March 1851, was intended only to measure the level of religious accommodation offered by the various religious bodies. The enumeration forms also asked for numbers of attendants at each service-- morning, afternoon, and evening. Thus, returns provided information on the numbers of attendants in most churches and chapels. This information provides an approximate, and more objective, guide to determining the sizes of denominations and sects in Britain. It must be used, however, with caution. Little care was taken in counting attendants, making it possible for a person to be counted two or three times, depending on the number of services attended. There was no standard method of counting attendants, and no attempt was made to distinguish between members and 'hearers'. Most Nonconformist denominations, as well as groups such as the Mormons, attracted hearers, who, though possibly regular attenders, were not listed in their rolls. They would have been included in the census. Any membership totals derived from the census must be regarded only as approximations, and never completely accurate. However, it does provide a somewhat standardized measurement of denomination sizes.

Despite the deficiencies and limitations of the census, it was quite accurate in demonstrating not only that Nonconformity had increased, especially in Wales, but also that much of the population had not attended any services at all. There is an extensive literature pertaining to the census, but relating to Wales, in particular, see the works of Prof. David Williams, and Prof. I.G. Jones, especially Jones (1976b) Religious Census of 1851, a calendar of returns relating to Wales, volumes 1 and 2.

we can say that there were two masses, for the working class had not completely formed one unified class; it was still divided into segments made up of the desperately poor, the unskilled labourers, general workers, and the 'labour aristocracy' of highly skilled workers and craftsmen.

An opposite point can be taken, however, that there existed two 'religions'. By this is meant, organized religion, and popular or 'diffusive' religion (Parsons, 1986: 10). The former refers to official Christendom--the Church of England and Nonconformist denominations. More precisely, it refers to the leadership of these denominations, and not necessarily to the individual members. These groups tended to support the status quo, and were generally opposed to reform (though there were exceptions within all groups, the Unitarians in particular). Opposed to this was diffusive Christianity, which as the name implies, was not concentrated or cohesive, but made up of break-away congregations, who may or may not have retained the denominational name, and individuals who opposed organized religion, yet remained attached to the tenets of Christianity. Sects such as the Christian Chartists, Irvingites, Millerites, Campbellites, and Latter Day Saints (to name but a few)--technically fairly well organized, but opposed to mainstream denominations-- can be included in this group. The characteristics of the grouping can be broadly generalized as being: anti-clerical, anti-creedal, Arminian, and, in some cases, chiliastic. Some care in

using this last term should be taken, for diffusive Christianity does not imply chiliastic or millenarian overtones; and among those sects which can be defined as such, there was a wide range of belief concerning the time and manner in which the millennium would, either be achieved or arrive.¹⁰

Thus, in reaction to ministerial opposition to attempts at social and political reform, the working class did not necessarily seek religion simply as a means of coping, nor did they entirely forsake religion. Yeo (1981: 121) suggests that some responded by forming their own chapels and sects:

It was only natural that Chartists with a Christian commitment should seek communion with their God in such grave and climactic times, even before, but especially after the National Petition [the Charter] was rejected.

Christian theology provided a powerful ideology, and just as ministers could use it to justify the prevailing social order, so could the working class use it to call for reform, and to bolster socialist ideology. This form of Christianity took on a marked opposition to organized religion and a high degree of anti-clericalism. To this end, workers were encouraged by the Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens, who broke with the Wesleyans over their opposition to disestablishment and Chartism (though he

10. Premillennialists believed that Christ's second advent would precede the millennium; postmillennialists believed it would follow (Harrison, 1979: 4). Beliefs on how the millennium would arrive ranged from divine, cataclysmic action, to human agency. For the full range of millennialist classifications, see Wilson (1973). Millenarianism is simply a less scholarly and more popularly based approach to millennialism.

never formally joined the movement himself). In March 1839 Stephens preached a sermon in which he maintained that 'most churches and chapels had lost all claim to spiritual authority...' and urged workers to 'meet in any surroundings for worship, select one of their body to minister and replace him if he stopped preaching the truth' (ibid.: 115). Presumably, the 'truth' was social reform.

It would be difficult to determine how many members of the working class followed Stephens' instruction. In some cases they did form new working class sects, but these did not last long enough to be counted in the Census of Religion. Neither Faulkner (1916) nor Yeo (1981) provide figures relating to the number of members of the Christian Chartist Church. Worshippers who remained unaffiliated with any denomination would be difficult to trace, as they most likely would have met in private homes or rented halls, and were probably unconcerned with record keeping. It is probable that people with such inclinations might break with a chapel, form a new chapel, yet retain the denominational name. Protestantism, especially Nonconformity, exhibited a tendency to splinter into various groups and chapels when members quarrelled or found a minister to be less than satisfactory. The dissenting group would either leave or be driven out of the congregation. They would then select one of their own as minister, or advertise for a new minister who met their needs and approval (Halevy, 1971: 47-8). Stephens' followers established a group

consisting of several congregations known as the 'Stephensite Methodists', but whether they officially separated from the Wesleyan Church is not known. The Primitive Methodists offer a good example of a class related splinter sect which increased in size and was large enough to be counted in the Census of Religion.¹¹ The Dissenting denominations did not have the centralized authority of the Methodists, thus individual chapels exercised a large degree of autonomy of thought. Congregations could maintain adherence to similar theological creeds, while holding different views toward political and social reform. We can find examples among the Independents in Wales of ministers excommunicating members who were Chartists, while others, notably the Rev. David Rees of Llanelli, argued the cause of radicalism.¹²

It seems correct to assume a certain fluidity within British Christianity, particularly regarding the working class. To assume religious indifference as the reaction to organized religion's passivity seems as wrong as assuming that all who remained religious meekly and blindly followed their ministers' directives, as sheep

11. The Primitive Methodists broke with the Wesleyan Church ostensibly over the camp meeting controversy and the lack of democracy within Wesleyanism. Wesleyan leaders feared that camp meetings would lead to political activity, undermining the doctrine of submission to authority. To a certain extent they did, and the Primitive Methodists emerged as a 'proletarian-democratic' movement (Thompson, 1980: 307; Hobsbawm, 1984: 279).

12. Rees' periodical, Y Diwygiwr (The Reformer), was a major organ of the Welsh Independents. He adopted as its slogan, O'Connell's words: 'Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!' (Walters, 1987: 9).

following the shepherd. Religion was not a monolithic structure, nor can each of the denominations be categorized as such; to claim that the working class strictly adhered to or was completely indifferent to Christianity is to draw too distinct a line. There existed a 'gray area' of opposition to organized religion, with a retention of Christian principles. The Chartists were accused of infidelity and irreligion by their opponents within organized religion who, no doubt, had in mind the anti-Church and anti-religion remarks of leaders like Feargus O'Connor. Chartists, however, 'resented this... for their ranks included many who, although having no connection or interest in the church, could still be designated as Christians' (Faulkner, 1916: 17). Faulkner continues:

The... reaction against the Christianity of the time as exemplified in the churches assumed... the form of a feeling of either indifference or absolute hostility to the church and ecclesiasticism although coupled with loyalty to the tenets of Christianity (ibid.: 17).

Christian Chartism eliminated creedal statements, no doubt in opposition to mainstream denominations, but did retain such rituals as baptism and communion. Emphasis was placed on good works, giving it a decidedly Arminian stance. This again was in opposition to organized religion, which was seen, as Lovett described it, as 'a thing... for idlers to profit by, who in their miserable interpretation of it too often cause men to neglect their improvement of the present in their aspiration of the future' (in ibid.: 20). Christianity to the Chartists

was a doctrine by which men could improve themselves; it taught that all men should be equal, not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal matters as well. The practical Christianity that Chartist chapels preached bolstered their secular ideology of social reform. The social teachings of Christ were stressed, texts from the Bible were used to complement secular political and economic ideals, such as democracy, universal suffrage, and socialism (ibid.: 21-3, 44).

Faulkner, however, does not provide details on patterns of belief among Chartist chapels. He mentions that they practised baptism, but not whether it was a requirement for membership within the group, or rather performed on those who had never been baptized into any denomination. He mentions that they emphasized the social teachings of Christ, but not their conception of him. Was he seen as divine, or simply a good man? The impression we are left with is that they might have seen him simply as a good man, much in line with Unitarian doctrine, and in itself, a large step away from mainstream Christian theology. This is likely, as the Unitarians were, of all denominations, the strongest supporters of Chartism, and as Faulkner contends, the wide range of thought amongst Unitarians made it appealing to Chartists (ibid.: 106). Wright (1953: 98) notes further that the Rev. A. Browning of Tillicoultry, Scotland, 'and nearly all his congregation were both Unitarians and Chartists.'

What Christian Chartism lacked, in contrast with other contemporary sects with whom it shared characteristics, was a millennial outlook. J.R. Stephens did preach (just prior to his trial for sedition in August 1839) that 'God's destruction of unrighteous civilizations was a perpetual truth' and that it would soon be meted out (Yeo, 1981: 121). It has been claimed that socialism offered a means of salvation in a non-religious form (O'Dea, 1966: 63), and the adoption of socialism as a future goal may represent Christian Chartism's millennial advent-- marked not by the return of Christ, but by the inauguration of a more perfect society. Some among the Chartists believed that when the Charter was attained, all evils would cease to exist and an ideal society would come into existence (John, 1970: 43).

Christianity was not thrown aside entirely by radicals in the mid-nineteenth century. Rather, organized religion, or at least those ministers and congregations who opposed reform, were forsaken in favour of a Christianity which sought to change society to a more rational and equitable form. Chartism did receive support from some clergy. J.R. Stephens has already been mentioned as opposing general Wesleyan opinion in favour of reform. Faulkner (1916: 18-9) lists the denominational affiliations of Chartist leaders, among whom were several ministers: Edward Miall (Independent), Thomas Spencer (Church of England), Patrick Buchanan (Church of Scotland), and O'Malley (Catholic). In Wales,

Chartist leader John Frost worshipped at Rev. Benjamin Byron's Independent chapel in Newport; Byron prayed for Frost's release from prison after the attack on Newport. He continued to be active in the movement into the 1840s (John, 1970: 61). The Rev. Thomas Davies (Baptist) and Rev. David John (Unitarian), both of Merthyr Tydfil, played active roles within the Chartist movement in Wales, the former being described as a 'rabid Chartist', and the latter's sermons causing scandals (ibid.: 64, 70).

The role of religion in British society and its relationship with radical politics during the first half of the nineteenth century, and in particular during the 1840s, remains unresolved. The evidence supporting any argument is too inconclusive to make a final, all-encompassing statement, and no such attempt shall be attempted here. Marx was correct in that religion can be a means by which people try to cope with the alienation of capitalist society. But his basic argument that it acts^{as} a delusion, turning people away from reform, is not entirely correct. In response to economic conditions, and to institutionalized religion, which either ignored or rebuked calls for reform, a portion of the proletariat created a radical Christianity which sought to bring forth a new order of society. The Christian Chartists showed that religion need not be a passive refuge from the alienation of industrial capitalism, but could be an active response to the problems of society. During the 1830s and 1840s, a working class consciousness was

forming, and the institutions of authority were questioned. This included religion. Radical Christianity, and the example of the primitive Christian Church, were used to bolster secular, radical ideology.

The Christian Chartists believed that change could come from within society, particularly after the Charter was accepted. Within radical Christianity, however, existed another group-- the millenarians-- equally as radical, but believing that the present society was beyond redemption, and that only a completely new society could achieve their goals. As Harrison (1979: xvi) writes, 'millenarianism was one attempt' at providing 'a philosophy of radical social change.' Millenarian religion, particularly utopian millenarianism, provided an ideology of active social change, stressing not gradual change, but immediate action. Mormonism was just such a movement. It offered converts the opportunity to help build a new society and obtain spiritual salvation. However, Mormonism must be seen as just one option for the working class, providing answers to the inequality, oppression and alienation of capitalist society. It was not alone in offering an active response; Mormonism moved into and shared a niche created by the radical Christian movement.

CHAPTER THREE

A WORKING CLASS SECT

The Latter Day Saint Church is generally described as a utopian millenarian sect. The degree to which it can be termed also a radical Christian sect needs to be established. To do so, converts must be identified as to occupational and social status, and also as to their perceptions of their own places in society. Converts' social status, however, provides only a partial explanation of Mormon appeal and growth, and would not necessarily identify sufficient reasons to see Mormonism as a radical, active response to the conditions of life experienced by the working class. Therefore, those doctrines which promoted an active response for social change must be identified and discussed with reference to the radical Christian movement. By examining Mormonism in its American context, with particular reference to the origins of the church and its doctrines, perhaps we can begin to understand why Mormonism appealed to a segment of the Welsh working class.

I. Occupational and Social Status

There is little doubt that the Latter Day Saint Church drew the majority of its converts, in both the United States and Britain, from the working class. Within this category, descriptions of converts vary from the broad to the specific. In 1872, the U.S. Secretary of State observed that Mormon immigrants were 'drawn

mainly from the ignorant classes...' (in O'Dea, 1957: 92). The Birmingham Daily Press of 12 December 1857 noted that Mormon socialism appealed 'to the poor workers of Europe' (in Taylor, 1965: 32n.). The Athenaeum of 3 April 1841 was more specific, writing that Mormon converts were not 'from the lowest ranks; [but] are mechanics and tradesmen who have saved a little money' (in Brodie, 1963: 264-5).

Taylor (1965: 149-51) noted that approximately 88% of Mormon emigrants from Britain can be classified as working class (see Table 1). This may be skewed somewhat by the fact that wealthier converts were less inclined to emigrate, but their numbers would not have been large enough to alter the fact that Latter Day Saints in Britain were overwhelmingly working class. Records from 37 Welsh congregations reveal that, of occupations listed for over 1500 members between 1843 and 1856,¹ only 26 might be categorized as 'white-collar' (see Table 2). Over half of those recorded were either colliers (582), iron miners (244), or quarrimen (15). A further 235 were employed in various trades, with cobblers and shoemakers,

1. These records are the register books distributed to the congregations. Only 37 copies remain, all for congregations in South Wales, with the exception of Blaenau Ffestiniog. The earliest listing is 1843 (date of baptism of first member on each congregational record used to establish beginning date.) The LDS church underwent a reformation in 1857, and records were wiped clean, inactive or apostate members were removed, and those who remained members were re-baptized. The year 1856 was chosen as an end date to lessen any duplication of data. Regarding congregational information, where no source other than LDS records is given, it will refer to these records.

masons, blacksmiths, and tailors and clothiers leading the list.

Table 1. Occupations of British Mormon Emigrants.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
General Labourers	21.19%
Miners	14.77
Metals & Engineering Workers	10.02
Textile Workers	9.23
Carpenters	6.67
Boot & Shoemakers	5.79
Brick & Stone Workers	3.84
Clothing Trades	2.85
Farm Labourers	2.31
Domestics	.79
Miscellaneous	<u>11.05</u>
Total Working Class	88.51
Farmers	4.85%
Shopkeepers	3.37
Professionals	1.67
Clerks, etc.	<u>1.60</u>
Total Middle Class	11.49

Source: Taylor (1965: 149-51)

Taylor makes no mention as to how his findings on Mormon occupations relate to the general population. His data was collected from Mormon emigration records, which tended to be more specific than British or American government records. The categories in Table 1 represent his simplification of Mormon records. It is assumed that since Taylor states that they apply to emigration from the British Isles as a whole, they do not apply directly to converts in any one particular region, but represent an overview of convert occupations. Thus, we might expect to find some variation as to specific occupations depending upon the industries found in each region. Table 1 also contains a rather large group (11.05%)

Table 2. Occupations of Welsh Mormon Converts.

<u>Mining Trades</u>	<u>Number</u>	
<u>Percentage</u>		
Colliers	582	
Miners	244	
Quarrymen	15	
Misc. Coalworkers	<u>5</u>	
Total	846	54.9%
 <u>Artisans/Skilled Trades</u>		
Cobblers/Shoemakers	55	
Tailors/Clothiers/Dressmakers	38	
Masons	33	
Smiths	21	
Carpenters/Joiners	19	
Building Trades	19	
Weavers/Spinners	18	
Engineers	12	
Miscellaneous Trades	<u>14</u>	
Total	235	15.3%
 <u>Miscellaneous</u>		
Labourers	136	
Hauliers	30	
Maritime	<u>17</u>	
Total	183	11.9%
 <u>Domestic Servants</u>	97	6.3%
 <u>Industrial Trades</u>		
Puddlers/Rollers	38	
Firemen/Furnacemen	18	
Moulders/Ballers/Glaziers	14	
Tinmen/Copper Workers	6	
Miscellaneous Trades	<u>10</u>	
Total	86	5.6%
 <u>Agricultural</u>		
Farmers/Farmers Relatives	51	
Farm Labourers/Relatives	13	
Shepherd/Cowman/Miller	<u>1</u> each	
Total	67	4.3%
 <u>Merchants/General 'white-collar'</u>		
Shopkeepers/Traders	9	
Scholars/Teachers	7	
Secretaries	5	
Traveling Elders	3	
Overseer/Ex-Baptist Minister	<u>1</u> each	
Total	26	1.7%
 TOTAL OCCUPATIONS	1540	100%

SOURCE: Congregation Register Books, Latter Day Saint Church

labelled 'miscellaneous'. This may refer to emigrants for whom no occupation was listed, to those for whom two or more trades were listed, or, even, to emigrants whose occupation did not fit neatly into Taylor's categories. Whatever the reason, it represents a large proportion of converts whose occupation, and possibly even class, status remains a mystery.

Table 2 presents a more specific breakdown of member's occupations, although it is not without some faults. The occupations of many members were not listed; those listed are assumed correct at time of conversion and the member is assumed to have remained in that occupation for the time they remained in the church or in Wales. The table lists occupations of those members who joined the church between 1843 and 1856 (see note 1 above), and includes those who emigrated during that period, those who remained in Wales, and those who were excommunicated or left the church. It is assumed that each recorded occupation represents one individual member. A number of members did transfer from one congregation to another, and, though care was taken, some duplication of data may have occurred. There are several reasons for this. In the absence of consistent recording of personal information such as birth dates, locations of birth, baptismal dates, etc., it is nearly impossible to determine whether a name listed twice represents one person listed twice or two people with the same occupation. The lack of diversity among Welsh names makes the latter probable. For the same reason it is

difficult to trace members from one congregation to another. Finally, the membership records are contained on six rolls of microfilm, making cross-referencing cumbersome. To attempt to determine if the occupations of those who transferred were recorded twice would have resulted in much time being expended in order to correct a few duplications. It is assumed that the occupations listed are fairly representative of the membership as a whole, thus reducing the negative impact of any duplication.

It is difficult to make any direct comparison between the Mormon occupational profile and that of South Wales as a whole, primarily because of differences in the populations being counted. Mormons were not distributed through the entire population, but tended to be concentrated in particular areas, namely urban-industrial centres. Most male members were employed in the mining, industrial, and artisan sectors, and as near as can be determined from comparison with the 1851 census, appear to reflect the general occupational profile of industrial South Wales. Thus, it seems safe to conclude that Mormon converts represented, in general, a cross-section of the urban-industrial proletariat, rather than a particular portion of it.

Nor do they appear to have been any poorer than the non-Mormon population. Apart from fears expressed by

some that conversion would result in job loss,² and the persecution of members in some areas (see below, chapter 5), there is no evidence of discrimination which might have resulted in a lower standard of living (Arrington, 1985: 88). Moore (1986: 41) notes that American converts were not 'unusually poor with respect to material things' and also sees them as being no different in terms of class or position in society ~~from~~ their peers in other denominations. Yet, because Mormonism held out promises for better living conditions in America 'economic' reasons have been seen as attracting converts. Mormon apostle Parley Pratt focused on the poor conditions of life when he wrote in 1842:

In the midst of the general distress which prevails in this country on the account of want of employment, the high price of provisions, the oppression, priestcraft, and iniquity of the land it is pleasing... to contemplate a country reserved by the Almighty as a sure asylum for the poor and oppressed... where by persevering industry they may enjoy all the blessings of liberty, peace and plenty (Millennial Star, 1842: 153-5).³

It is this promise for material well-being in Zion which has led some to conclude that 'economic reasons are mostly responsible for the movement' (D. Williams, 1927: 251). When these economic reasons are identified, they turn out to be the relatively low wages, long working hours, poor housing and sanitation in towns, etc. In short, they are the same conditions of life experienced

2. Arrington (1988: 88) writes: 'The apostles were appalled that the ministers and factory masters had such control that "many simple souls who believe our message dare not be baptized because starvation could be the result."'

3. Millennial Star will be abbreviated hereafter as M.S.

by most of the working class. Defining Mormon conversion in terms of deprivation theory, Moore maintains, loses meaning when 'their social deprivation was no greater than that of the vast majority of ordinary people' (Moore, 1986: 41). If social and economic deprivation were the root causes of conversion to Mormonism, we should expect to find a much larger portion of the working class converting than actually did. The 1851 census lists the population of Wales at 1,163,000, of whom only approximately 5,000 were Mormons. Given that the former figure includes many who were not working class, it is still clear that most of the working class did not convert. Economic and social deprivation should be seen as necessary conditions for conversion; conditions which converts shared with non-converts, but which did not lead directly to conversion. Sufficient conditions for conversion to Mormonism are more difficult to determine, but may include a desire to actively change conditions of life. This desire to affect change might be seen also in relation to those who joined radical groups such as the Chartists and the Communists. They too shared the same conditions of life as those who remained passive, yet differed in their response to these conditions.

II. Self-Perceptions and Social Response

Moore finds an alternative to deprivation theory by examining Mormon self-perceptions. He maintains that Mormons saw themselves as being apart from society and

made use of terms which would illustrate this (ibid.: 41). Non-Mormons were referred to as 'gentiles', and frequently Mormons saw themselves as occupying a position in society roughly analogous to the ancient Israelites in Egypt and Babylon. In Mormon literature, Latter Day Saint communities were referred to as 'Zion', and Europe as 'Babylon'. But Moore claims that the people who joined the Mormons already saw themselves as outsiders and were seeking something which gave 'content for that outsider role' and provided 'an identity that worked' (ibid.: 41). Moore is speaking of American converts to Mormonism, but as they accepted the same religion, heard essentially the same testimonies, and made use of the same biblical imagery to describe their experiences as did British converts, we can reasonably extend his observation to the British membership. Did they also see themselves as occupying roles outside society? Before answering this question, or, perhaps as a means of finding an answer, we should identify further the American converts, and the doctrines they accepted.

The American converts tended to be of New York or New England origin, of Puritan religious backgrounds, and were lower middle class farmers, artisans and small entrepreneurs (Flanders, 1970: 27). Most were drawn from a group of people who had gradually migrated westward from New England to western New York, where they had hoped to take advantage of the new opportunities for material wealth in the region along the Erie Canal. They were 'the adventurous, the discontented, the

nonconformists' (Brodie, 1963: 12), marked by a strong belief in Jeffersonian democracy and,

a stubborn introspection in the fashioning of personal beliefs, which recognized no authority this side of Heaven. Frank curiosity, pride in independent thinking, a feeling that action should be motivated by sound logic and never by whimsy, a profound skepticism of any rationalization looking to less than the supposed ultimate good of society, and, once arrived at, an overweening confidence in one's own judgment (Cross, 1950: 79, 81).

Frederick Jackson Turner described the migrating Yankee as a reformer, coming from western New England, where democratic leanings in politics mixed with dissent in religion (O'Dea, 1957: 7). The democratic ideas which had led to the Revolution and formed the basis of the American republic 'seeped into the church' in New England (Brodie, 1963: 2). As a result, many rejected the strict Calvinism of the Puritan churches in favour of a belief in a God more benevolent to mankind, a belief which they carried with them as they migrated westward. In western New York, this spirit of religious dissent, coupled with a general lack of trained clergy, led many to remain 'avowedly Christian, but basically irreligious' (Rowe, 1985: 73; Brodie, 1963: 2). By the early decades of the nineteenth century, this situation of irreligion would begin to change as Unitarianism and Universalism developed out of the Congregationalist churches in New

England, and a wave of revivalism swept across the frontier from Kentucky to New York.⁴

Despite the fact that both the LDS and RLDS Churches root their origins in the series of visions which Joseph Smith claimed to have had between 1820 and 1830,⁵ many of the doctrines which members accept as divinely inspired can be traced back to the social environment of western New York during the 1820s. Smith admitted that he had attended many revivals in the area of his family's home near Palmyra, and it was the conflicting claims of the various denominations which led to his confusion and decision to seek advice from God as to which group to join. Thus, he would have been somewhat familiar with various Christian doctrines.

Brodie (1963: 1) sees Joseph Smith as a product of the New England culture from which his family came. His family's own religious background was one of dissent and experimentation (ibid.: 4-5). Smith's own beliefs, and the doctrines of the church he founded, seem to be a combination of this background and the various beliefs being preached in western New York. In a sense,

4. Cross (1950) offers the best study of religious revivalism in western New York and its social origins, but see also, Brodie (1963) and O'Dea (1957) with respect to the Latter Day Saints, and Rowe (1985) for the Millerites.

5. Both churches accept Smith's account of visits from God, Christ, and the angel Moroni as authentic. God and Christ, he claimed, instructed him to restore the 'true' Church of Christ to earth. Moroni, the last of the Nephites, led him to the location of the gold plates from which he translated the Book of Mormon, which tells the story of a group of Jews who left Jerusalem around 600 B.C. and came to America, where they split into two factions-- the Nephites and the Lamanites. The Lamanites, claimed to be ancestors of the American Indians, destroyed the Nephites around 420 A.D.

Mormonism was a synthesis of beliefs which were already existing in society (Foster, 1983: 201). The Book of Mormon, published in 1830, reflected this synthesis, leading Disciple of Christ leader Alexander Campbell to observe after reading it, that it dealt with 'every error and almost every truth discussed in New York for the last ten years' (in Strout, 1974: 131). Within its pages is an outline of Mormon beliefs, stressing not only 'free will, perfectability of man, judgment according to one's works,' and universal salvation (ibid.: 131), but also equality of all men, anti-clericalism, communism, and the sinfulness of class division.⁶

Of particular interest in tracing the origins of Mormon doctrines are the beliefs of Universalism and Unitarianism. The two movements were similar doctrinally, their differences being primarily social and cultural (O'Dea, 1957: 17). Unitarianism developed among the middle class in New England, while

their poorer relations, who shared with them both the Puritan past and the liberalizing tendencies of the present, went over to Universalism (ibid.: 17).

Both movements rejected Calvinism, believing instead in the universality of salvation-- a belief which was

6. See Mosiah 2:43: 'I would that you should impart of your substance to the poor, every man according to that which he has... both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants.' Mosiah 11:153-5: '...there should be an equality among all men,... that every man should esteem his neighbor as himself, laboring with his own hands for his support and that all their priests and teachers should labor with their own hands for their support...' 4 Nephi 1:28: 'And from that time forth they had their goods and their substance no more common among them, and they began to be divided into classes, and they began to deny the true church of Christ.'

particularly acceptable among the religious dissenters in western New York (Cross, 1950: 323). Universalism and Unitarianism also rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, believing, instead, that God and Christ were separate beings, even to the point of denying the divinity of Christ. The idea of original sin was rejected, as was the belief that men were created as corrupted and depraved beings. Christ was a teacher, it was claimed, sent to show men the path to perfection and happiness. Finally, the Bible was held to be scripture, but was written by men, and was to be read and interpreted through reasoned and rational analysis, taking into consideration the times and circumstances in which it was written, just as one would do with any other book (Gaustad, 1982: 283-7).

Mormonism arose out of this atmosphere of dissent and changing conceptions towards religion and man's relationship with God. By and large, its appeal was not to people without any religious convictions, but among those who were sympathetic to the beliefs of Universalism/Unitarianism and radical Christianity, or 'left-wing Protestantism', as O'Dea (1957: 12) calls the general movement.

The region in which they lived was one of relative instability, with a constant stream of people moving in from the east replacing those migrating to the west (Brodie, 1963: 12). At the same time, industrial development was proceeding at a rapid pace due to the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, which opened up the

area to manufactured goods from the East (Cross, 1950: 78). In larger towns, such as Albany, at the eastern terminus of the canal, but in general throughout the whole region, the traditional handicraft system was being replaced by industrial capitalism (ibid.: 78; Hackett, 1988: 671). The journeymen of New York, as a result of the changes,

experienced harsher conditions and more obvious forms of exploitation than had workers in the same trades at the beginning of the century (Hackett, 1988: 671).

Paul E. Johnson (1976)⁷ sees the religious revivalism affecting western New York as a reaction to this exploitation and the growing alienation of the workers. Concurrent with this revivalism was the occurrence of the first labour strike in Albany. In May 1826, carpenters demanded higher wages and sought to establish 'permanent prices for piece and day work' (Hackett: 671). By the 1830s the Journeyman Carpenters' Association and the Journeyman Printers' Society had been formed (ibid: 671).

While there is no evidence that this labour unrest affected Joseph Smith directly, neither can it be assumed that he was not familiar with it. Brigham Young, however, was a joiner by trade, working in Vermont and upstate New York, and may well have been familiar with the aims and language of these early labour movements. Young's later statements reveal a degree of sympathy and

7. Paul E. Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium (1976). Hackett writes: 'Johnson's quasi-Marxist analysis saw Rochester's revivals as a community-wide solution to the growing alienation between workers and employers' (Hackett, 1988: 680n.).

advocacy for the working class. In a sermon delivered years later in Salt Lake City, he remarked that

[a]ll the capital there is upon the earth is the bone and sinew of working men and women... it is the active labor of the inhabitants of the earth that bring forth wealth (Discourses, 1925: 462).

And though not always expressed in the clearest of terms, there seems to be an understanding on Young's part that true freedom required equal access to the means of production:

Put a community in possession of knowledge by means of which they can obtain what they need by the labor of their bodies and their brains, then, instead of being paupers they will be free, independent and happy, and these distinctions of classes will cease, and there will be but one class, one grade, one great family (ibid.: 548).

Perhaps now we can begin to understand what Moore meant when he characterized Mormon converts as being outsiders. They were living in the midst of a changing society. Yet, they appear to have been of a class of people who saw themselves as not enjoying the benefits of these changes. The religious revivals which swept the region were a response to feelings of alienation; Cross roots the revivals in the social changes of the region, and they seem to fit the patterns identified by both Thompson and Hobsbawm, particularly if we see Jacksonian politics in America as a popular movement roughly parallel to workers' movements of the same period in Europe. The denominations which advanced in western regions of the United States at this time support this idea-- Universalism/Unitarianism, and various millenarian

sects (Millerites, Disciples of Christ-- 'Campbellites'-- , Latter Day Saints), but in general, a liberal, Arminian faith-- all sought to raise up the common man to a position of temporal and spiritual equality, and stressed the importance of the individual. These groups realized that something was wrong with the social and economic organization of society, but differed in their opinions on how to change society (Marty, 1984: 186). Universalists worked from within, and by aligning themselves with Masons and Democrats in New York,

attacked debtor prisons, blue laws, the inequities suffered by workingmen, capital punishment, and extortion by land speculators (Cross, 1950: 323).⁸

The millenarians worked from outside society, seeking not so much to change society directly, but to change themselves and prepare for a new society to be ushered in by the millennium, which they believed to be imminent. Among the sects originating in New York at this time, two groups can be identified: revolutionists and utopians. To the former belong the Millerites, who believed the millennium would arrive in 1843; to the latter belong the Campbellites, the Oneida Perfectionists, and the Latter Day Saints.

The construction of a perfect society, or Zion, was at the heart of Mormonism. It was expressed as early as April 1829, when, as Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were

8. Joseph Smith ran in the 1844 Presidential campaign, on a platform which included abolition of imprisonment for debt, abolition of capital punishment, community service as punishment for crimes lesser than murder, and on the turning of gaols into seminaries of learning (Brodie, 1963: 364).

translating the Book of Mormon, they received a revelation telling them to 'seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion' (Book of Commandments, 1833, 5:3). Even after they had organized the church in 1830, however, the form that Zion was to take had not been expressed. It was only in February 1831, after Sidney Rigdon, a Campbellite minister and leader of a communistic group at Kirtland, Ohio, had joined the church, that Zion was seen as taking the form of a communist society, and that Latter Day Saints should gather together to construct it. At this point activism, or the recognition that man himself must actively strive to push society toward perfection, became a major aspect of Mormon ideology.

It is perhaps this facet of Mormon doctrine which provided the content for converts' identities. As Moore claims, converts saw themselves as outsiders, or perhaps as part of a society which was not working for them. They already believed in the equality of all men; that all were inherently good and capable of receiving salvation; and that human freedom included the right of each individual to strive toward his fullest potential. These ideas were present in New York and New England society when Joseph Smith was a young man, and before the appearance of the Book of Mormon. And, they are beliefs which come through clearly in the Book of Mormon. What converts lacked was an ideology that actively promoted these ideals and sought to affect a change in society.

Martin Marty writes:

It was not enough simply to claim and to preach that the Christian message would make people better. One could open eyes and see the flaws in American life. For some the eye-opening meant a need for wholly new religious outlooks that would change the American landscape into a new moral order.... Perhaps, some thought, a new revelation or a new community was needed (Marty, 1984: 186).

If those who converted had believed that the ideological structure of society was capable of achieving their ideals, and changing on its own, then perhaps there would have been no need to turn to an alternative such as Mormonism.

Mormonism provided both the new revelation and the new community. Latter Day Saints believed that the millennium and Zion-- the Kingdom of God-- would arrive only after the earth was prepared for it. As with other utopian sects, this kingdom would occupy a physical location, in which the Saints would create a perfect society, providing an example which would revolutionize the world. The idea was hardly novel; similar attempts at creating spiritual or secular utopias had been made before.⁹

In March 1831, in a revelation given to Joseph

9. Contemporary with the Mormons were the Icarians, the Oneida Perfectionists, the Fourierists, Shakers, Rappites, and the Owenites. The Anabaptists at Munster provide a surprisingly close parallel to Mormonism, establishing in the sixteenth century a 'Kingdom of God' based on communism, intent on transforming the world, and also practising polygamy (Vogler, 1988; Quinn, 1987: 363-386).

Smith, the Latter Day Saints were told:

Go ye forth into the western counties, call upon the inhabitants to repent, and inasmuch as they do repent, build up churches unto me; and with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you, and it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the most high God;... (Book of Commandments, 1833, 48:59).

Because Mormonism was at once rooted in the spiritual and temporal aspects of life, so was Zion. It was to be not only a religious community, but also one of a socio-political nature. Rather, in Mormon thought, there was no difference between a religious community and a socio-political community. In 1855, the Millennial Star noted that

America is the land where the Kingdom of God is first to be established.... Where the physical, social, and political influence of His Kingdom is to be developed (in D.J. Davies, 1987: 10).

In the same year, Parley Pratt claimed that Latter Day Saint society offered the only form acceptable to the laws of God, writing:

All merely human religious or political institutions, all republics, states, kingdoms, empires, must be dissolved, the dross of ignorance and falsehood be separated, and the golden principles of unalloyed truth be preserved, and blended forever in one consolidated, universal, eternal government of the Saints of the Most High, and all nations serve and obey Him (P. Pratt, 1855: 71).

Mormon society would form the basis for establishing Zion; and Zion would be heaven on earth. Communism was the ideal for which the community would strive; some

within the church believed it was the only form of society which could provide true equality for all, and that adherence to God's laws demanded a classless society (Cannon, 1869: 97-9). John Taylor (1857: 354) expressed this ideal, reminding members that the cause in which they were engaged would

revolutionize the ideas of ages,...
 overturn the fallacies of centuries,
 and... root out and destroy the
 corruptions of past generations by in-
 troducing the law of the most high God.

He continued, quoting Brigham Young:

'our object is not to elevate the few at the expense of the many, but to elevate and exalt the whole; to pour health, wealth, and life upon all who will receive our teachings' (ibid.: 354).

The form that Mormon communism would take was presented in a revelation in February 1831. Under the 'United Order', as the system was called, members were to turn over ('consecrate') their properties to the church. They would then receive a portion sufficient to provide for their needs. All surplus production was to be given to the church to provide for 'him who has not, that every man receive according as he stands in need...' (Book of Commandments, 1833, 44:28).

The United Order provided for the redistribution of wealth within the Mormon community. This represented a departure from Rigdons' community in which all wealth was held in common, even to the point of sharing clothing-- a practice which had led to dissension and strife (Gottlieb and Wiley, 1984: 37). But an important aspect of Mormon communism was that, rather than all working a single

property in common, each member would work his or her own property for the good of all. By providing property to each convert, or convert family, and allowing freedom in decision making concerning production, a system was created which provided access to the means of production-- in this case agricultural land. The Mormon community, however, was not entirely agricultural. Those who had owned businesses, mills, etc., received them as their stewardships, subject to all the requirements of the United Order. The system allowed for individual freedom in decision making and production, yet retained the idea of production for the good of the community by incorporating this into the doctrine of building the Kingdom of God.

Mormon communities in Missouri provide the best proof that communism was not just an idea ordained from above, followed unquestioningly, but one which was accepted by, and to some extent sprang from, the membership. The United Order was taken one step further than perhaps Smith had envisioned. A group of voluntary communal ventures, known as United Firms, were created in which

every man was to put in all his property by leasing it to the firm for a term of years; overseers or managers were to be chosen from time to time by members of the firm, to manage the concerns of the same and the rest were to labor under their direction (in Arrington, 1958: 16).

At least three firms were established in Missouri (ibid.: 15). In one case, a field of 7,680 acres was enclosed for the growing of grain, forming one vast

communal farm (ibid.: 15). Furthermore, cooperation extended beyond the agricultural sector, with cooperative ventures being established by mechanics, shopkeepers, and labourers (ibid.: 16).

There is no record of the United Firms being established in Nauvoo, though other cooperative ventures were attempted. All property in Missouri had been lost when the Mormons were driven from the state, and though damages were claimed, they were never recovered. Very little capital existed for investment in industry. The United Order was amended; members were now required to turn over only one-tenth of their surplus to the church. This might have been in response to problems in collecting the surplus, or possibly an attempt to encourage capital investment. Nevertheless, despite the lack of capital, Nauvoo became a thriving city, and was, in the early 1840s, the largest city in Illinois. Its success lay in part in its location as a port on the upper Mississippi River, but also in the cooperative spirit behind many Mormon ventures.¹⁰

Beginning in 1840, converts from the eastern United States and Europe were arriving in Nauvoo, all needing housing, land, and employment. For farmer-converts without land, a vast communal farm was established outside the city boundaries (Brodie, 1963: 262). A more pressing problem was the lack of industrial employment

10. Flanders (1965) offers the best study of Mormon Nauvoo, and the society for which it was the focal point between 1839 and 1846. At its height, the city had a population of just over 11,000, not including numerous members living on scattered farms outside the city limits in both Illinois and Iowa.

for newly arrived immigrants from Europe; many were unable to find employment in their respective trades (Flanders, 1965: 147). Tradesmen found solutions by forming producer's cooperatives-- a plan in keeping with Mormon experience, and an idea not unfamiliar to the British working class (ibid.: 154). In 1843, boot and shoemakers formed a cooperative, explaining their scheme by quoting the Glasgow Spinners, that 'the working man's only protection... is Union...

"Union walls are high and grand
 Union walls if nobly manned,
 Union walls are made to stand,
 Against the strongest foe"
 (in ibid.: 155).

Clearly, there was a meeting between LDS ideology and that of the British workers. That Mormon boot and shoemakers turned to union slogans to explain their aims, points out the fact that they were at least familiar with, and perhaps even partial to, radical ideology prior to emigration, or even conversion. Mormon leaders in Nauvoo needed little convincing as to the efficiency and desirability of producer's cooperatives-- by this time they had been experimenting with cooperation and communism for over ten years, and would continue promoting cooperation, communism, and the United Order in Utah well into the 1880s. After Joseph Smith's death in 1844, when the church broke-up over the question of prophetic succession, and over a divergence of beliefs and practices, the common thread running through all groups was that they all practised, at one time or another, some form of communism. Yet, there is little

direct evidence available to link Mormons and Mormonism with radical movements in Britain, and in the absence of such evidence, any such attempts remain speculative. Ideologies may have been similar, and some Mormons might have been members of radical groups, but ultimately, in the church's belief, they would have had to choose between the causes of men and the cause of God.

Sources of Mormon communism are difficult to find, primarily since it is claimed that the United Order was divinely inspired. Thus, there was no source other than God. But if we approach the question in a more speculative manner, we might look to a number of sources. There was no lack of socialist communities on the American frontier during the 1820s which could have provided examples for Joseph Smith (Brodie, 1963: 104-5; O'Dea, 1957: 15). The most obvious source is Rigdon's community at Kirtland; Rigdon having been influenced by Robert Owen's New Harmony community (Brodie, 1963: 105). The missionaries to Britain were affected by the conditions they found; Arrington writes that 'working with the indigent in 1840-41 had an ineradicable influence on Brigham Young' (Arrington, 1985: 88). It may have been during their years in Britain that Young and the other apostles became familiar with radical ideology. Working with, and among the proletariat might have put them in a position of, at least, exposure to working class radicals and their ideology.

There is some basis for assuming at least interest in radical ideology on the part of Mormons, and of

interest in Mormonism on the part of radicals. Parley Pratt was invited by a 'Socialist' to speak at Manchester Hall in 1841 (Taylor, 1965: 37). George Adams wrote to the Millennial Star in December 1841 that he had debated with a Socialist by the name of M'Intosh, and that the audience had acted in a more Christian-like manner than any other congregation (M.S., 1841: 142). In 1843, John Finch, a British Socialist, held several meetings in Nauvoo (Smith, 1979: 233).¹¹ Joseph Smith noted the meetings in his journal, pointing out that both he and John Taylor spoke in response, though he does not record their remarks. From the tone of the entry, the impression is that he was not in agreement with socialism. But the whole of Mormon history during the nineteenth century would seem to suggest otherwise. Rather, perhaps Smith favoured communism as a social order, but preferred that Mormons pledge allegiance only to the Latter Day Saint cause.

Of any European socialist movement, the Icarians seem to have been one with which Mormons had, at least incidental, connections.¹² Still, because there is little elaboration in available sources, it is impossible to engage in anything more than speculation about the degree of interaction between the two groups. When conducting missionary work in France, John Taylor met

11. John Finch was an Owenite Socialist, active in Liverpool (Harrison, 1969: 122).

12. The Icarians were followers of Etienne Cabet, who equated Christianity with communism, saying that 'Christianity cannot exist without communism. No one can be called a Christian who is not a Communist.' His movement was quite popular with the French working class during the 1840s (Chadwick, 1975: 76-7).

with two editors of Cabet's Le Populaire-- Messrs. Krolokowski and Bertrand.¹³ During their meeting they discussed the merits of their respective systems (Taylor, 1857: 237). Taylor, speaking years after the incident occurred, did not go into detail about the meeting, but did mention that Bertrand converted to Mormonism (ibid.: 237). The impression from Taylor's remarks is that it was a meeting of two socialist ideologies. Gottlieb and Wiley (1984: 48) note that Taylor, who succeeded Young as president of the church in 1877, failed to support the localized cooperatives, which Young had been instrumental in creating, considering them to be 'visionary and impractical', favouring instead centralized economic and social planning. It may be that Taylor preferred a more scientific approach to socialism than Young's utopian communities.

III. Doctrines and Organization

Mormonism had much more in common with radical Christianity in Britain and France than incidental meetings between leaders-- enough that it too can be considered a radical sect. Radical Christianity has been characterized broadly as being anti-clerical, anti-creedal, Arminian, and, in some cases, chiliastic (see above, chapter 2). Mormonism, as shall be seen fits into these categories.

13. Louis Krolokowski, Polish exile and 'communist mystic', who, Johnson claims, was influential in the development of Cabet's emphasis on Christianity (Johnson, 1974: 93, 93n). Possibly A.-V. Bertrand, a painter and 'a man of some education' (ibid.: 267, 267n).

The Mormon priesthood was rooted in the belief that any worthy male could hold a position of authority within the church. No requirements were set on obtaining a position within the priesthood, apart from faithful adherence to the teachings of Christ, a calling by revelation from God through another priesthood member, and approval by members of the congregation. The priesthood consisted entirely of lay members, nearly all of whom were unpaid and untrained.¹⁴ Elders were instructed to conduct services as they were 'led by the Holy Ghost' and were expected to 'labor with their own hands for their support' (Book of Commandments, 1833, 24:35). Furthermore, it was claimed by the church that only its priesthood had received authority directly from God; the clergy of all other denominations were believed to be lacking in this authority.

The early Christian church provided the model for the LDS priesthood, which consisted of a prophet, apostles, high priests, elders, bishops, priests, teachers, and deacons. These positions were divided into two orders, the Melchisedec and the Aaronic, and each position was charged with specific pastoral and administrative duties, the degree of spiritual authority depending upon the position's place in the hierarchy. Thus, as male members attained positions within this

14. Mission presidents in Wales, Scotland and England, as well as travelling elders, of whom there were at least three or four in Wales during the 1840s and 1850s- all Welsh- were engaged in full-time missionary work. They were not paid a salary, but depended upon collections of food, clothing, and money from various congregations to cover their expenses.

hierarchy, each received a definite role in the Mormon community, and as they advanced, could receive greater authority and responsibility.

Because of the authority that priesthood status could command, it was not conferred lightly, nor too quickly. D.J. Davies (1987: 3) writes that care was taken to be certain that those ordained were 'of the highest standing.' In the early 1840s, in Britain, the priesthood was largely in the hands of the American missionaries, but as commitment grew among British converts, responsibility within the church began to shift. Those members ordained to the priesthood, Davies maintains, 'may be viewed as a core membership of high commitment' (ibid.: 3). By December 1850, out of a total Welsh membership of approximately 4,480, there were 1,147 priesthood members (D.J. Davies, 1972: appendix). Considering that the male to female ratio was roughly equal in the church (though some small congregations in coal mining villages could have a larger proportion of male members), this figure shows that nearly half of the male members held priesthood positions. Within individual congregations the proportion of priesthood members to total membership varied from 1:4 to 1:3, though in small congregations the priesthood could account for half of all members. For example, at Stepside, in eastern Pembrokeshire, in November 1853, out of 18 members, 9 held priesthood positions. On the other hand, at Coalbrookvale, Monmouthshire in 1858, only 16 of 64 members were in the priesthood. In October

1847, the Monmouthshire conference recorded 63 priesthood members out of a total membership of 209 (Prophwyd y Jubili, 1847: 179).¹⁵

Mormon practice represented a sharp divergence from that of the Church of England, and even Nonconformity, where some lay members could at least participate as deacons and trustees. Furthermore, because ordination was based solely on faithfulness, class distinctions made no difference-- a manual labourer or a collier could hold a position similar to, or higher than, a shopkeeper or clerk. In this respect, Mormon leaders provided prime examples: Joseph Smith had been a labourer; Brigham Young, a joiner; Heber Kimball (one of the twelve apostles), a potter; and Dan Jones, a sailor and riverboat captain. Only a few had had much formal education-- Sidney Rigdon, and Parley and Orson Pratt.

Regarding matters of doctrine and administration, the priesthood had final authority, though, given that one of the more frequent reasons listed for excommunication was disobedience to the priesthood, not all members must have felt this to be true. In a sect which preached equality in all things, the priesthood represented one area in which all members were not equal. In 1849, Dan Jones, in his farewell address to the Welsh Saints, instructed members, not once, but four times, to

15. Hereafter, abbreviated P.J.

obey the priesthood, writing in the last instance:

I beseech you as if God were beseeching you through me-- as if it was my last wish to you-- honor, obey and pray for the priesthood in everything that they tell you (Udgorn Seion, 1849: 11).¹⁶

For Jones to make such a plea so often in such a short address suggests that some tension must have existed within the membership in Wales concerning priesthood authority. But power was not concentrated entirely in the hands of the priesthood. Congregational approval of each potential priesthood member was required. In addition, each conference president was subject to approval by the members of the congregations which he would oversee.

This requirement for congregational approval helps to point out the ambiguous position of women in the church. The priesthood, and thus, much of Mormon life, was male dominated. Yet, as members, women could vote on matters of church business, and on whether potential priesthood members should be ordained. In Utah, before it became a state, women were allowed to vote. It is interesting that it was the Federal government which revoked this right, not the Mormon power elite within Utah. However, women were locked out of positions of authority within the church, and seem to have had a subordinate position in relation to males-- this despite

16. My thanks to Dr. Ronald Dennis of Brigham Young University for providing his abridged translation of volume 1, number 1 (1849) of Udgorn Seion. Hereafter, all translations from Udgorn Seion and Prophwyd y Jubili are my own. Udgorn Seion will be abbreviated, hereafter, as U.S.

the fact that they made up approximately half of the membership in Wales.

This ambiguity of roles does not appear to have arisen from any particular doctrinal stance within Mormonism, but seems to reflect the ambiguity of women's roles within society. Despite the general view that women were to be 'helpmates and bearers of children', approximately one-tenth of the industrial work force in Monmouthshire was female (D.J.V. Jones, 1985: 21, 22). Jones (ibid.: 21-2) writes:

What emerged clearly only after the Newport rising was the independence shown by, and the economic contribution of the women in these industrial communities.

Mormon records from Wales do not contain enough information to determine fully the position of female converts within society. At least 75 were employed as maids, and 9 as dressmakers, and thus, were earning their own incomes. Records from Pontypool congregation list contributions to the Perpetual Emigration Fund for six women, though the amounts are very small-- between one and one-and-a-half pence each. At Bryn Mawr, two women were weavers, and one was listed as a 'glo wraig' (coal woman), though it is not known what her exact duties were. In South Wales, women were employed both above and below ground in the coal trade (ibid.: 22). What is clear, is that these 87 women (and most likely many others), all earning their own incomes, had joined a sect which preached equality, yet relegated women (for whatever reason) to a subordinate status within the group. Perhaps those women who were excommunicated for

speaking ill of the priesthood, or for disobedience, had openly questioned this ambiguity.

In common with other radical Christian sects, the Latter Day Saint Church never endorsed an official creed, though several years after its founding, members desired a general statement of beliefs (Crowley, 1982: 17).¹⁷ In response, Joseph Smith produced the 'Articles of Faith' for the church. Since truth was considered infinite, it was believed that no statement could be complete, therefore, the articles were considered only as basic affirmations and not binding upon members (RLDS Members Manual, 1969: 7). Members were not required to accept all articles as their personal set of beliefs, and as Dolgin (1974) has shown, despite a general consensus of belief presented by the LDS Church, there is a wide diversity of beliefs among members.

In its concepts of salvation, Mormonism reflected its origins. From the beginning it was strongly Arminian. People were to be punished for their own sins, and the fall of man was considered to be the point at which mankind gained the ability to choose between good and evil. Thus, works were as important as faith. This emphasis on works took shape in the view that the problems which mankind faced on earth could not be

17. There was some opposition among Mormon leaders over any attempts to produce what might resemble a creedal statement. The ousting of those opposed to such a statement in 1838 opened up the possibilities for doctrinal discussion (Crowley, 1982: 17).

ignored. Brigham Young, wrote Gates and Widtsoe (1930: 208),

had little sympathy with the sectarian view of ignoring the problems of daily life and focusing all hope and faith on eternal things. Heaven was and would be on the earth, as earth was and is part of God's eternity. Man must learn how to make a heaven on this earth or it would be impossible to attain heaven hereafter.

By the 1840s, Mormonism was moving towards universal salvation, showing evidence of a strong Universalist/Unitarian influence (O'Dea, 1957: 124-5). Latter Day Saint doctrine, however, never went so far as to promise salvation for all, but conceived of a heaven in which all had the potential of spending eternity with God. Heaven was divided into three regions, or glories: Celestial, Terrestrial, and Telestial. Those who had lived according to Christian teaching would attain the Celestial glory. The Terrestrial glory was reserved for those who had been Christians, but had not lived completely by the teachings of Christ. The third glory, Telestial, was for those who had not been instructed in Christian doctrine, and, for whatever reason, had not had the opportunity to accept Christianity. Mormon doctrine held that God, being merciful, could not judge people until they had the opportunity to proclaim their belief in Christ as their saviour. Believing that the soul was immortal, and drawing upon passages in the first epistle of Peter stating that Christ had preached to 'the spirits in prison' which had been disobedient, and to the dead 'that they might be judged according to men in the flesh,

but according to God in the spirit' (1 Peter 3:19-20; 4:6), Mormon doctrine held out a promise of salvation to those (living or dead) who desired it.

As with other Mormon doctrines, salvation was linked also with the temporal aspects of life. Mormons fervently believed that 'if ye are not equal in earthly things, ye cannot be in obtaining heavenly things' (in Cannon, 1869: 99). Mankind's stewardship over the earth entailed a responsibility to use whatever was produced for the good of all. Thus, a message of hope for the poor was contained in Mormon beliefs: the capitalist who acted with no regard for the welfare of his fellow man was not living according to the teachings of God (as interpreted by the Latter Day Saints) and was less likely to attain the Celestial glory. However, neither could members 'sit and sing themselves to everlasting bliss' knowing that they were bound for the highest glory and their oppressors were not (Taylor, 1857: 354). Heavenly salvation required temporal equality, especially among the Latter Day Saints, since they had been instructed in the teachings of the 'true' Christian church. Thus, Mormonism developed a radical Arminianism in which it was not simply enough to engage in good works to insure salvation. One's works had to be oriented to creating a society in which all were equal, in means and in potential.

The linkage of temporal equality with spiritual salvation, along with a focus on active progression towards a perfect society led, perhaps, to the one belief

which set Mormonism apart the most from other Christian denominations. The doctrine of progression to godhood, and the unique conception of God and man contained within it, tied earthly life directly to spiritual life as part of a continuum, in which physical life is just one portion of an eternal progression towards perfection. The origin of the doctrine is difficult to determine, in part because of its attribution to revelation, but also due to controversy over who developed the idea, but it does bear resemblance to the Enlightenment notion of the perfectability of man, and represented a major step in redefining man's position in the cosmos and his relationship with God.

Mormons had long believed in the literal materiality of God. For man to have been created in His image, it was reasoned that God must possess a physical body. The immateriality of God was seen as a myth, and such a being could 'exist only in a distorted imagination' (Ready References, 1887: 120). It should be noted, however, that Mormons made a distinction between the physical body of men, which would die, and return to dust, and what they conceived of as the body of God. He retained the physical appearance, just as the human spirit would retain its physical appearance. God was not a disembodied spirit.

Brodie (1963: 171) contends that Joseph Smith was convinced, after reading Thomas Dick's Philosophy of a

Future State (1833)¹⁸, that the universe had been created out of matter on hand, rather than from a void, and assumed that it must have been through superior intelligence that God had been capable of this act. Whether this influenced him or not, Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham¹⁹ incorporated the idea that the universe had not been created, but 'organized and formed' from existing matter (Ralston, 1963: 95). This interpretation was a departure from orthodox Christian beliefs of the day, and moved Mormonism out of the usual creationist stance to one more compatible with modern science. Matter was at the heart of the universe, and though it could take a variety of forms, the basic structure of matter was eternal. This fitted in very well with the belief in a material God, and provided the basis for a new conception of God and man.

In the Book of Abraham, Smith had written that it was the gods who organized the universe (ibid.: 95). Brodie, again, points to Dick for Smith's inspiration, writing that Dick had

speculated that the stars were inhabited by 'various orders of intelligences', and that these intelligences were 'progressive beings in various stages of evolution towards perfection' (Brodie, 1963: 172).

18. Dick's work was translated into Welsh by Richard Parry, and published in 1848 under the title Anianyddiaeth Sefyllfa Ddyfodol.

19. The Book of Abraham was translated by Joseph Smith from two Egyptian papyri which had come into his possession. They were later identified as funerary texts. The Book of Abraham was accepted as doctrine by the LDS church. The RLDS church claims that Smith never meant it to be doctrine (Ralston, 1963: 108-111).

Whether Smith drew upon Dick's work as a source of the doctrine of progression of men to the status of gods is a matter of speculation, but, then controversy exists as to whether Smith actually preached the doctrine in the first place. The King Follett Sermon is often presented as evidence that Smith preached the doctrine that man could progress to godhood, along with the multiplicity of gods, and the glory of knowledge.²⁰ Smith's sermon was recorded in long-hand, and, thus, not word-for-word. Furthermore, the sermon was not published until six weeks after Smith's death in June 1844; therefore, he had no way of attesting to the accuracy of the text (Ralston, 1963: 111-3). This has led to the claim (by the RLDS Church) that this doctrine originated not from Smith, but from others within the church, most likely Brigham Young, and others among the twelve apostles. They may have encountered a similar belief of a progressive being or beings among materialists in Europe (see below, chapter 4).

Despite its disputed origin, the doctrine of the progression of mankind to the status of gods was generally accepted by the LDS Church. As speculated upon by Dick, Mormonism accepted the idea of a universe inhabited by progressive beings. In support of this,

20. The sermon was delivered in April 1844 at the funeral of King Follett, a member from Nauvoo.

Apostle Orson Pratt wrote:

But must we stop here, and imagine that all matters of the universe have ascended to the highest grade of perfection? and have we to imagine that they now have come to the stopping place, beyond which they cannot go? No we do not;... (in U.S., 1853: 267).²¹

In Mormon thought, these progressive beings were no different from God, as all were of similar origin, though for God to be supreme, He must be further along in the progression towards perfection. And, mankind, created in the image of God, was also on this path to perfection. The doctrine held that even God had not reached perfection, but to mankind, who was still at a lesser stage, He only seemed as if He had. With the whole universe moving along the same path, it was concluded that each being must have begun at the same point. Thus, God must have been at one time a man, whose progress

began with the exercise of his will... until he attained at last a conquest over the universe which to our finite understanding seems absolutely complete. We may be certain that, through self-effort, the inherent and innate powers of God have been developed to a God-like degree. Thus he has become God (in Lively, 1977: 157).²²

Since humanity was progressing along the same path, then men could become gods. With regard to man, Widtsoe

21. This quote is from John Davis' translation of Pratt's First Great Cause, published as Achos Mawr Cyntaf in 1853.

22. Lively is quoting John Widstoe, from Rational Theology (1915).

wrote in Rational Theology that

[he] is a god in embryo. He comes of a race of gods, and as eternal growth is continued, he will approach more nearly the point which to us is Godhood, and which is everlasting in its power over the elements of the universe (in O'Dea, 1957: 133).

All that was left was to explain how god had reached such an exalted position. Intelligence provided the answer: God had so increased His knowledge and intelligence that, despite being subject to the physical laws of the universe, He had learned how to control them (P. Pratt, 1855: 36-7). Just as knowledge had provided God with the ability to master the forces of nature and to progress, so would it enable mankind to do the same. This belief was echoed in Udgorn Seion (1853: 100) by the following:

Philosophy of perfection, natural and moral, is for man to recognize himself; and with perfection of that knowledge, is to recognize God.²³

Consider the implications that such a doctrine might have had, not only in the theological conception of heaven, but in the social conception of man. Earthly life was no longer a testing ground for possible salvation, but was an integral part of the progression of the soul to possible godhood. Moreover, every man had the potential of becoming a god, regardless of their station in life. This doctrine meant that not only could anyone-- labourer, collier, or artisan-- achieve a responsible position in the Mormon community as a member

23. 'Perffeithrwydd athronyddiaeth, yn naturiol a moesol, yw i ddyn adnabod ei hun; a pherffeithrwydd y wybodaeth hono, yw adnabod Duw.'

of the priesthood, but now could attain divine status. Not only was man created in the image of God, but, in Mormon thought, was of a race of gods and could become a god himself. The process of progression demanded that all men be able to advance at their own will. This assumed a degree of autonomy and equality among men, for in order to achieve his highest potential, each individual must have access to the necessary means for progressing. Class division and inequality in society could only mean that some would be unable to exercise their will to the fullest of their abilities. With the potential for godhood inherent in all, how could any one man be greater than another? This was, perhaps, radical Christianity at its ultimate, for Mormonism was creating a theology which, in theory, could not tolerate any division into classes, or superiority of one group in society over another.

IV. Conclusion

Thus, Mormonism provided an active response to the alienation and inequalities of capitalist society. It was very much a radical theology, for it stressed activism and autonomy. It was about people taking action for the course of their lives; of being able to decide their lives for themselves, and of ultimately being responsible for their actions (O'Dea, 1957: 132). As we have seen, economic and social deprivation are insufficient explanations for conversion to Mormonism. They may have been necessary conditions, providing reasons for converts to desire change, but it is the

active desire to create a new society which may provide a sufficient explanation for conversion.

The tendency of members to speak of their conversion in spiritual terms creates difficulties of interpretation. It was not uncommon for converts to speak of Mormonism as being the 'true' church. John Davies of Victoria, Monmouthshire wrote to the Millennial Star that he joined because he believed the church to be the true church (M.S., 1849: 156-7). William Davies of Llanelli informed Dan Jones of

my feelings and my resolution with the glorious order which I am professing at present, namely the LDS faith, after a life of long zealous years with the Baptists, an order which was very different to that which I think by today, and different to the true faith of the New Testament (P.J., 1848: 65).²⁴

Thorp (1987: 56) concluded that most members converted to Mormonism for 'spiritual' reasons, and that, apart from occasional Chartists experience, there was virtually no involvement in politics. Indeed, even the Millennial Star (1840: 1) stated that it would remain aloof from political news. However, this should not be interpreted as meaning that members had no radical or political feelings regarding society. To many radical Christians, socialism and communism represented the 'true' Christianity. Cabet stands out as a proponent of this stance, as do, no doubt, most of his followers.

24. 'Gydag hyfrydwch y defnyddiaf y cyfleusdra hwn i'ch hysbysu o fy nheimladau a'm penderfyniad gyda'r grefydd ogoneddus ag yr wyf yn ei phroffesu yn bresennol, sef crefydd S.D.D., ar ol byd om hir flynyddau yn selog gyda'r Bedyddwyr, crefydd y rhai oedd yn dra gwahanol i'r hyn a feddyliaf erbyn heddyw amdani, ac y wahanol i wir grefydd y Testament Newydd.'

Christian Chartists believed likewise. Thus, perhaps Mormon converts' statements should be re-interpreted to reflect a more radical Christian belief.

Harrison (1979: 221) notes that most members of millenarian movements were not found among the very poor, but among artisans, small farmers, tradesmen and skilled labourers. This was true for the Mormons in both Wales and the United States. Harrison also writes that 'Owenites and Chartists and millenarians could move back and forth between their respective worlds' (Ibid.: 224). There is no direct evidence of this occurring in Wales, but Harrison's observation points out the similarities between, at least goals, if not actual beliefs.

Mormonism was a working class sect because it offered an ideology and theology of progressive change and realistic hope for a better society. It shared many characteristics with other radical Christian and secular groups. Where Mormon theology diverged, it moved in directions which supported its conceptions of the secular relationships between men, only expanded on a broader spiritual scale. How these beliefs related to general trends in Welsh religion and society shall be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

MORMONISM IN A NONCONFORMIST NATION

Mormonism is often examined in isolation from the particular society in which it developed. However, in order to understand why some Welsh were attracted to Mormonism, we must know something about the society in which they lived. In other words, we must examine those factors which produced conditions conducive to the growth of Mormonism. The rise of Nonconformity shall be reviewed, along with the identity it provided, and the response to social conditions which it offered for the Welsh. In this manner, we can approach the basis of Mormonism's appeal within a radicalized and Nonconformist working class society.

Denominationalism in Wales during the nineteenth century was dominated by Nonconformity. That fact hardly needs restating. In a sense, Nonconformity came to be the national church for the Welsh, just as Catholicism was for the Irish (G.A. Williams, 1985: 159). It provided an identity for the Welsh in opposition to the Church of England and encroaching anglicization. And, in opposition to an anglican, Tory landowning and industrialist class, Welsh Nonconformity took on an increasingly radical character as the nineteenth century progressed.

Within Welsh denominationalism, the Latter Day Saints represented a very small sect, rarely accounting for more than 1% of the population. According to the

Census of Religion in 1851, there were only 32 Mormon congregations in Wales, located primarily in the South, and predominantly in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.¹ Mormon numbers were roughly similar to those of the Unitarians, who had about 50 congregations in Wales,² and far out-distanced the Quakers (8), and the General Baptists (6). These groups represent the Arminian-Arian extreme of Welsh Christianity, and their failure to attract large numbers of adherents may have had some bearing on the number of potential converts to Mormonism. It is significant to note that all four of these groups were strongest in the South, in the core area of Welsh Dissent and where radical theology and ideology had long been influential. Moreover, the Mormons and Unitarians, with their relatively similar theologies, maintained large congregations (by their standards) in the industrial towns and valleys, though Mormonism could not penetrate the Unitarian stronghold in the Teifi Valley. On the other hand, Unitarian distribution scarcely had

1. Mormon records list approximately 92 congregations in Wales in 1851, denoting a large discrepancy between sources. As some congregations met in private homes, and some even met secretly to avoid persecution (see Thorp, 1988), it is possible that census enumerators were unaware of the existence of some congregations. It could be possible also that some of the smaller congregations met only once or twice per month; if so, they most likely would have met on the first Sunday (Communion Sunday) and on the third Sunday. The census was held on the fourth Sunday in March. However, the discrepancy is rather large, and it must be assumed that Mormon records are not entirely accurate.

2. Census records actually list 27 Unitarian congregations. Some congregations which were actually Unitarian, but called themselves 'Arian Presbyterians' and other such titles, were included in the census as 'undefined'. Prof. I.G. Jones has identified many of these as Unitarian.

changed since the beginning of the century, expanding very little beyond its original core area in the South, and to a lesser extent in the Northeast. Thus, as we consider LDS distribution in Wales, it might be useful to consider Mormonism to be a more emotional approach to Unitarianism, and even the evangelical wing which rational, arian Dissent never produced.

The growth and development of Mormonism in Wales cannot be discussed without putting it in the context of a worshipping population which was primarily Nonconformist. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Mormonism in the United States grew out of a general reaction to a strict Calvinist faith and was influenced by the theological and ideological trends of the time and region. Religion in Wales underwent a similar reaction, producing a series of events which can be identified as either schisms or breakaway movements. In 1726, Jenkin Jones formed the first Arian Presbyterian chapel in Wales at Llwynrhydowen, Cardiganshire, which is recognized as the 'mother church' of Welsh Unitarianism (Wilbur, 1945: 322). Other Dissenting congregations in the area followed suit, and by 1802 the first chapels using the name Unitarian had been formed (ibid.: 323). By 1799, dissension among Baptists had risen to such levels that 12 Arminian congregations were expelled from the Baptist Association. These, along with eight other congregations, formed the General Baptist Association-Arminian in theology, with a tendency toward unitarianism (ibid.: 323). This group would later disband as some

congregations returned to the Baptist Association, some died out, and some united with the Unitarians (ibid.: 323). Even among the six General Baptist congregations in 1851, there was some difference of opinion, and the group divided evenly into an Arminian wing (New Connexion) and a unitarian wing (General Baptists).

Interestingly, Welsh Protestantism never produced a millenarian sect. The Latter Day Saints represent the only millenarian sect to have maintained a large following in Wales.³ It may be that the Welsh never needed to create a distinctive sect to express any millenarian zeal; rather, they expressed their zeal through mainstream denominations, particularly at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Here again, we find the need to see Mormonism in a total Welsh context, and not as a 'self-defined isolate', somehow distinct from Welsh society, as others have interpreted Welsh Mormonism.⁴ As we shall see, Welsh millenarianism was linked closely with radicalism and nationalism, and took on a point of view which saw not a cataclysmic end of the world, but the creation by men of a new society. First, however, it will be useful to review the history of Nonconformity in Wales as a

3. The Catholic-Apostolics (Irvingites) maintained one congregation in Chepstow District along the English border which, according to the census, had a morning attendance of fifty.

4. See D.J. Davies (1972) and (1987).

backdrop to the society in which Mormonism would develop.

I. The Rise of Nonconformity

The history of Nonconformity in Wales begins in the middle of the seventeenth century when Puritanism was introduced. Puritanism, and the Dissenting denominations which grew out of it-- Independents, Baptist, Quakers and Unitarians-- followed traditional routes of dispersion through Wales, resulting in their distribution primarily in the South and along the border with England (Bowen, 1941: 85). Such a distribution reflects diffusion by English speaking missionaries to a population in the anglicized regions of Wales. The earliest Dissenting congregations were established at Wrexham, Llanbrynmair, and Llanfaches in the 1630s (Phillips, 1849: 109; G.A. Williams, 1985: 133). The Independents emerged as a denomination by the middle of the seventeenth century, to be followed soon thereafter by the Baptists and the Quakers.

The leading figures in early Welsh Dissent, such as Morgan Llwyd and Vavasor Powell, tended to be radicals and republicans (G.A. Williams, 1985: 135-6). Powell was associated with the 'Fifth Monarchy men who believed in the imminent Rule of the Saints', questioned Cromwell's authority, and eventually died in prison after the restoration of Charles II (ibid.: 135-6). Prof. Williams writes that the 'Quakers were pursued like mad dogs', many fleeing to Pennsylvania where they played a central role in the formation of the colony (ibid.: 136).

Williams (*ibid.*: 136) continues:

In an arc of southern upland stretching from the Swansea area into Monmouthshire, Dissent rooted itself and began to develop remarkably radical tendencies in Arminianism, Arianism, unitarianism and even freethought.

These tendencies spawned further moves to the theological left, to deism, and 'even an atheism which could draw on old and deep popular traditions of heterodox thinking', forming perhaps the basis for later Welsh radicalism (*ibid.*: 136).⁵

Despite their dispersal through South Wales, Dissenters remained in the minority, accounting for only about 5% of a population of around 350,000 at the end of the seventeenth century (*ibid.*: 136). They were still in the minority at the end of the eighteenth century; Morgan (1980: 11) writes that 'as late as 1775 there were... only 171 chapels in Wales, mainly Baptist or Independent', and, again, mainly in the South. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Dissent tended to be the religion of merchants, artisans and tradesmen; rational, often leaning towards unitarianism in theology, and generally English in language (Bowen, 1941: 94; D. Williams, 1951: 151). The denominations seemed to absorb themselves in 'interminable theological disputes', caring little for evangelizing the masses and actively pursuing converts (*ibid.*: 151). The vast majority of Welsh,

5. It is important to note that this radicalism did not necessarily imply a tendency toward Arminianism; many Calvinists at this time were staunch radicals. Only later in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century would radicalism begin to take on an Arminian theology, while Calvinism tended to support the status quo.

namely the peasantry, particularly in the West and North, remained, at least nominally, adherents of the Church of England, and to an extent, retained some traditions of Roman Catholicism (Bowen, 1941: 85; G.H. Jenkins, 1977: 440).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Dissent was in a general state of decline. The rationalism and theological disputes of the denominations were of little interest to most Welsh, and hardly were conducive to gaining large numbers of converts. Had it not been for the Methodist Revival, beginning in the 1740s, Dissent might have continued to decline, having never reached the masses. Methodism, with a high degree of emotion in its services, helped to infuse new life into Dissent (D. Williams, 1951: 151). After initial criticism, Dissenters adopted some of the emotional techniques of Methodism-- hymn singing, revivals, etc.-- and a less rational approach to religion, which increased Dissent's appeal to the lower classes of Welsh society. In the early years of the Methodist movement, a spirit of cooperation existed between Methodism and Dissent (at least with the Independents and Baptists), fostered by the common bond of Calvinism (ibid.: 151). Methodism, thus, succeeded first in the South, in areas where Dissent was already established (ibid.: 151).

Methodism in Wales began with the conversion of Howell Harris in Talgarth, in 1735 (Roberts, 1978: 254). In the same year, Daniel Rowland experienced his conversion at Llanddewibrefi after hearing Griffith

Jones, vicar of Llanddowror, preach (D. Williams, 1951: 144). Jones founded the circulating schools which taught many of the Welsh to read and write, using the Bible as a textbook. He also served as mentor to Harris and Rowland, as well as other leaders of the Methodist movement-- William Williams, Pantycelyn and Peter Williams-- who emulated his enthusiastic preaching style and tendency to preach in other minister's parishes, often without being invited. He, in turn, often employed Methodist exhorters as teachers in his schools, and though they were not to preach Methodism, the schools nonetheless served as a means of spreading the teachings of the movement (ibid.: 144-8).

Though they were gaining many followers, early Methodist leaders refused to separate themselves from the Church of England. They simply saw Methodism as an evangelical movement within the Church. Several were ordained to Holy Orders: Rowland was curate at Llangeitho, and Williams, Pantycelyn was ordained a deacon (ibid.: 144-5, 147). For all intents and purposes, however, the Methodists were separate. The Church of England frowned upon their actions, especially open air preaching and encroachment on other's parishes, and many Methodist preachers were arrested as vagabonds or for illegal preaching (ibid.: 150-1). Increasingly, followers of the Methodists were meeting in their own chapels rather than parish churches. Prof. David Williams (ibid.: 153) notes that the members of Daniel Rowland's parish in Llangeitho, 'though faithful members

of the Church of England', met in a nearby meeting house, and from 1760 to 1811, no holy communion was administered in the parish church . This is interesting, since Rowland was an ordained Anglican minister and permitted to conduct services in the parish church. The use of a separate meeting house should perhaps be seen as a symbolic act expressing the antipathy of the Welsh gwerin⁶ towards anglicization and a largely anglican gentry. The administering of sacraments posed a problem for Methodists, for Harris believed that ordination was necessary for administering communion. Many members, however, balked at receiving communion from a priest whom they considered unworthy, but the Church rarely ordained a proclaimed Methodist to orders (ibid.: 151). Clearly, the situation needed resolving. This occurred in 1811 when the Welsh Methodists broke with the Church and formed the Calvinistic Methodists.

Methodism had split in the 1740s between Arminians and Calvinists-- Wesley leading the former, and Harris and George Whitefield leading Welsh and English Calvinists, respectively. Harris and Wesley reached an agreement in 1747 not to proselytize each other's congregations, thus producing a distinctive pattern of distribution of Methodists in Wales (Roberts, 1978: 255). Calvinistic Methodists, aided by their use of the Welsh language, were able to evangelize throughout the country,

6. A Welsh term, essentially meaning 'ordinary folk, populace' (Y Geiriadur Mawr: 264). Because of its broader meaning than 'peasant' or 'peasantry' the word is often used in Welsh literature. I have used it here for the same reason.

and succeeded best in the nominally Anglican areas of the West and Northwest. The Wesleyans, unable to proselytize Harris' Welsh congregations, could only slowly recruit Welsh speaking ministers, and were forced to rely upon experienced ministers from England. Thus, their congregations tended to be located in the anglicized South and East. As the nineteenth century progressed, Wesleyans would penetrate all areas of Wales, but would remain strongest in their original core area of anglicized Wales.

Calvinistic Methodism is recognized as the only Nonconformist denomination indigenous to Wales. Its expansion into the West and Northwest from bases in the South was aided by its Welsh character and the poor state of the Church of England in those areas. In writing about Cardiganshire, but certainly applicable to much of the country, Prof. David Williams (*ibid.*: 117) noted that,

[t]he religious life of Cardiganshire throughout early modern times was influenced by the vast extent of its barren moorland. Small parish churches nestled in its valleys, but remote hamlets situated in such fertile spots...seldom witnessed the ministrations of a priest, and the lonely scattered homesteads were even worse served....

The alienation of parish tithes, often appropriated by gentry living outside the parish, reduced the effectiveness of the Anglican Church and hindered its attempts at making needed improvements to meet the needs of local populations. The generally poor provision for religious needs, particularly in urban parishes,

contributed to the rise of all Nonconformist denominations, not only the Calvinistic Methodists. Clergy often were absent from their parishes, and those who did live and work in their parishes tended to be poorly paid. A good example is that of Cardiganshire, where the tithes of fifteen parishes were received by the Chichester family of Devonshire, providing them with an annual income of £6,000. The incumbents of those parishes earned less than one-third of that amount between them (*ibid.*: 118). The parish of Llandygwydd paid £450 in tithes, of which the incumbent earned only £8 (*ibid.*: 118). In South Wales, the occupiers of the land paid the tithes, not the landlords, as was the custom in England (Howell, 1988: 116). This meant that the Welsh farmers, most of whom, by the middle of the nineteenth century were Nonconformist, were required to support a church to which they did not adhere.

The Methodist Revival marked the initial increase of Nonconformity in Wales, yet by the end of the eighteenth century it still would be incorrect to call Wales a Nonconformist nation. The people of Cardiganshire, as well as much of rural, upland Wales, were nominally Anglican, though, due to the general lack of ministers, their religious life was reduced. Thus, Prof. Williams (1961: 124) was correct when he stated that

it would be no very great exaggeration to say that Calvinistic Methodism entered what was almost a vacuum, religiously speaking, when it penetrated into certain parts of Cardiganshire.

A pattern of denominationalism was emerging, which, though simplified, would hold true for much of the nineteenth century. Calvinistic Methodism had moved out of its original focal point in south-central Wales, and had established a stronghold in the Northwest. Old Dissent remained strongest in its core area in the South, with the Independents and Baptists the largest denominations. The Unitarians seemed to have remained stable, their distribution changing little between 1815 and 1851, remaining concentrated in the Teifi Valley and in Glamorgan (J.I. Jones, 1952: 42). The decline of the General Baptists has been noted above; the Quakers experienced a similar decline, due to emigration, lack of evangelism, and an image of being a middle class, anglicized denomination. The 1851 Census recorded only eight meetings with a total attendance of 145. All but one of their meetings-- in Ruthin District-- were located in the South: in Haverfordwest, Hay, Presteigne, Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea Districts.

Arminians represented the minority among Welsh Nonconformists, the vast majority of whom belonged to Calvinistic denominations. At the end of the eighteenth century, Unitarians and General Baptists accounted for most Arminians, but others of similar beliefs could be found in all denominations, with the exception of the Calvinistic Methodists. Nevertheless, one must wonder why Calvinism was more popular as a theology than Arminianism, and why the Calvinist denominations increased at greater rates during the first half of the

nineteenth century. One answer may be that the Calvinist doctrine of the elect, softened somewhat to increase its appeal to a broader range of people, taught that only the righteous few would be saved.⁷ No doubt each congregation included itself in this elect. Calvinism also gave the oppressed worker a measure of hope, and an assurance that in the final judgment, he or she would be saved, while the oppressor-- the ironmaster or landlord who had never suffered privation, poverty, or injustice-- would be doomed. The doctrine included in it a degree of rough justice and divine retribution which universalism, in sharp contrast, could never provide.

A second explanation might be the general lack of, or diminished, evangelical activity on the part of Arminian denominations. Unitarians were for the most part uninterested in evangelism (Inglis, 1963: 13). The more rationalist denominations tended to concentrate on an intellectual approach to religion, exhibiting more concern for doctrinal issues than salvation of souls (D. Williams, 1951: 151). It may be that the rationalist Arminian segment of Dissent lacked the appeal to the emotions which attracted new converts. Prof. Williams (1961: 124) suggests that this is true, noting, concerning the appeal of the Baptists to miners in

7. I.G. Jones (1966: 83) writes, 'the decline from a strict Calvinism was a prerequisite for the creation of a mass religious movement'.

northern Cardiganshire, that,

[i]t may be that the emotional gospel of the Baptists had a greater appeal for the mining populations than the more rational doctrines of the Independents, whether Calvinistic or Arminian.

Prof. Gwyn A. Williams (1985: 158) follows this line, noting that the spirit of evangelism sparked by Methodism 'ran stronger and harder' through Old Dissent than did rationalism in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Baptists, he writes, 'rivalled the Methodists as missionaries among the poor', and it was the dispute over 'methodist' or 'unitarian' approaches to religion which produced the schism in 1799 (ibid.: 158). Thus, in addition to the appeal to the emotions in Methodism and Calvinistic Dissent, which, if nothing else, may have helped break the monotony and dreariness of the work-a-day world (perhaps a form of escapism?), evangelism might have had much to do with the increase of Calvinistic denominations. Of course, Calvinism carries with it the need to save souls, which requires evangelical activity, which, in turn, relies upon more emotional preaching and worship to draw attention to itself. These three aspects-- soul-saving, evangelism, and emotion-- cannot be separated easily.

II. Evangelism in Welsh Nonconformity

It is significant that the only Arminian denominations which could claim large successes in gaining converts were the Wesleyans and the Mormons. Both of these groups were more emotional than the Unitarians and General Baptists. Wesleyanism was, of

course, hampered at first by its reliance on English; as more Welsh speaking ministers were converted, and as more of the Welsh began to speak English, this disability became less pronounced. The Latter Day Saints were hampered similarly in their first years in Wales. The first missionaries to Wales were English and had only limited success in Welsh speaking areas. Growth was slow until 1845, when Dan Jones began writing and publishing tracts explaining Mormon tenets in Welsh. After Jones took over the presidency of the Church in Wales, Welsh became the first language of the Latter Day Saints, and nearly all preaching, writing, and church business was conducted in Welsh.⁸

The Latter Day Saints, given the similarity of doctrines (in a broad, generalized sense), and influences from, Unitarianism, might be seen as an evangelical wing of rational Arminianism. Harrison (1979: 181) comments on the rational approach of the Mormons to millenarianism. Prof. Gwyn Williams sees the Mormons as 'the closest parallel' to the Primitive Methodists in a 'Welsh Dissent...singularly free from breakaway movements' (G.A. Williams, 1985: 240). Yet, if the Mormons are the closest parallel to a breakaway movement in Wales, then from what, or who, were they breaking away? Perhaps this is not exactly what Prof. Williams meant to imply, but in Welsh religion, which was

8. The chief organ of the Latter Day Saints in Wales was first Prophwyd y Jubili [Prophet of Jubilee] (1846-48), and later, Udgorn Seion [Trumpet of Zion] (1849-62). Church conferences were conducted in Welsh, with English translations of the minutes read out in the evening for those who could not understand the day's proceedings.

generally marked by its evangelism and religious fervour, Mormonism may have been seen by converts as a break from rational Arminianism, and even Unitarianism. Prof. I.G. Jones (1981) notes that Calvinistic Methodism did not experience a schism similar to Wesleyanism, from which the Primitive Methodists broke. Welsh Calvinistic Methodism had never lost its evangelical fervour; 'Welsh Methodism was "primitive" enough' (I.G. Jones, 1981: 230). We might extend this view of Welsh Methodism as primitive to include the Baptists, and to an extent, the more rational Independents. Neither of these denominations experienced evangelical breakaway movements, and thus we might conclude that they were also 'primitive enough'. Moreover, there did not exist in Welsh religious society any evangelical groups which might have close parallels with Baptist or Independent doctrines, as was the case with the Unitarians and the Mormons. Interpreting Mormonism, then, as the evangelical, millenarian wing which Unitarianism in Wales seems not to have had, might help to explain the similar distribution of the two groups. Mormonism was strongest in the industrial South, as was Unitarianism, though the latter had been established there prior to large scale industrialization. If we assume a population group moving into the industrial regions who might be inclined to accept a radical and extreme form of Christian belief, then Unitarianism would have been well placed to provide for them. Because of its lack of evangelical outreach, however, it did not, and this may be where Mormonism was

able to succeed. We see, on the other hand, that Mormonism failed to effectively penetrate the Unitarian stronghold in the Teifi Valley, but perhaps as a result of its missionary zeal and greater use of emotion, was able to establish congregations in areas where Unitarianism did not have adherents.

III. Religion and Social Change

Whatever the reasons for the domination of Calvinistic denominations in Wales, it is clear that they were poised to take advantage of the opportunities created by industrialization and the rapid increase of population in South Wales. The growth of the iron and coal industries in South Wales led to an increase in population in the valleys of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Between 1801 and 1851 the population of Glamorgan increased by over 300%, from 70,879 to 231,849. Monmouthshire underwent a similar increase, from 45,568 in 1801 to 157,418 in 1851. The Church of England, already unable to adequately provide for parishioners, found its system overwhelmed. Quite simply, as a result of increases and shifts in population, not only in industrial South Wales, but throughout the country (much of the increase in industrial regions was due to migration from other parts of Wales), parish churches were often too small to accommodate people, or were no longer in convenient locations to meet the religious needs of the parish.

Prof. Jones (1981: 67) offers two illustrations of this from the Gower Peninsula in his examination of

denominationalism in and around Swansea. In Llandeilo Talybont, the parish church had accommodation for 260 people, an amount which had been adequate in 1801, when the population was 595. By 1850, the population had increased to 1,408, with no change in sittings in the church. If this were not bad enough, the church was located next to the river Loughor and surrounded by marshland-- in times of flood or high tides the church was virtually isolated (ibid.: 67).

The town of Paviland was located in the detached portion of Penmaen parish, seven miles away from the main portion of the parish (ibid.: 67). The rector of the parish church noted that the inhabitants of Paviland did not attend services due to their distance from the church (ibid.: 67). Instead, they worshipped in the chapel erected by the Independents in the village which had enough room to accommodate 'almost double the population of the whole parish' (ibid.: 67).

Throughout Wales, but particularly in areas of high growth, similar situations existed. Nonconformity, with its decentralized administration and congregational system, moved into the valley and the new industrial villages to provide for the population's religious needs. More often than not, Nonconformist expansion resulted from migrants bringing their religion with them, with a few families, perhaps from the same rural village or parish, forming the nucleus of a chapel (I.G. Jones, 1966: 83; E.T. Davies, 1965: 16-7). Nonconformity was able to make use of lay initiative in the formation of

new congregations. This method of expansion underscored both the strength and weakness of Nonconformity. It allowed Nonconformity to expand and increase in areas poorly served by the Church of England, but at the same time, the lack of central control led to the formation of too many churches and the building of too many chapels (E.T Davies, 1965: 17). Nevertheless, Nonconformity, and particularly Calvinistic Nonconformity, increased during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1851, Nonconformity could claim roughly 80% of all worshippers in Wales, though, as Morgan (1980: 12) points out, it is significant that just over 47% of the population was irreligious.

Welsh society in the nineteenth century was relatively simple in its makeup. In generalized terms, it consisted of an anglicized landowning and industrialist class at the top of society and very much in the minority, and a Welsh labouring class, consisting of small farmers, agricultural labourers, servants, and industrial workers, comprising the vast majority of the Welsh population. A middle class did exist, but it was very small, generally English, and mainly located in the larger towns, particularly in the industrial regions.

In the agricultural sector, farms tended to be small.⁹ West Wales was marked by an 'abundance of small

9. The following discussion presents a generalized account of the economy and society of rural Wales. For more detailed analyses, see Colyer (1976) and (1978); Thomas (1963); D. Williams (1935) and (1955); I.G. Jones (1981); Dodd, (1926); and Jenkins (1971), among many others.

farms', though the average size varied by county (Colyer, 1976: 119). Hassall noted in 1794 that the average farm size in Pembrokeshire was 200 acres; average farm sizes in both Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, however, were less than 100 acres-- 43 and 50-60 acres, respectively (ibid.: 119). Average sizes can be misleading, though: 20% of the farms in Cardiganshire at the end of the nineteenth century were five acres or less in size (ibid.: 119). Slightly over 50% of all farms in Cardiganshire in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were under 100 acres, and 85% were under 200 acres (ibid.: 122). Farm size varied also according to usage; upland farms rearing primarily sheep tended to be larger than lowland crop producing farms. On the Gogerddan estate in Cardiganshire, 37 farms were large sheepwalks accounting for 15,013 of the 17,361 total acres (ibid.: 120-1). In Cemais and Darowen parishes, Montgomeryshire, arable field size was on average 3.3 acres, and no larger than 10 acres. Fields of meadow and pasture were larger in average size (5.5 acres) and exhibited greater range in sizes. Rough pasture fields averaged 30.1 acres, ranging from 5 to 50 acres (D. Thomas, 1963: 118). Similar patterns existed throughout much of Wales (ibid.: 121-5).

The depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars had a disastrous effect on Welsh farmers, at all levels, from the small landowner down to the ten-acre or less tenant. Inflated prices for agricultural commodities during the wars fostered land speculation, enclosure of

commonlands, and led to increased cultivation of marginal upland areas. As prices fell after the wars, many found that they could barely support themselves and their families, even on what had been the best lands. Though tenants, and especially those holding smaller acreages, were hit the hardest, in all fairness, small estate owners-- those with 2,000 to 3,000 acres and an annual income of £1,000 to £2,000-- could not afford the large debts required to make needed improvements in order to maintain their incomes (Colyer, 1978: 605-6). Nevertheless, it was the small tenant farmer who suffered most, as rural Wales became gripped by increasing poverty. The drop in prices had combined with an increase in the rural population, which produced a high demand for land. Rents increased, farmers who could not produce a profit were forced off the land, and long leases were not renewed by landowners, but replaced by a year-to-year tenancy system (ibid.: 606-7). Leases which had passed from father to son for generations were not renewed, or if they were, there was no guarantee that the tenancy would remain in the family for years to come (ibid.: 606-7). Yet, there was no shortage of people eager to take over farms that others had lost, and thus, rents remained high. Despite periodic improvements in trade, most Welsh farmers remained poor, or at the least, realized very little income. Harvests in 1837 and 1838 were poor throughout Wales, but remained bad in the Southwest until 1841 (Howell, 1988: 113). Farmers were forced to buy corn at high prices to support their

livestock, at a time when few could afford large outlays of capital (ibid.: 113). The harvest improved in 1842, but because of the now large supply of corn, prices dropped. The Glamorgan iron industry slumped in 1843, and depression fell over the industrial valleys-- Southwest Wales' largest market for produce (ibid.: 113-4). The Welshman on 22 December 1843 noted that the annual output of a relatively large farm (100-200 acres), with an annual rental of £60, would amount to £180. Income after deduction of costs amounted to approximately £1 per week for the support of the family and farm (Colyer, 1976: 119). On top of the decline in prices and economic depression, farmers were saddled with parish tithes, local and county rates, and, especially in Southwest Wales, exorbitant tolls for use of the roads, all conditions which led to the rise of the Rebecca movement which expressed rural discontent through the destruction of toll-gates across Southwest Wales between 1839 and 1844. Old relations within the agricultural community broke down, exacerbated by the traditional distinction between an anglicized, Anglican gentry, frequently absent from the land, and a Nonconformist, and increasingly radical Welsh tenantry (Morgan, 1980: 9-10). By the middle of the nineteenth century, as Colyer (1978: 612) writes:

There was little chance of the Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist tenant on his hundred acres of marginal land feeling any sense of misty-eyed semi-feudal loyalty to the occupant of the 'Big House' who, more often than not, was unable to speak his language and was a communicant of the Church of England.

As industry developed in South Wales, it provided an outlet for agricultural labourers and farmers displaced by economic distress. Rather than emigrate to America or England, as so many of their Irish counterparts had done, they were able to find employment in the rapidly expanding iron and coal industries of the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire valleys. Initially, this migration was seasonal, but eventually developed into permanent migration as industry expanded and industrial wages outdistanced agricultural wages. In periods of good trade, a collier could earn between £1.1s. to 25s. per week in the mid-1840s (Phillips, 1849: 40). Wages of men employed in the furnaces and rolling mills could be double that, earning between £2 and £4 per week (ibid.: 40). Wages in North Wales lagged behind those of the south-- wages for colliers around Wrexham had reached a maximum of 2s. 9d per day, in 1846 and 1847, or averaging 12s. to 14s. per week, though in some collieries miners could earn as much as 5s. per day (Dodd, 1933: 343). Wages varied between collieries and mills, and were almost always dependent on the climate of trade. As sales decreased, and trade fell off, coal owners and

ironmasters generally decreased wages.¹⁰ And, in periods of depression, when many were out of work, the highest of wages in good times were of little benefit. It is important to note also that even in prosperous times, colliers and miners might not work every day, but rather only three or four days out of the week. Thus, weekly wages reflect what could be earned, rather than what was actually earned.

Still, wage differences between the industrial and agricultural sectors were enough to entice labourers to the valleys despite the hardships during years of depression. In the 1830s, permanent farm servants in Montgomeryshire could earn as much as £8 annually; married labourers could earn 9s. per week in summer, 8s. in winter; and single servants, £3 to £6 annually, with room and board (*ibid.*: 341).

Though wages were higher for workers in the industrial valleys, society was arranged on a similar class and cultural basis. At the top were the coalowners and ironmasters, often English, or anglicized Welshmen. Below them developed an artisan and labourer class, primarily Welsh in origin, and, if religious,

10. In the period of boom in 1839, Samuel Homfray's workers at Tredegar could earn the following weekly wages:

- Miners: 22s. to 24s.
- Furnacemen: 30s.
- Puddlers and Heaters: 35s.
- Rollers: 50s. to 60s.
- Fitters and Smiths: 25s.
- Carpenters: 21s.
- Moulders: 24s.
- Masons: 24s.
- Labourers (of whom there were very few): 12s. to 14s.

(D. Williams, 1939: 118)

Nonconformist. It must be noted, however, that this class was far from homogeneous. Great differences existed between the highly skilled and well-paid puddlers, rollers and heaters, and the unskilled labourers, some of whom were Irish immigrants occupying the lowest paid positions and some of the worst slums in industrial Wales. Contrary to what might be assumed, however, the 'gentlemen puddlers', realizing their importance in the iron-making process, 'were often the most militant element within the workforce, and thus the ironmasters continually attempted to find alternative methods to the puddling process' (Boyns et al, 1980: 100).

Brinley Thomas (1987) has maintained that it was the option of internal migration which preserved the Welsh language. Many of the migrants into the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire valleys came from surrounding counties, generally the Welsh counties of Brecon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke, but also from the adjacent English counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Somerset, and Devon. Thomas (1969: 38) notes that of the 35,093 persons over the age of twenty in Merthyr Tydfil in 1851, 21,827 (62%) were originally from outside the county, and of these, 14,189 were from Welsh counties. As near as can be determined, due to the incomplete data available in LDS records, Mormon converts fit into the overall pattern of migrants from the surrounding counties--primarily Welsh, but with some English migrants--though there were quite a few who were born in the same parishes

in which they were living upon conversion. The society which grew out of capitalist development, in which they lived and worked, was 'a cauldron of rebirth', according to Thomas, which saved or helped prolong the life and resilience of the Welsh language and culture (Thomas, 1987).

Of course, Nonconformity played a major role in maintaining the language and culture in industrial South Wales. Nonconformity lacked the rigidity of the parish system and was able to provide for the religious needs of the population. With its use of lay preachers, it became a religion of the people and expressed itself in Welsh. It was during the decades of 1801-1811 and 1831-1841 that Nonconformity witnessed its greatest increase (D. Williams, 1961: 127). Basing his conclusions on the building and expansion of chapels in Cardiganshire, Prof. Williams concluded that the latter decade represented the greatest increase (ibid.: 127). Interestingly, the first period of growth occurred after the years of democratic revolutions in America and France in which Welsh radicals (as we shall see below) might have seen similar aspirations, but which they failed to achieve. The second period of growth came after a decade of industrial growth, when pig iron output in South Wales rose to 41% of total U.K. production (Atkinson and Baber, 1987: 5). Production, in terms of total tons, continued to increase during the 1830s, but as a percentage of U.K. output, dropped by nearly five percent. Despite the increase in tons produced, the industry suffered a setback at the

beginning of the decade, and wages were reduced. In response to depressed conditions, and feelings of insecurity, and even failed hopes, people seem to have turned to religion.

It is interesting to note that this decade which saw the highest amount of growth by Nonconformity, began with the riot in Merthyr over a reduction in wages and neared its end with the Chartist march on Newport. These were the years in which Prof. Gwyn Williams (1980: 24) roots the gradual emergence of a Welsh working class consciousness. This consciousness coalesced around a variety of groups within the working class community, including trade unions and benefit societies, such as the Iforites, and organizations such as the Odd Fellows, Freemasons, the Cymreigyddion, and the free-thinking Zetetics--all essentially social clubs, though the latter two were active promoters of local eisteddfods; but also including more shadowy forms of social control as the Scotch Cattle. The latter were perhaps the most visible (and most troublesome), as a result of their actions, of the above groups, and attempted to force a common moral code on the population of the Monmouthshire valleys. Though their methods differed considerably from those of Nonconformity (it could be said, however, that both relied on threats-- of either physical violence or spiritual damnation), their beliefs were those of a people who sought community oriented values, such as united effort among workers and responsibility for individual actions towards the community and the family.

It opposed any action which sought to break down the common bonds within the community, and struck out particularly hard at blacklegs, strike breakers, and opponents of working class interests. Though they were much more destructive, the Scotch Cattle operated in the tradition of the ceffyl pren (literally 'wooden horse')-- the old Welsh tradition of running an offender of community morals out of town, while he sat astride a wooden rail. In a similar vein, Rebeccaites would descend upon toll-gates in the Southwest, and hold elaborate pantomimes or mock trials in which they found the gate guilty of impeding traffic and would then proceed to destroy it (Molloy, 1983: 42-3). As Rebecca grew in power, it too began to impose community morals, such as forcing fathers to recognize and support illegitimate children, a practice in which the Scotch Cattle also engaged. It may seem strange to seek a comparison between the Scotch Cattle and the Latter Day Saints, but both did seek a common morality and stressed responsibility of the individual to the community. Mormonism was relatively strong in Monmouthshire, having eighteen congregations and 692 members by October 1849, located mainly in the valleys of the western half of the county (U.S., 1849: 222-3).

IV. Mormonism in the Context of Social and Political Change

It would be folly to present any connection between Latter Day Saints and the Scotch Cattle as anything more than speculation, for there is no way of knowing whether any members of the latter ever joined the Mormons. The

Iforites, however, are one group with which we can identify Mormon association. The Iforites were 'the first native Welsh benefit society cum trade union' (G.A. Williams, 1987: 101). Though the number of Mormons is not mentioned, some were members of the society until February or March of 1847. In Prophwyd y Jubili, Dan Jones launched a bitter attack on the Iforites, who had recently decided that Mormons should no longer be allowed membership in the society (P.J., 1847: 49-51). The incident began when, according to Jones, a Mormon who was a member of Lodge 299, began preaching in the hall of the Yew Tree Inn, Blaenau (with permission of the owner). A fellow lodge member, Thomas Evans, who was a Baptist,

stood up to oppose him; and through that showed his folly, until being shamed by the crowd, and causing the listeners to despise him; he then rushed out in shame (ibid.: 50).¹¹

Apparently enraged at his shame, Evans proceeded to have a committee 'excommunicate' all Mormons from Lodge 299, including one who was removed from office in the lodge (Jones does not say who or what office.) Shortly thereafter, at a meeting of the Union of Iforites of South Wales, it was decided that all Mormons be removed from the society without warning or restitution of moneys paid into the society over the years, as 'Mormonism was more dangerous to the society than Mohammedanism' (Lewis, 1956: 87). This decision probably had little real bearing on the Mormons, for Jones had called already on

11. '... a safodd i fyny i'w gwrthwynebu; a thrwy hyny dangosodd ei ffolineb, nes dwyn gwarth y dorf arno, ac achosi i'r gwrandaawyr ei ddiystyru; ac yna rhuthrodd allan mewn cywilydd.'

members in other Iforite lodges to 'separate themselves from unjust pretenders' unless the Blaenau Gwent lodge reconsidered its actions, by either returning Mormons to membership, or refunding their money (P.J., 1847: 49).

The overall tone of Jones' remarks illustrate the importance which Mormonism placed on free will and independence of thought and action. He attacked the Iforites for their claim that the Book of Mormon was blasphemous and denied truths contained in the Bible. 'But the worst thing,' as he wrote, was the fact that the Mormons received no justice in the matter, and were unable to defend themselves or their beliefs, nor were able to believe freely as they wished, regardless of what other Iforites wished to believe. Jones ended by warning the Welsh that,

before heaping their money to Iforite coffers, they must give up every claim to free will, and in judging themselves to believe and present, not only their money, but the pearl I appreciate, the best of God's gifts to man, namely independent thought (ibid.: 50-1).¹²

Through the Iforites, we have the closest tie of Mormons to working class organizations of the 1840s. Clearly, there was no conflict in Mormon minds with belonging to groups other than the Latter Day Saints. Those who were expelled from the Iforites either had been members prior to conversion to Mormonism, or had joined the society afterwards. The fact that some of those

12. '... cyn pentyru eu harian i gistiau yr Iforiaid, y rhaid iddynt roddi i fyny bob hawl i ewyllys rydd, e'n barn eu hunain am grefydd, a chyflwyno, nid yn unig eu harian, o roddion Duw i ddynion, sef meddwl annibynol,...'

expelled had been paying into the society for many years shows that, whether early or recent converts to Mormonism, membership in both groups had not been seen as a problem. Also, there is no recorded opposition on the part of Mormon leaders in Wales to membership in benefit societies, and from Jones' remarks in Prophwyd y Jubili, we can assume that until March of 1847, he looked favourably on membership. His response to Chartism, however, is much more ambivalent, and may reflect opposition to the physical force wing of Chartism, which by the late 1840s, under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, had become dominant over the moral force wing, which by coincidence was strong in Merthyr Tydfil, as were the Mormons. The appearance of accusations of being Chartists, and membership in the Iforites, imply an involvement of Mormon members in all aspects of working class life. If this is the case-- and there is no reason to suspect otherwise-- this would tie members, and perhaps even the growth of Mormonism in Wales, to the forces which shaped a working class consciousness and a radical, Nonconformist image. In other words, Mormonism is as indebted to the progression of events in Wales which produced a radical outlook as is Non-conformity, and may be as much a part of the radical Welsh image as Nonconformity is commonly held to be.

V. Religion and the Search for National Identity

Prof. Gwyn A. Williams (1985) interprets the history of the Welsh as a continual search for identity; as a people defining and redefining themselves in response to

the social and political pressures of each era. In effect, this meant defining an identity which contrasted them with the English. In the nineteenth century this identity took on a class consciousness as a Welsh working class defined itself against an English or anglicized Welsh gentry and bourgeoisie. Prof. Williams (1985: 182-3) writes:

The Welsh created a new identity for themselves, yet again. This historically effective consensus emerged on a radically new foundation. Central to that reformation was a specifically working-class consciousness which fought its way through rebellion to acquire a brief but potent maturity. [It created] a populist and radical Nonconformist People in whom its leaders saw the image of a new Welsh nation.

Prof. Williams roots the creation of this identity in the revolutionary period of the eighteenth century, beginning with the American Revolution in 1775, but perhaps reaching its fullest expression during the early years of the French Revolution. Williams sees Welsh intellectuals as influential figures in a trans-Atlantic network of Deists, Unitarians, and radical Baptists and Independents-- radicals and Jacobins in general-- who fostered revolutionary and democratic ideals. Remote though the Welsh countryside may have been during the eighteenth century, it certainly was not cut off from the leading radical ideas of the time (G.A. Williams, 1980: 18-22). A sort of Baptist international existed between South Wales and America, operating its own small fleet of ships by which Welsh emigrants were channelled to Pennsylvania, along with an 'endless flow of Jacobin

letters between Wales's unofficial consul in the USA, Samuel Jones of Philadelphia, and his brethren back home' (ibid.: 20). Prof. Williams (ibid.: 20) sees in the small emerging groups of artisans and small merchants in Glamorgan-- focused on Merthyr-- a 'coterie' of Welsh patriots and Jacobins who turned Glamorgan 'into one of the nurseries of the democratic ideology in an age of Atlantic Revolution.'

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, radicalism in Wales was emerging, and though it found a place among the textile workers of Merioneth and Montgomeryshire, and rural West Wales, it can hardly be called working class radicalism, if for no other reason than that a working class as such did not exist. The textile workers were still farmers who engaged in the production of web cloth and flannel as a means of maintaining a subsistence. Nevertheless, the seeds of later working class radicalism were there, sown perhaps by Dissenting ministers of radical persuasion, artisans and craftsmen in touch with ideas from London, France, and America, and a London-Welsh intelligentsia which maintained ties with Wales and Welsh-Americans. It may be easy to over-estimate the influence that these groups had over the country, for it was they who created the image of a radical, Nonconformist Wales. Iolo Morganwg (Edward Williams), the stonemason bard from the Vale of Glamorgan, and an influential leader in the revival of Welsh literature and culture, kept historians and antiquarians busy for years trying to sort out authentic

documents from those he forged. But their ideas were important, for they provided the ideology and impetus behind the first rumblings of workers' dissension in Wales, and at least helped create an atmosphere conducive to a wide variety of beliefs and doctrines.

Iolo was instrumental in creating or reviving old Welsh traditions in an attempt to create a separate national identity for the Welsh. Perhaps his greatest contribution was the revival of the Order of the Druids and the Gorsedd, or circle of bards. The influences of the age, which affected him and his London-Welsh compatriots, are easy to discern-- Iolo's Druids were Freemasons and Jacobins. In reviving the Druids, Iolo said,

I am giving you the patriarchal religion and theology, the divine revelation given to mankind, and these have been retained in Wales until our own day (in G.A. Williams, 1987: 104).

Prof. Williams (ibid.: 104) writes:

The traditions descending from those ancient Druids and their universal human creed of liberty, natural religion, equality and unitarianism had been transmitted to the Welsh bards, remembrancers of the people who were survivors of that ancient race, transmitted orally through the bardic order with its rigorous eisteddfod and its controlling gorsedd.

Iolo denied that the Druid-bards were Freemasons, but admitted that their religion had been 'forced to mask itself as Freemasonry' (ibid.: 104-5). There were close similarities between the Gorsedd and 'the radical societies of Illuminati, the Jacobin religion of nature and the Masonic conspiracies' in Europe (ibid.: 105). As

Prof. Williams (ibid.: 105) writes, this revival of Welsh culture was in fact 'a new, and radical, national ideology'. This connection with Freemasonry and its ritual is interesting in relation to Mormonism. Though the Book of Mormon contains several references to the evil nature of secret societies, which are generally held to refer to Freemasonry, many Mormon leaders, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young included, joined the Freemasons and founded a lodge in Nauvoo in the early 1840s. The temple rites engaged in by Mormons are said to be similar to, or modeled on, Masonic ritual. As with the Masons, Mormon rites are secret, and members who participate are forbidden to reveal the nature of the rites in which they take part to non-members, nor even to members who are not in good standing within the church, and therefore not allowed to enter the temple. Nevertheless, enough description has been 'leaked out' to reveal a certain similarity with Masonic ritual. Of course, no definite conclusions can be made from this similarity, but it does raise some speculation as to how the Welsh might have viewed Mormon temple ritual, if they were familiar with Freemasonry and Iolo's bardic order.

Within the radical movement in Wales, the Unitarians and Baptists-- particularly the General Baptists-- played an active role. The Baptists produced Morgan John Rhys, an interesting example of a minister turned revolutionary, and whose beliefs represent the radical Christianity of the late-eighteenth century, and also provide a close parallel to the beliefs and ideals which

Mormons would preach fifty years later. This radical Christianity stressed democracy, was Arminian and rational, tending towards, but not always ending in, unitarianism and arianism, and contained a marked degree of 'scholarly millenarianism', typified by the preaching of Dr. Joseph Priestley (G.A. Williams, 1982: 52).

Rhys, like other radical millenarians of his day, believed that the revolution in France, in 1789, was a sign that the existing order in the world would be overthrown, and a new society instituted. In 1794 and 1795, he and several other radical ministers published sermons pertaining to the state of Europe and the last days, with a new millennium being ushered in by the French Revolution (H.M. Davies, 1980: 123).¹³ The Jacobins were believed to be God's agents in bringing about the new millennium (ibid.: 123). Rhys saw the government and Established Church as being opposed to liberty and freedom; and as civil and religious liberty were, in his mind, entwined, the Church of England would have to be disestablished. This was a view shared by many Dissenters and reflected their subordinate status in society resulting from disabilities placed upon them because of their religious beliefs.

Only after disestablishment was achieved could the millennium and perfectability be achieved (ibid.: 117-8). A legitimate government would then be ushered in, based

13. These works were: G. Wakefield, The Spirit of Christianity; M.J. Rhys, Cyngor Gamaliel; W. Richards, Food for a Fast Day; J. Priestley, The Present State of Europe (all 1794); and J. Bicheno, A Word in Season (1795). Rhys translated Bicheno's The Signs of the Times into Welsh (H.M. Davies, 1980: 111, 123).

upon 'primitive Christianity and a liberal Gospel Order, ordained by God', of which Rhys believed America to be an illustration of the fulfilment of prophecy (ibid.: 115). Rhys was one of the Welsh proponents, at the end of the eighteenth century, of a rational Dissent which,

fashioned a two levelled response: first to make oneself worthy of interpreting the Will of God, and secondly, to create at least the conditions in Nature whereby perfectability could be achieved. In practical terms this meant personal repentance and public reform (ibid.: 123).

It is difficult to determine how many people, outside the radical intelligentsia, believed as Rhys. H.M. Davies (1980) points out that America was held up as the epitome of freedom and liberty, and that Rhys, as well as others, were beginning to see British society as devoid of redemption. We might assume that Rhys' congregation, and the congregations of ministers like him, shared his rejection of contemporary society. Evidence would suggest that many of the Welsh rejected anglicization in whatever form it took-- landlord, ironmaster, religion and government-- desiring instead a Welsh society, which increasingly implied a radical, Nonconformist society. Rhys emigrated to the United States in 1794, and established the community of Beulah in Pennsylvania-- intended to provide a new homeland for the Welsh, and aided by the Jacobin, Baptist network. Emigration was seen as the only possible response to illegitimate authority (short of armed insurrection), and was seen not only in political terms, but also nationalistically-- English imperialism denied the Welsh

the freedoms they desired, therefore, the only option was to create a new Wales on the American frontier. The myth of Madoc, the Welsh prince believed to have landed with his followers in America in 1170, and from whom was believed to have descended a group of Welsh Indians, was revived to provide the ideology behind the search for a new homeland. The London-Welsh funded expeditions to search for the Welsh Indians, hoping that these distant cousins living freely on the frontier, would help establish the new Wales.¹⁴ The act of emigrating was equated even, by Rhys and no doubt by others, with the flight of the Israelites from Egypt (ibid.: 126). Indeed, for a people practically raised on the Bible, many of whom had learned to read in the Sunday schools, and which, for many, was the only reading material in the home, the Israelites, oppressed by the Egyptians, provided a fitting example of their own plight (Molloy, 1983: 31) It takes no great stretch of the imagination to understand why the Welsh, whom the Rev. David Rees of Llanelli believed 'to be better versed in the geography of Palestine than of Wales', came to equate themselves, and many of their responses to English oppression, in Biblical terms (ibid.: 32).

It also takes very little imagination to note the similarity of beliefs between radical millenarians of the late-eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries and Latter Day Saints of a half-century later. The similarity

14. Dan Jones, after arriving in Utah in 1849, travelled south of Salt Lake City to search for the Welsh Indians (Madociaid) (see Dennis, 1985).

emphasizes the common ideological background from which both groups came, albeit from different eras. As we have seen in the previous chapter, however, the cultural influences on Mormonism from New York society were reassertions of the ideals of the American Revolution. Mormons, as well as other radicals in western New York, were not expounding new ideas to society, but were reaffirming ideas and values which they felt had come to be ignored by contemporary society. Similarly, any group professing a religious basis to their beliefs, which felt itself to be oppressed, or to represent an oppressed segment of society, is likely to resort to biblical imagery. As Hovell (1918: 85) wrote:

religious sanction for radical opinions is the only refuge for persons unacquainted with abstract political, or social, or economic theory.

Considering that Rhys had published the Welsh translation of Volney's Ruins of Empires in 1793, and attempted to publish a Welsh translation of Voltaire (G.A. Williams, 1980: 32), perhaps Hovell's statement should be amended. The Welsh working class might have been at least somewhat familiar with political, social, or economic theory, even if only as passed along by radical leaders and intellectuals, but biblical language, stories, and images were those with which they were most familiar.

VI. The Basis of Mormon Appeal

Mormon reliance on biblical imagery, even the equation of Britain with Babylon and America with Zion, does not stand out as different from language and images used by other groups. The Chartists saw the United

States as the embodiment of their ideals and, after the rejection of the Charter in 1839, urged emigration as a means of escaping oppression (Boston, 1971: 13, 15). Bronterre O'Brien encouraged emigration, though by 1849 he had reversed his opinion after being persuaded by others (namely George Harney) that emigration was beneficial only to those who left Britain and would be harmful to working class solidarity (ibid.: 16-19).

D.J. Davies (1987: 23) states that Mormonism,

demands an alteration in the very framework of understanding Christian religion. The radical nature of this shift makes conversion to the Latter Day movement unlike a conversion from one form of Christianity to another within the traditional streams of denominations and churches.... The emergent Mormon religion,... possessed doctrines and practices lying beyond the customary bounds of broad Christendom.

Mormonism may have been 'beyond the customary bounds of Christendom', but it cannot be said that its beliefs lay beyond the broad range of thoughts, beliefs, and philosophies of the mid-nineteenth century, or even beyond the more radical and heretical religious doctrines of previous Christian sects. Comparative studies with Anabaptism have revealed similarities in beliefs, and, to some extent, in the historical influences leading to the formation of both groups. Likewise, there was much in common between Mormonism and 'mainstream' Christian denominations. The main purpose of restoring the gospel was to return to the practices of the early Christian Church. As Mormons maintained, it was not they who had diverted from the Christian path, rather it was all the

other sects and denominations who had corrupted the faith (of course, most denominations made the same claim). On one level, Mormonism hardly differed from other Christian denominations or from biblical Christianity. Davies (ibid.: 24) recognizes this when he writes that,

converts did not need to totally reject their prior beliefs. They were called to a developed extension of them in new directions. The fact that such a new path often went on to involve a radical reevaluation of ideas and an investing of them with new significance may not have been totally clear to converts at the outset.... Even today converts speak of the change inherent in their intellectual and emotional growth as Mormons with their prior religious knowledge undergoing a moulding transformation.

But, did Mormonism present converts with new knowledge, or did it merely embody old knowledge presented in a new form? Many of its beliefs are no different from mainstream Christianity, and conversion would have required a Welshman or woman to make only slight changes in his or her beliefs. Some of these changes would involve various practices and rituals, such as baptism (immersion instead of anointing). Others would involve more theological and doctrinal questions, such as God's continual prophecy, conception of the Godhead (unitarian or trinitarian), man's free will as opposed to predestination and original sin, and salvation (universalism instead of an elect). With perhaps the exception of continual prophecy, none of the shifts of beliefs listed above, which a convert to Mormonism might have had to make, differed from shifts required of converts from one mainstream denomination to another.

For instance, a member of the Independents who became a Baptist would have been required to change his or her belief concerning baptism. A convert from any Calvinistic denomination to Unitarianism (or vice-versa) would have had to make radical changes in his or her belief system, not just in modes of worship and ritual, but in conceptions of God, Christ and man's relation to them. Thus, in comparison, conversion to Mormonism hardly would have required a more radical shift of beliefs than converting from Methodism, or Baptism, etc. to Unitarianism. Without proper knowledge of converts' prior religious backgrounds-- and Davies does not provide any, nor does any information seem readily available for Welsh Mormons (it would seem, from reports in Prophwyd y Jubili, that many converts had been Baptists, though this may be a reporting bias resulting from the intense animosity between Baptists and Mormons in the Merthyr area)-- it is difficult to determine how much of a shift in understanding would have been required of converts.

It is assumed that the extensions of belief in new directions of which Davies writes were the progressive nature of man and God, the divinity of man, the Adam-God theory, and various temple rituals. Temple rituals, such as baptism for the dead,¹⁵ were justified by biblical passages, of which many converts were no doubt aware.

15. Udgorn Seion (1851: 202) contained an article about a Calvinistic Methodist minister who had baptized a woman as a proxy for her recently deceased infant. The article was published as proof that there was nothing strange about baptism for the dead.

If we look solely to mainstream Christian doctrines, it becomes difficult to find examples in history of similar extensions of belief. But, if we turn to other fields, philosophy perhaps, we begin to find extensions of thought which might have influenced Mormonism. We have discussed in the previous chapter the Mormon conception of the universe, and man's relationship with God. The Latter Day Saint vision of history is of progression, and in this vision, we can see similarities with nineteenth century materialists who believed that mankind makes its own history and that this history is progressive. The materialists, in turn, drew upon the writings of eighteenth century thinkers, such as Turgot, who saw history

as a continuous record of human progress which proved, he said, 'the total mass of the human species through alternating periods of calm and agitation, of good and evil, is steadily but 'slowly advancing towards greater perfection' (Green, 1950: 10).

By 1853 Mormonism had moved to a position which might be described as a sacred humanism. In common with humanism, man came to be seen as the highest being, but was given divine status rather than mere mortality. Brigham Young, in one of his few revelations of a theological nature, proposed that God was the same being as Adam. Thus, Adam, the first man, according to traditional Christian belief, became also, in Mormon belief, the creator of humanity. Adam's fall from the

Garden of Eden was seen as representing (at least by Young) the alienation of man from his divine origins.¹⁶ Davies terms this doctrine 'an odd message from Zion', and indeed, it did differ radically from traditional Christian beliefs (D.J. Davies, 1987: 16). Though the doctrine was not accepted fully by many members, some members in America and Wales did accept this new revelation. But did they accept it only because it came as a revelation through Brigham Young? Possibly, but the Adam-God theory can be restated in terms which bring it closer to the belief of secular humanists, with whom we might include Feuerbach, Marx and Engels, that the highest being for mankind is man: Adam, the first man, or metaphor for mankind, is God, and therefore the being who should be worshipped by mankind. Since we have little way of knowing with what ideologies and beliefs Mormons might have been familiar, the best we can do is speculate. But, if they were familiar with materialism and humanism, then the directions in which Mormonism was moving might not have appeared too radical.

We must wonder how Young arrived at such a belief. If it was a revelation from God, why would He suddenly

16. See Engels (On Religion: 217-8) writing about Hegel's dialectic and the self-development of the concept: 'The absolute concept does not only exist-- unknown where-- from eternity, it is also the actual living soul of the whole existing world. It develops into itself through all the preliminary stages which are treated at length in the Logic and which are all included in it. Then it "alienates" itself by changing into nature, where, without consciousness of itself, disguised as the necessity of nature, it goes through a new development and finally comes again to self-consciousness in man.' See also the discussion in chapter three above about the Mormon belief of progression of the soul to godhood.

reveal a notion so different from traditional Christian beliefs? Mormons might answer that people had become prepared intellectually for such a belief only in the mid-nineteenth century. If this were true, then humanism and materialism must have helped prepare people's minds for such a radical development in Christian thinking. And, materialism and humanism must have prepared Young to accept and reveal such a doctrine. If we do not believe in revelation, then perhaps Young took this idea from humanism and restructured it to fit into Christian historiography. Of course, this is merely speculation, for there are no sources which state positively from what source, or sources, LDS doctrines might have originated. There is circumstantial evidence, however, suggesting German philosophy. Scharffs (1970: ix, 5) states that in his last public address, Joseph Smith said that 'Germans are an exalted people', and in the King Follett sermon, Smith stated that he had been reading a German Bible and had found it to be closest to the truth, and to the revelations which he had been receiving. Elder Orson Hyde, while in Germany in 1841, learned to read German, and noted that he had read 'one book through', and had 'written and translated much' (ibid.: 2). Scharffs does not note what Hyde had read or translated, but at a later date, while in Regensburg, Hyde noted that he had enjoyed 'the flowers of German literature' (ibid.: 2-3). Could it have been philosophy and theological commentary? It is interesting to note that Hyde's visit to Germany preceded Smith's statements. Also, while in

Regensburg, Hyde wrote Ein Ruf Aus Der Wueste [A Cry from the Wilderness], which the censor would not allow to be published (ibid.: 3). Subsequently, the Prussian government found Mormonism to be dangerous to society, and hounded missionaries and converts (ibid.: 15). As a final bit of evidence, in 1854, after reading an anti-Mormon tract, Karl Maeser, the young assistant director of the Budich Institute, whom Scharffs describes as being 'at the top of the social scale and caught up with the materialistic philosophy that was becoming popular among scholars', joined the Latter Day Saints (ibid.: 17). Perhaps Maeser found something similar between materialism and Mormonism.

It is interesting to note that Grandy (1986: 153), arguing from a position within quantum physics, states:

Implicit in this new outlook [quantum physics] is the understanding that we are participating with reality as it unfolds, not steering its course deterministically. The microworld is simply too fluid and too all-involving to do anything but mirror a far-flung dynamic of influences.

Then, he makes a statement which seems a throwback to Feuerbach and Marx: 'Our position is unique; we provide the image that the mirror reflects' (ibid.: 153).

Grandy continues:

By casting these considerations into the philosophical arena, we come up with some interesting perspectives on some very old problems. First of all, we encounter the proposition familiar to process theology and early Mormon theology of a God limited by and in some sense dependent upon the universe he lives in. God's foreknowledge for instance, may be limited by the fact of an unfinished universe forever pulling itself up by its own bootstraps. If this is the case, his omniscience would not be the static fund of knowledge we have traditionally esteemed it to be, but rather a dynamic intelligence in which all things participate. We, in turn, would not be marionettes hanging by the strings of some already determined future, but active agents in an open-ended cosmos (ibid.: 154).

Highly speculative, perhaps, but it presents a theology which, with its view of an expanding and progressive universe, is not at odds with science. This was one of the criticisms which materialists made of Christian beliefs (Marx, Engels, On Religion: 198-208). No longer is God (or the gods) a higher being looking down from high on mankind and determining its fate. Mormonism made God and man nearly equals-- equals in potential, at least-- a belief which Grandy builds upon by stating that humanity's destiny 'may be interwoven with God's...' (Grandy, 1986: 154).

Grandy is stating these ideas in language which may have been unfamiliar to early Mormon leaders. His ideas may be only extensions of their beliefs, in directions that perhaps they had not envisioned. But it does seem faithful to early Mormonism, and even to more secular beliefs of the mid-nineteenth century. Grandy's universe is holistic, which he finds somewhat disconcerting. All

destinies being tied together removes the 'idea of a separate moral weight for all of us...' (ibid.: 155). Perhaps it was this communal weight which drew converts to Mormonism.

Given that, as Prof. Gwyn Williams has shown, South Wales was open to new political ideas at an early date, and also that much of the early Welsh press devoted itself to theological discussions, it would be hard to believe that Mormonism presented radically new beliefs to the populace. We might assume that converts were aware of other belief systems, religious and secular. They did not live in an intellectual vacuum, and as most members lived in and around Merthyr Tydfil, and were not of the lowest orders of society, it might be assumed that, at some point in their lives, they participated in the cultural and social life of the area. Davies, on the other hand, seems to take a narrow view of converts' backgrounds, almost as if they were never exposed to anything but traditional Christian theology prior to joining the Mormons. As most converts were between the ages of 20 and 40, they surely must have come into contact with a variety of beliefs. Ones such as the artisans, tradesmen, and puddlers represented a highly skilled, relatively well-off, and radicalized segment of the working class, presumably having some education and the means of participating in Welsh social and intellectual life. It could be possible that they were familiar with Iolo's creations, with the freethinkers of the early-nineteenth century, with the Zetetics and the

Cymreigyddion who were so influential in developing Welsh radicalism. If we can assume that people are attracted to groups such as the Mormons because they agree with the beliefs, then we might assume also that converts' beliefs were moving already in a similar direction and that no great shift of understanding was required upon joining the Latter Day Saints. Mormonism might have provided simply an institutional framework for their beliefs, which the member would have held, with or without conversion to Mormonism.

Davies sees Mormon conversion and emigration to Zion as a transition and as a 'cultural rite of passage, a movement from one culture to another and not simply from one social state to another within the same culture' (D.J. Davies, 1987: 63). In the first place, to assume a monolithic Welsh culture is to misunderstand Welsh history and society up to, and including, the first half of the nineteenth century. In Wales, to move from one social state to another was to move from one culture to another, from a Welsh working class culture to an anglicized middle class culture. Therefore, emigrating to Zion was no more a cultural rite of passage than being promoted from the coal pit to the counting office. In fact, there might not have been as much of a shift of culture or understanding in emigrating from Wales to Utah as Davies thinks. Society in Utah was essentially communal and democratic (in theory, and often in practice) and dedicated to providing equality of access to the material wealth of the community to all. This was

no different than what the Chartists, the Communists, the Jacobins, even what the radical Christians of the nineteenth century, hoped to achieve. Furthermore, Welsh Mormon emigrants tended to travel as a group, separate from English converts, and settled in their own communities in Utah, communities which retained enough of the Welsh culture and language that the Utah Eisteddfod of 1898 was deemed by Dr. Joseph Parry, the Welsh composer, to be up to the standards of the National Eisteddfod in Wales (Lewis, 1956: 34; D.J. Davies, 1987: 57). As late as 1927, David Williams (1927: 247) noted that '[o]ne sees Welsh proper nouns frequently along the valleys, and it is not impossible to meet someone with the ability to speak some of the old language'.¹⁷ In light of the examples of Morgan John Rhys, his radical millenarianism and his ideal community of Beulah; and of the radical 'spiritual Americans' among the Welsh of whom Gwyn Williams writes, can it be said that Welsh Mormon emigration represented a 'cultural rite of passage?' Might it not be more correct to infer that Mormon converts saw Utah society as the embodiment of what radicals in Wales had hoped to achieve? As David

17. 'Gwel enwau priod Cymreig yn fynych ar hyd yr ystrydoedd, ac nid amhosibl iddo gyfarfod a rhywun a all siarad ychydig o'r hen iaith.'

Williams (*ibid.*: 251) wrote,

this was the time of Chartism, and perhaps many Welsh went to Utah for the same reason many others went to the Chubut Valley in Patagonia, or as Samuel Roberts and his company to Tennessee.¹⁸

The participants in these migrations in search of a New Wales did not see themselves as passing from one culture to another, but as engaging in the only way they felt possible of maintaining their own culture.

Though Mormonism may have been a radical extension of mainstream Christian beliefs, it seems to have had similarities with more secular philosophies and ideologies. Converts to Mormonism might have seen it as uniting disparate strands of thought-- sort of a combination of traditional Protestant, Nonconformist beliefs, more radical theologies, such as unitarianism and arianism, and secular ideologies, such as materialism, communism, and perhaps even Chartism. In discussing the Adam-God theory, D.J. Davies (1987: 16) seems to support this idea that Mormonism united under its belief system what had been hitherto contradictory beliefs, and ideas which were anathema to mainstream Nonconformists:

for the faithful its distinctiveness was seen to be evidence of a Restored truth with which the anaemic theology of other churches could not compare.

If we believe that men create their own institutions and cultures in response to their environment, and if we

18. 'Amser y Chartisiaid oedd, ac efallai i lawer o Gymry fyned i Utah am yr un rheswm ag yr aeth llawer eraill i Ddyffryn Chubut ym Mhatagonia, neu fel Samuel Roberts a'i gwmi i Tennessee.'

see history as progressive, then we must assume that men are continually creating new institutions in response to conditions of life. This includes religion. When mainstream denominations failed to meet the needs of a segment of the working class population in England, they created their own radical Christian chapels. To some extent Nonconformity represented the radical Christianity in Wales. But, perhaps there were some within the working class community who felt that Nonconformity was not radical enough in its theology and conceptions of man's role on earth. The radical Christianity of the English working class was Arminian, but Welsh Nonconformity tended to be Calvinistic. Only the Unitarians, the General Baptists and the Latter Day Saints stand out as examples of radical Arminian denominations appealing to a primarily Welsh speaking portion of the working class (Primitive Methodists were present in Wales, but they tended to be distributed along the border with England, and, as Prof. I.G. Jones (1981: 230) puts it, 'most probably consisted of English immigrants.')

Mormonism in Wales developed in a Nonconformist society, and drew many of its converts from Nonconformist denominations. The Latter Day Saints were strongest in the same area in which political radicalism had been strong. Merthyr Tydfil, where nearly one-quarter of all Mormons lived and worked was the largest and most important town in Wales through much of the first half of the nineteenth century; it was the cultural and political

centre of Wales, and of radicalism in Wales. This radicalism spilled over into the surrounding valleys and counties of South Wales, into the towns, villages, coal mines, and ironworks in which Mormon converts would later be found. Mormon converts came from this radical, Nonconformist society, and we must assume that they must have absorbed some of the radical ideas and opinions which were floating around the region. And, as workers in England created a radical Christianity to reflect their changing religious beliefs, and as a means of rejecting 'an anaemic theology' which they felt no longer fit the times or their purposes, perhaps the Welsh who converted to Mormonism saw in it the radical theology that reflected their conceptions of society and man's role on earth. Thus, conversion required no great shift of understanding, if it required any shift at all. Rather, Mormonism was an extension of, and progression from a multitude of ideas, theologies, philosophies, etc. already extant in some form in Welsh society. Perhaps it would be too deterministic to say that Nonconformity or radicalism paved the way for the Latter Day Saints, but it does seem to be the case that Welsh society, at least working class society, because of its history of dissent in religion and radicalism in politics, had created the intellectual climate in which Mormonism could develop.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRAVERSING THE CAMBRIAN HILLS

So far, we have been concerned with the way in which Mormonism, as a religion and an ideology occupied a niche in Welsh society. This chapter will consider the distribution of Mormonism across the landscape. We shall look at the distribution of Latter Day Saint congregations-- where they were located, how they got there, and their relationship with other denominations in particular locations. In a study of this size not every congregation can be examined, nor would it be of any real advantage to do so, for many congregations shared similar origins and membership characteristics. Therefore, Mormon distribution can be explained by reference to several 'typical' congregations.

Most of the available information pertains to congregations in South Wales. This is understandable since most were located in the South. According to LDS records from the July 1849 conference held in Merthyr Tydfil, approximately 86% of the 4,529 members lived in South Wales, and of these, 2,238 lived in eastern Glamorgan and 586 in Monmouthshire (U.S., 1849: 161). Census records from 1851 reveal a similar pattern: 91% of the 4,741 attendants at services on Census Sunday

attended in the South.¹ Approximately 83% of Mormon attendance was in congregations in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. According to the census, only 420 people attended LDS services in North Wales. Information about congregations can be gained from Prophwyd y Jubili and Udgorn Seion, though this generally relates only to missionaries' travels and baptisms of converts. The Census of Religion also contains information about congregations; as we consider Mormon distribution in North Wales, much of the information will be drawn from this source.

A distinctive feature of Mormon distribution is its urban-industrial bias. Most congregations were located within the boundaries of the Northeast and South Wales coalfields. As we have seen, the majority of members were engaged in industrial trades, primarily iron and coal mining. Nevertheless, there were exceptions, such as the congregations at Brechfa, Llanybydder, Cenarth, Cuffern Mountain, and the congregations located around Overton in rural Flintshire. Members of these congregations were primarily farmers and farm labourers, and because of their exception to the general rule, they shall be examined. These rural-agricultural

1. Attendance figures are calculated using Prof. I.G. Jones' adaptation of Horace Mann's method. Rather than counting all attendants at the morning service, one-half of the afternoon, and one-third of the evening-- a method which favoured Anglicans, but penalized Nonconformists whose best attended services were evenings-- Jones began with the best attended service, then one-half of the next, and one-third of the least attended (I.G. Jones, 1981: 22).

congregations remained a minority within the LDS membership, and their presence does not significantly alter the fact that the sect appealed, or made its appeal, primarily to inhabitants of industrial Wales.

No other denomination in Wales (based on census records) seems to have had such decidedly urban bias. Unitarians approximate Mormon distribution, but their core area in the Teifi Valley was largely rural. Even considering that much of the Welsh population lived in the industrial regions of Northeast and South Wales, and that most denominations maintained large congregations in these areas, the fact remains that while other denominations, namely Methodists, Baptists, and Independents, were distributed relatively evenly throughout Wales, the Mormons were not.

This urban-industrial bias has not been adequately explained, other than in terms of deprivation theory. The problems associated with deprivation theory have been outlined in chapter three. Rather, Mormonism represented a form of radical Christianity, with close parallels to the ideologies of secular labour and radical movements which had been present in Welsh society. Interestingly, the distribution of Mormon congregations bears some resemblance to that of the Chartists in the South.

The travels of Walter Griffith in Wales on behalf of the Anti-Corn Law League may help explain the urban-industrial bias of Mormonism.² Both groups were

2. My thanks to Prof. I.G. Jones for bringing his article on Walter Griffith (1978: 95-128), and the example it might provide for Mormon missionary activities, to my attention.

essentially dependent upon proselytizing, whether on the street or in rented halls, for the dissemination of their ideologies. Both groups posed at least perceived threats to society and, thus, were movements which those in positions of power in society may have opposed. Griffith experienced opposition in the countryside of Wales, mainly from the gentry and their supporters among the clergy. Though the aims of the Anti-Corn Law League were not as radical or far-reaching in their attempts to restructure British society, as were the Chartists', nor did they question the morality of British society, as did the Mormons, they did advocate a change in trade laws which they believed would benefit the working class. If Griffith's experiences can be taken as an indication of what Mormon missionaries might have encountered, then the latter might have experienced considerable opposition in the Welsh countryside. If it were physically more dangerous to preach in the countryside, then this may have determined, in part, the distribution of Mormon congregations.

The reports sent by Griffith to the League headquarters in Birmingham concerning his journeys bear similarities with those sent to Dan Jones by missionaries in North Wales. In the space of a week, between 18 and 26 May, 1840, Griffith travelled throughout Northeast Wales, from Llangollen to Mold, sometimes retracing his steps along the way (I.G. Jones, 1978: 100). By the middle of June, he had formed associations at Flint, Bagillt, Mostyn Caerwys, Rhisycæ, and Halkin, but noted

that in Dwygyfylchi, the farmers were under the influence of the landowners (ibid.: 108-9). Griffith found that where he could attract industrial workers to meetings, he could find support. This tended to be in larger towns, where the chances of holding meetings, often in secret, were better, and where there was often less control over workers than over farmers in the countryside. In Beaumaris, which he described as a town controlled by the Tories, he was refused access to rooms and could not hold meetings (ibid.: 112). He had had better luck in Bethesda, just over a week earlier, and had held a meeting attended only by limestone workers (ibid.: 109).

The main problem encountered by Griffith was not finding people to listen to him, but finding suitable places in which to hold meetings. Open air meetings risked detection and dispersal by the authorities. As happened in Beaumaris, in towns controlled by Tories or opponents of the Anti-Corn Law League, Griffith was locked out. The Welsh gentry exerted considerable pressure and control over their tenants in the countryside, and the threat of eviction was a constant worry for those who opposed their landlord's wishes. We have only to consider the experiences of those who voted contrary to their landlord's interests in the election of 1859 in Merionethshire to see that this threat was sometimes carried out.³ Not until the 1868 Parliamentary

3. In the aftermath of the election, landlords of Rhiwlas and other estates evicted approximately 12 tenants and raised the rents of others because they had voted for David Williams, the Liberal Party candidate. Similar evictions occurred in Cardiganshire several years later (G.A. Williams, 1985: 213).

election in Merionethshire would this power be broken, and then only with the aid of the newly enfranchised quarrimen of Bala and Blaenau Ffestiniog (G.A. Williams, 1985: 214).

Reports sent to Dan Jones reveal a pattern of travel and experiences much like Griffith's. In 1846, Abel Evans and other elders preached throughout North Wales, achieving some success in Llandudno, Rhosllanerchrugog, Cefn Mawr, Caernarfon, and Newmarket (P.J., 1846: 162-3). Congregations were formed in some of the towns in which Griffith had formed associations: Cefn Mawr, Llangollen, Bagillt, Flint, and Rhosllanerchrugog (U.S., 1849: 19). And, like Griffith, Mormon missionaries encountered opposition in some towns. Eleazer Edwards was pursued by the police in Pwllheli for illegally preaching on the street (P.J., 1846:162). Missionaries preaching in Cefn Mawr and Llangollen reported that their presence was 'endangering the people who open their houses to [us]' (ibid.: 162).

Prof. David Williams (1961: 125) noted that Cardiganshire landowners supported Calvinistic Methodists in their evangelical efforts primarily as a means of stemming the growth of Unitarianism. Given that Mormonism was deemed to be more heretical, we might assume that landowners did whatever possible to stop Latter Day Saint growth. A writer in Yr Haul (1852: 136)

expressed alarm over the growth of Mormonism in Caernarfonshire:

In recent correspondence from an old friend... he says that the cause of fear was not the appearance of Popism in Wales establishing itself in the Principality,... but the increasing success of Mormonism in Wales,...

The writer found more to fear in Mormonism as a threat to society than Catholicism, which had long been the object of derogation in Nonconformist Wales. It should perhaps be expected then that Mormonism met with as much opposition.

This was true. Not only did many editors of denominational periodicals attack Mormonism, but missionaries were subjected to verbal and, at times, physical abuse. South Wales was one of the 'storm centres' for opposition (Thorp, 1988: 137-8). Opposition was greater in small towns and the rural countryside, than in large cities (ibid.: 144). Several examples can be offered to illustrate this opposition. Persecution forced the congregation at Fishguard to meet in secret at night (ibid.: 137). Members at Nantyglo were kicked and stoned while performing baptisms or holding meetings. In 1847, Dan Jones was charged with blasphemy and infidelity by the mayor of Merthyr Tydfil, though no trial seems to have taken place (M.S., 1847: 299-300). Finally, Dan Jones reported persecutions in Merthyr in January 1849; later, in July, John Davis wrote to the Millennial Star that during the cholera outbreak elders continued to administer to the sick, despite 'threatenings to transport' (M.S., 1849: 92, 264-6).

Violence towards missionaries declined, writes Thorp (1988: 145), in smaller towns and villages after 1852,

largely because LDS missionaries found little receptivity; hence proselytizing was largely abandoned in such places. In rural communities there was considerable hostility to Mormonism because of the continued existence of paternalistic controls that enforced opposition...

If it was the case that due to opposition, missionaries either were unsuccessful in, or even avoided, the countryside, then that might provide a reasonable explanation for the urban-industrial distribution. Despite a significant lack of congregations in rural Wales, some exceptions did exist, though it should be noted that most were established prior to 1852. Congregations consisting entirely, or in part, of members employed in agricultural occupations existed at Cuffern Mountain, Brechfa, Llanybydder, Cenarth, Swyddffynnon, Blaenau Ffestiniog, and in the vicinity of Overton. All but Blaenau Ffestiniog were largely dependent upon agriculture. Blaenau Ffestiniog was an industrial town, its growth due primarily to slate mining. Of the others, sufficient records do not exist to identify the occupational status of members (except for Brechfa), but as all were located in rural areas in which most of the general population was engaged in agriculture, we can assume that Mormons were engaged likewise.

Missionaries arrived in the Overton vicinity in 1840 and began to gain converts in Flintshire and the Welsh areas of northwest Shropshire. By 1841, Elders Henry

Royle and James Burnham had established congregations at Overton, Oswestry, and Whittington, with a total membership of about 150 (M.S., 1841: 284). It is unclear as to why Burnham and Royle chose to proselytize in this area, though Erickson (1972: 196) suggests that the strong presence of Nonconformity may have attracted them. This may have been possible. Burnham wrote from Wrexham that,

I have found a people in this place who come nearer the principles of the Latter Day Saints than any other people I have ever seen in any part of the world (M.S., 1840: 212).

However, they also met with opposition. Burnham was stoned twice while preaching near Overton in December 1840, and reported that Mormons were called infidels and robbers, because they robbed churches of their members (ibid.: 238-9).

Market towns may have provided a point of contact between inhabitants of rural areas and Mormon missionaries. Burnham and Royle seemed to have done most of their preaching in Overton, Oswestry, and Whittington. Many of the congregations in North Wales were located in market towns, such as Abergele, Llanrwst, Denbigh, Dinas Mawddwy, and Machynlleth. Elder Robert Evans preached throughout Flintshire towards the end of 1846, and had baptized several people in Newmarket and Rhuddlan (P.J., 1846: 163). Markets would have attracted people from the countryside, making it easier to preach to large groups than among the scattered farmsteads of the Welsh countryside. Reports of missionary work in both Anglesey

and Flintshire, again in 1846, note that elders preached in the 'chief towns' of each county; in fact, most reports in Prophwyd y Jubili mention baptisms in towns and not in the countryside (ibid.: 162-3).

Most markets were weekly, however, and it might be assumed that missionaries moved on to the next town when the market closed. There seem to be no records of where missionaries travelled from day to day, but from reports from November and December 1846, we may be able to reconstruct the movements of one missionary. Abel Evans began his journey in the end of November, preaching in the major towns of Anglesey. He then moved on to Blaenau Ffestiniog and Maentwrog; then north through Llandudno and Rhywgyfylchi, finally ending up in Newmarket, Flintshire by mid-December (ibid.: 162-3). In February 1847, he set out again on another journey through North Wales 'to visit the various churches of the northern counties' (P.J., 1847: 36). With such a schedule, chances are he did not spend much time in any one location. Thus, contact in any particular town might have been weekly at best, and thus somewhat infrequent. This may explain his need to visit the various churches. Conversion and establishment of congregations, necessary for maintaining an active membership, might have been slow. A good example of this comes from Cardiganshire, where Mormonism made only slow and uncertain progress.

In December 1846, Alfred Clark reported that he had returned from the county with,

good hope for the abundant harvest of those honest in their hearts. There is a great call to preach, from the people wondering as to the various principles of ours which they hear from the Saints, and they are searching the scriptures themselves (P.J., 1846: 161-2).⁴

Clark gained no converts during this journey, though it appears that there were some who were interested in Mormonism. The 'great call to preach' was not acted upon immediately, and though missionary activity was concentrating on the region around Llanybydder, elders did not seem to be crossing the Teifi in pursuit of converts. This changed by the summer of 1847, when missionaries preached again in Cardiganshire-- exactly where is not stated-- and, again, though they attracted interested listeners, they made no conversions (P.J., 1847: 147). In the spring of 1848, missionaries made a third journey through Cardiganshire, and this time were successful in gaining converts in the area around the market town of Tregaron, including one who had been a deacon with the Calvinistic Methodists (P.J., 1848: 78-9). A congregation was established at Swyddffynnon, a small farming community about five miles north of Tregaron, in August 1848, and by the end of the year had

4. '...ac y mae ganddo obaith da am gynauaf toreithog o'r rhai gonest eu calon. Y mae galwad mawr am bregethu, a'r bobl yn rhyfeddu mormon wahanol yw ein hegwyddorion i'r hon a glywsent hwy am y Saint, ac y maent yn chwilio yr ysgrythrau ei hunain.'

a total of ten members, three of whom were elders (ibid.: 123; Lewis, 1956: 121). Swyddffynnon is not located on any of the main roads in the region, and there is little in the village that would have attracted the attention of Mormon missionaries. Thus, it seems likely that as missionaries moved through the county, they preached in markets, and though Mormonism obviously came to the village of Swyddffynnon, it did so by way of the market at Tregaron.

The Census of Religion did not record any congregations in Cardiganshire, a fact (or an omission) which led Prof. David Williams (1961: 127) to conclude that 'the Mormon gospel had not yet succeeded in crossing the Teifi'. In light of the above evidence, this conclusion was not correct, though it may be possible that the Swyddffynnon congregation was no longer meeting by 1851. After 1849, there seems to be no mention of the congregation in Mormon records. However, there was a congregation in Aberystwyth, at least during the late 1850s; and by July 1854, there were 113 members in the Cardiganshire conference. (Lewis, 1956: 126; U.S., 1854: 403).

Finally, some mention should be made about the rural congregations at Cuffern Mountain, Brechfa, and Llanybydder since some information exists for these groups. Cuffern Mountain is a small village located in western Pembrokeshire, about five miles northwest of Haverfordwest. The area is largely agricultural, though coal was mined at the Trefran colliery near Nolton, where

at least one member- George Thomas-- may have been employed. Apart from Thomas, most of the other members whose occupations were listed were farmers and labourers.

Records for the congregation do not reveal anything about its establishment, but they do contain quite a lot of personal information for members. Though missionaries had been active in Pembrokeshire since the mid-1840s, most members did not join until the summer and autumn of 1849. George Thomas is the first member listed, having been baptized on 10 June 1849. Eighteen members were baptized in August-- 12 of whom were members of the Twigg, Thomas, or Rowland families. Furthermore, the Twiggs and Thomas' were connected by marriage-- George Thomas' wife was Sarah Twigg.⁵ Thus, it appears that Mormonism spread through a fairly close community. (It is useful to note that the first converts to Mormonism, after Joseph Smith had founded the church, were among his family and friends in western New York.) Nearly all members were natives of Pembrokeshire, and many had been born in the immediate vicinity. Ages at baptism ranged from 11 to 49 years; the average age was 27 years. Between 1849 and 1852, 38 people joined the congregation-- 17 males and 21 females. Of these, only 8 ever had their membership suspended, most for neglect. It is interesting that, of these eight members, six did not belong to one of the three main families.

The villages of Brechfa and Llanybydder are located in northern Carmarthenshire-- the latter lying in the Teifi Valley, and the former about eight miles to the

5. The author is a descendent of George and Sarah Thomas.

south, separated by a vast moorland plateau. Both towns were market towns. Members of the Brechfa congregation were primarily farmers, farmers' relatives, agricultural labourers, and farm servants. The few artisans and tradesmen listed as members no doubt served the needs of the agricultural community.

Places of residence listed for members appear to be farm names. Comparison with the Ordnance Survey map for northern Carmarthenshire (Sheet 41, old series, first published 1 September 1831) reveals a membership distributed to the northeast and south of Brechfa (see figure 1).⁶ The congregation was formed from the Llanybydder congregation some time in 1847. The distribution shown in figure 1 suggests that the decision to form a separate congregation was based on location of members, and distances from Llanybydder. According to the Census of Religion, the Brechfa congregation met at a farmhouse named Ty Mawr, just north of Brechfa. Also in the parish were congregations of Anglicans, with an attendance of 20; Independents, with approximately 212; and Unitarians, with a usual attendance of 29. The Latter Day Saints had an attendance of 30.

6. A problem of comparison arises, as the handwriting on Mormon records is sometimes illegible, and spellings may not be correct. Places of residence listed were: Cribymau, Brondawe, Esgerydd, Llysdyn, Tylluryd, Cilweyn, Lan, Maesygroes, Tyrea, Pontypinshwrn, Riwe, and Felingwm. In comparing sources, some farms were found with similar sounding names, but different spellings. For instance, Riwe may be Rhiw on the O.S. map; Brondawe, may be Bryn Dewi; Tylluryd, Tyllwyd; Esgerydd, Esgairdda. Pontypinshwrn is most likely Pantypensiwrn, and Llysdyn, probably Llystyn. Less certain is that Cilweyn is Cil-y-wern, and that Tyrea is Ty-yr-na. The spellings in figure 1 are those found on the O.S. map.

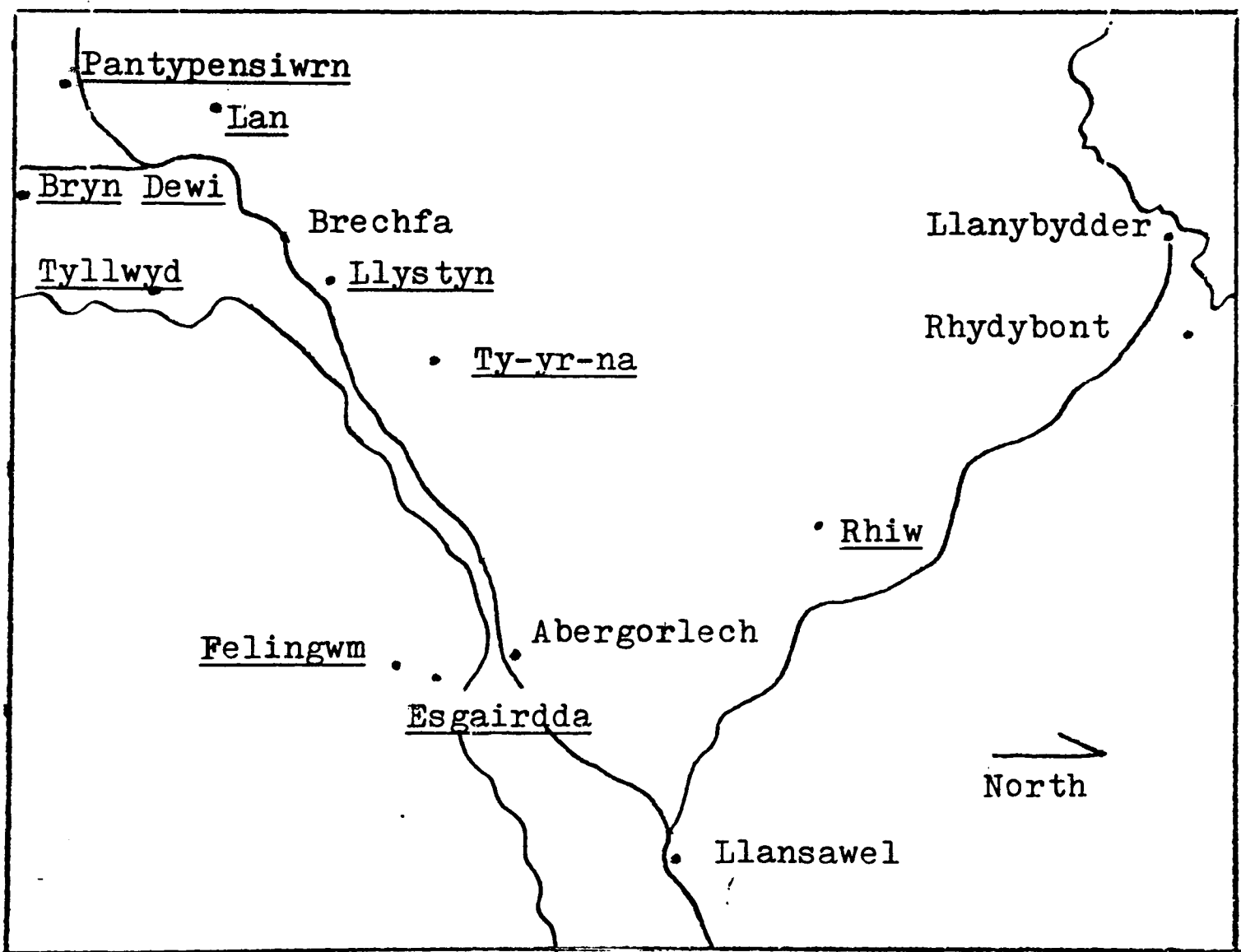


Figure 1. Places of residence of members of the Brechfa congregation. Farm names are underlined.

Dan Jones travelled to the area in July 1846, and according to LDS records, was the first to preach Mormonism in northern Carmarthenshire. In September of the same year, he baptized 25-year old farmer David Jeremy of Llanybydder. Jeremy was originally a member of the Llanybydder congregation; he and his brother Thomas played significant roles in spreading Mormonism through northern Carmarthenshire. David Jeremy became president of the Brechfa congregation upon its establishment, while Thomas remained president of the Llanybydder congregation until he emigrated to Utah in 1849.⁷ By the end of 1847, there were 29 members at Llanybydder (Lewis, 1956: 19), and at Brechfa, 29 converts had been baptized, including five farmers, two sons and one daughter of farmers, two agricultural labourers, four servants, one maid, and one mason. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, a total of 150 people joined the Brechfa congregation, but occupational information is available for only 51, in addition to those listed above. Nine were farmers, and another 17 were relatives (wives, sons, daughters). Nine were agricultural labourers, and 11 were farm servants and maids. The remaining five were artisans. Some of the farmers apparently operated large farms, for the Cambrian

7. Thomas Jeremy would later return to Wales as a missionary, and would be president of the Welsh Mission from 1862 to 1864 (Lewis, 1956: 127).

in 1849 noted that among the group of Mormon emigrants leaving from Swansea

were many substantial farmers from the neighbourhood of Brechfa and Llanybydder; and although they were well-to-do, they disposed of their possessions to get to California (in *ibid.*: 22).⁸

These farmers most likely employed several servants and labourers, raising the possibility that Mormonism was diffused through households. Jenkins (1962: 51) noted that 'it was said of the 1859 revival that once one member of a family was converted the rest would soon follow'. The 'unit of religious membership', according to Jenkins, 'tended to be the family' (*ibid.*: 51). This is borne out with regards to Mormonism-- when one spouse converted, the other generally followed suit. We might extend this also to include farm servants and labourers. Jenkins quotes Calvinistic Methodist leader Thomas Charles, who wrote in 1802 that

irreligious characters seldom find themselves at ease in religious families where domestic devotions are daily attended to... Servants also, who are of a devotional turn of mind, prefer serving those families... where religious exercises are daily observed. Thus individuals necessarily, from the nature of things, associate and form connections according to their attachments (*in ibid.*: 51).

Thus, it could be assumed that if a farmer and his family converted to Mormonism, the servants might convert also. Given the opposition to Mormonism, and the tendency among Nonconformists to view it as a heresy, servants and labourers working for Mormons might have felt they could

8. At that time, the name of California was applied to all of the inter-mountain West.

no longer associate themselves with their employers. At any rate, if Mormonism spread through households and families, contact was most likely by word of mouth, or pair-wise telling, rather than by proselytism by missionaries.

Some proselytism did occur, at least in the founding of the congregations. As was stated, Dan Jones went to the area in 1846, and other Mormon elders were active preaching and baptizing in the area, particularly the Jeremys. But what attracted Jones to the region in the first place? Why, of all the market towns in the Teifi Valley, did Jones choose Llanybydder as the focus of his missionary activities? Jones' brother, John Jones (known throughout Wales as Jones Llangollen), may provide the answer. Jones Llangollen lived in Rhydybont, just east of Llanybydder, where he operated a printing press. He had also been an Independent minister, in charge of chapels at Rhydybont, Capel Nonni, and Brynteg (Dict. of Welsh Bioq.: 479).⁹ In 1845, Jones Llangollen began printing pamphlets written by Dan Jones in defence of Mormonism (Dennis, 1988b: 31). He also printed copies of Prophwyd y Jubili, which first appeared in July 1846, corresponding with Dan Jones' first efforts at proselytizing in the region. Dan Jones may not have come

9. John Jones (1801-1856) was a noted controversialist, debater on baptism, and temperance lecturer. He was the 'secretary of the great temperance meeting held at Caernarvon in 1837', and had been a participant (with Rev. T.G. Jones of Rhymney) in the 'Great Debate of Rhymney' over the correct method of baptism. He never joined the Mormons (Dict. of Welsh Bioq.: 479).

to Llanybydder specifically to preach, but rather to pick up copies of Prophwyd y Jubili.

These examples have shown that, despite an urban-industrial bias, Mormonism was diffused to a limited extent through parts of rural Wales. Those who converted most likely did so for the same reasons as their compatriots in the industrial valleys. It seems unlikely that the substantial farmers of Brechfa and Llanybydder would have converted solely for the economic promises of Mormonism. Northern Carmarthenshire had witnessed riots by Rebecca, which were motivated by the desperate circumstances in which Welsh farmers found themselves (see above, chapter four). Plasbach gate, on the road from Llanybydder to Lampeter was destroyed three times between the end of February and the 21st of April 1844 (Molloy, 1983: 316, 326). It does not seem likely that Mormonism appealed any less to inhabitants of rural Wales, than to industrial workers; rather, the lack of rural congregations seems to have been the result of local opposition which deterred evangelism; and the movements of missionaries within the rural landscape. Given the scattered nature of the Welsh rural population, and the difficulties of proselytism which may have been involved, perhaps it is not surprising that Mormonism failed to gain a strong foothold in rural Wales. Only in the area around Brechfa and Llanybydder, where a concentration of activity occurred, did large congregations become established, numbering 69 and 55

members, respectively, by the end of 1848 (U.S., 1849: 14), and providing the nucleus for the largely industrially employed congregation at Llansawel, established in 1850.

The vast majority of Mormon converts came from the industrial regions of Wales, and it is on them that attention will now be focused. Though most information relates to South Wales, a few general points can be made concerning the congregations in the North. Members there represented a very small portion of total Mormon membership in Wales. By 1847, despite Abel Evans' report of 'success of the whole church through the North', membership was only 109 (P.J., 1847: 51). Perhaps Evans' news was premature, for just two years later, success had been achieved, and membership had nearly doubled (U.S., 1849: 14). Nevertheless, Latter Day Saints in North Wales accounted for under 6% of the total membership.

How can this difference between the North and the South be explained? Missionary activity does not seem to have been any less important in the North. The lack of numbers in the North, however, may not have been sufficient to generate a large number of full-time missionaries, and this may have hampered growth. Also, the congregations of North Wales seem to have been cut off slightly from the rest of the church in Britain--administratively from the English church, and geographically from the Welsh headquarters in Merthyr Tydfil. David Roberts wrote to Jones from Blaenau

festiniog of the success being achieved there and noted that three people had been baptized since his last letter. He added:

We are preaching as vigorously as we can, and have rather attentive listeners who increase frequently. The country is as if awakening from its sleepiness, and almost beginning to stare at the signs of the times.... The hosts are preparing to ask what is the matter and are beginning to approach in order to hear the Saints answering the above question, having failed to please themselves with their own answer (P.J., 1848: 107).

But, there was concern on Roberts' part that Jones' presence was needed to keep the success going. Roberts (ibid.: 107) wrote:

There is much desire with us to see you here this summer, and we hope you do not forget us in the North, since we are living in such a cold climate at present, but a little fire has been started here...

Dan Jones was a fiery and impassioned speaker, and perhaps Roberts believed that only Jones could keep the fire going, so to speak, in such a 'cold climate', and convince hearers to join the church fully. Roberts' letter points out, also, the difficulties that missionaries in the North might have faced when trying to spread Mormonism. His reference to the cold climate may be significant in comparison with Walter Griffith's experiences.

This explanation seems somewhat inadequate considering that Mormon missionaries also encountered persecution in South Wales, yet had greater success. The answer to why Mormonism succeeded to a lesser extent in the North most likely lies in the differences between the

two societies of North and South Wales. In general terms, Northeast Wales, where most of the northern membership was located, was very much like the industrial valleys of the South.

As noted above (chapter two), by the 1830s and 1840s, industrial Northeast Wales had begun to decline. During the twenty years between 1831 and 1851, though the population of the Northeast increased, the rate of increase was much slower than that of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Between 1841 and 1851, the population of the Northeast grew by only about 3%, while the South grew by approximately 21%. Thus, Northeast Wales was beginning to stabilize by the 1840s. The anomie and social disorientation that characterized industrial South Wales, and which might have created an atmosphere more conducive to the growth of groups such as the Mormons, was probably less pronounced in the Northeast by the time Mormon missionaries began to arrive.

Despite somewhat similar industrial histories and similar working class populations, some differences existed between North and South Wales which might have affected Mormon distribution relative to the two regions. In terms of labour unrest, North Wales seems to have had a less turbulent history. This may be attributed to the fact that, by the 1830s and 1840s, when a Welsh working class consciousness was beginning to coalesce, the industrial Northeast was beginning to decline. However, because there were no riots of the scale of Merthyr, 1831 or Newport, 1839, in the towns of Flintshire and

Denbighshire, we should not assume that all was quiet there. On the whole, though, based on the fact that Welsh labour history seems to focus on South Wales, the Northeast coalfield may have been less volatile. This may be related to the denominational patterns of Wales. While South Wales had a long tradition of Dissent, with those denominations being the strongest, the North was strongly Methodist-- Calvinistic in the Northwest, and Wesleyan in the Northeast. Denominations of Old Dissent were represented throughout North Wales, though to a much lesser extent than in the South. Walter Griffith noted, in 1841, that the Dissenters were working for repeal of the Corn Laws, while the Wesleyan and Calvinistic Methodists remained aloof from politics (I.G. Jones, 1978: 126).

Latter Day Saint congregations in the North, according to the census, were located in districts which had a relatively larger presence of Dissenting congregations. Census returns list Mormon congregations in Machynlleth, Holywell, Wrexham, St. Asaph, Caernarfon, and Bangor Districts, in each of which there was one congregation, with the exception of St. Asaph, which had two. The specific locations are important to note, though it must be remembered that Mormon congregations, like Nonconformist, were not constrained by parish boundaries. Though the census may list a congregation in a particular parish, its members could have been drawn from a much larger area. Mormon congregations were located in Machynlleth, Connah's Quay, Cefn Mawr,

Abergele, Denbigh, Caernarfon, and Bethesda. According to Mormon records from 1849, congregations were located at Cefn Mawr, Rhosllanerchrugog, Flint, and Bagillt, all in Flintshire, with a total membership of 62 (U.S., 1849: 19, 61). In the remaining counties of North Wales, Mormons had congregations, by the end of 1849, at Pontmenai, Bangor, Caernarfon, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Harlech, Machynlleth, Llanbrynmair, and Towyn, plus three congregations in Denbighshire which are not named, but might have been at Abergele, Denbigh, and Ruthin (ibid.: 222-3). Total membership was less than 300 (ibid.: 222-3).

Mormonism succeeded best in those areas of North Wales in which Dissenters were more numerous, suggesting a link between Mormon growth and the presence of dissenting congregations. Perhaps the tradition of speculation on theological matters made it possible for Mormonism to gain converts from their members, whereas among the more conservative Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodists, Mormonism was not as likely to succeed. Another factor, related to the increasing demographic stability of North Wales, may come into play. If we assume that, among the predominantly Calvinistic Welsh, there existed a minority inclined to Arminianism, then we might assume that only a small number would be attracted to Mormonism. Stump (1987: 440) found that migrants are more apt to switch denominations than non-migrants. Conditions of insecurity among newly arrived urban immigrants, particularly in areas of abrupt change, can

give rise to religious sects (Wilson, 1970: 232-3). In areas where the Arminian population was in a greater state of flux, where more niches in the church-going population were open, particularly among those who sought a theology promoting active change, Mormonism might have attracted more people. On the other hand, in areas with strong, well-established Arminian congregations, Mormons might succeed in only a limited manner. We find this latter situation to be the case in Northeast Wales, where Wesleyan Methodism and its splinter sects were firmly entrenched in a stabilizing population.

Taken as a whole, the various groups descending from John Wesley's original connexion constituted the largest religious body in terms of places of worship in districts along the northeast border of Wales, i.e. the districts of Montgomery, Llanfyllin, Holywell, and Wrexham. Only in Llanfyllin and Holywell did Wesleyan bodies attract more attendants than other denominations, but it is significant that in the other two districts, though attendance was less than the Anglicans, it was still higher than the Calvinistic Methodists. Moving westward from the border, however, the numbers of Wesleyans decrease, and the Primitive Methodists disappear entirely.

In Llanfyllin District, where the Wesleyan denominations were strong, there were no Mormons. In Holywell District, the LDS congregation at Connah's Quay was in an area where attendants at Calvinistic Methodist services constituted over half of all attendants, and

outnumbered members of the Wesleyan Methodists and the Wesleyan New Connexion by 841 to 148;¹⁰ Latter Day Saints had an approximate attendance of 22. A similar pattern existed in Machynlleth district, where the Mormon congregation was located in Machynlleth township. This congregation is the only LDS congregation in the region recorded in the census, despite listings in Mormon sources of congregations at Towyn and Dinas Mawddwy between 1849 and 1857 (U.S., 1849: 19; Lewis, 1956: 126). Calvinistic Methodists predominated, accounting for just under one-third of all attendants. Though Wesleyans had approximately 380 attendants, they accounted for just over one-fifth of all worshippers in Machynlleth. Taken together, the Independents and Calvinistic Methodists, with 462 and 536 attendants, respectively, account for over half of the approximately 1,785 worshippers. Mormon attendance was approximately 50, and stands out because it was nearly double that of the Baptists.

In both of the above areas, Wesleyans were comparatively weak, though in Machynlleth township, their attendance was proportional to their attendance for the district as a whole. In Holywell District, attendants at services of all Wesleyan denominations made up almost 26% of all worshippers, yet in Northop Township, in which Connah's Quay was located, Wesleyan Methodists and New Connexion attendance accounted for only 9.6% of all attendants. This seems to suggest that where other

10. These figures do not include scholars. Attendance at Wesleyan services was approximately 48; at New Connexion services, 100. For method of calculating attendance, see note 1 above.

Arminian groups were weaker, in relation to their position within the denominational structure of the district as a whole, Mormons were able to gain adherents.

That Mormons were present in areas in which Wesleyans (in the broad sense) were relatively weaker, is also the case in Ruabon Parish, in Wrexham District. Ruabon Parish included within its boundaries the industrial villages of Rhosllanerchrugog and Cefn Mawr. It was in this area that Walter Griffith had the most success, and also in which Chartism took some hold. The reasons are clear, for developmentally, Ruabon Parish had much in common with South Wales. In terms of denominationalism, the parish was much like those of industrial South Wales, with a variety of religious groups represented within it. There were about 40 attendants at their services, or about .52% of total attendants. Again, Wesleyan denominations were underrepresented in comparison with their position in the district as a whole. Attendants at Wesleyan Methodist, Primitive Methodist, and Wesleyan Association services accounted for about 15.5%, compared to 21% for the district as a whole. In comparison, Calvinistic Methodist attendance was higher within the parish (19%), compared with the whole district (17.6%).

An interesting feature of this parish is the wide variety of Baptist groups represented-- in addition to the Particular Baptists, there were Christian Baptists, General Baptists, and Scotch Baptists. The Christian and Scotch Baptists had attendances of 151 and 27,

respectively, the former having chapels in both Rhosllanerchrugog and Cefn Mawr. The General Baptists, of whom there were few in Wales by mid-century, were strong enough to rival the Particular Baptists in size, with approximate attendances of 1,156 and 1,370, respectively. With such a large number of Dissenters providing just over 50% of all worshippers in the parish, perhaps, theologically, the area was more open to Mormonism. Also, the significant presence of the General Baptists, Arminian and often unitarian in theology, should perhaps be seen as a positive indicator for Mormon success in gaining converts, provided we can assume that converts might come from those groups closest to it in beliefs.

Depending on the point of view, Mormonism can be seen as having been either successful or unsuccessful in North Wales. Dan Jones converted only a handful of people during the year he spent as a missionary in the North, but was extremely successful in the South. On the other hand, Abel Evans and David Roberts both spoke of success in the North. Several factors may account for such differing views of Mormon growth in the region. In the first place, religion was dominated by Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodism, which may have stifled theological inquiry at levels common to Dissenters. Also, the dominance of Calvinism among the Dissenting denominations, may have diminished the number of Arminians, or people inclined towards Arminianism, within the population. Finally, the nature of society in North

Wales may have been a reason for the relative unsuccessfulness of Mormonism. Not only was the population smaller in the North, and thus fewer people who might be converted, but it was also stabilizing in its growth. The dominance of Methodism, along with demographic stabilization, may have produced a generally more conservative population in North Wales.

Exceptions to this general characterization existed in North Wales. Prof. Gwyn Williams (1985: 199-200) contrasts industrial Northeast Wales, and mining towns such as Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda, with the relatively conservative society of the North. Prof. Williams (ibid.: 199-200) writes that the North Wales working class,

built villages, after often bitter resistance to enclosure, around chapels-- Carmel, Cesarea, Bethesda itself... They dressed differently, talked, lived, and thought differently. Their important towns, Bethesda, and above all Blaenau Ffestiniog, were in fact virtually indistinguishable from the more Welsh and 'respectable' areas of the South. Dowlais, for example, or Heolgerrig, within the Merthyr complex, in their chapels and their measured but intransigent commitment to forms of Liberalism, were very similar indeed to Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda.

Mormons maintained congregations in both Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda, perhaps in large part due to the similarities of the working class populations with their counterparts in South Wales. This similarity becomes more clear when we see that the Bethesda congregation, according to the census, was one of the largest LDS congregations in the North, with approximately 104

attendants. Compared to groups such as the Calvinistic Methodists and the Independents (the latter, incidentally, outnumbered the former in Bethesda), it was extremely small, but the congregation accounted for approximately 1.7% of the population of Llanllechid Parish (3,094 males and 2,854 females), which in terms of proportion of the population, made it one of the larger Mormon congregations. Of no small significance, also, is the fact that Mormon attendance rivalled that of the Baptists, who had approximately 108 attendants. In Bethesda was also a Separate Baptist Chapel (this may be a Free or General Baptist congregation), with an attendance of 57, perhaps representing a theological split among Bethesda Baptists.

The Bethesda congregation seems a fitting example with which to end an examination of northern congregations, and to begin examining the membership in the South. Its size and the characteristics of the population suggest the congregation as one which bridges the gap between Mormonism in North and South Wales. Perhaps by using Bethesda as an example, complemented by other congregations in North Wales, such as Blaenau Ffestiniog and Cefn Mawr, we can see that Mormonism succeeded best in areas with a somewhat liberal and radicalized working class population, in areas of industrial growth, and in areas in which Dissenting denominations were relatively stronger compared with Methodism. It might be added also that in areas in which

various forms of Wesleyanism were comparatively weaker, Mormonism was successful.

South Wales was the traditional stronghold of Dissent, and perhaps then it comes as no surprise that Mormons were concentrated in the South. Many of the characteristics of South Wales society which may have been factors in Mormonism's success already have been outlined. Briefly, the region was marked by dissent in religion and politics; by rapid industrialization with its associated anomie and alienation; and by a general dissatisfaction with the ordering of society, generated by the class relations in both rural and industrial Wales, and incorporating a degree of cultural, if not political, nationalism, but also generated by the writings of a Welsh intelligentsia which sought to foster greater cultural awareness. The factors outlined above, which may have led to Mormon success in particular locations in the North, and present only in a few places in North Wales, were widespread throughout the South, but specifically throughout the South Wales coalfield.

The boundaries of the coalfield almost define the extent of Mormon distribution in South Wales (see figure 2). Only a small portion of congregations lie outside its limits. Even in rural Pembrokeshire, congregations were located within the boundaries of a small arm of the coalfield which stretched from Tenby and Saundersfoot on the east to Nolton and Roch in the west. The congregation located at Stepside flourished around mid-century when the Pembrokeshire Iron and Coal Company

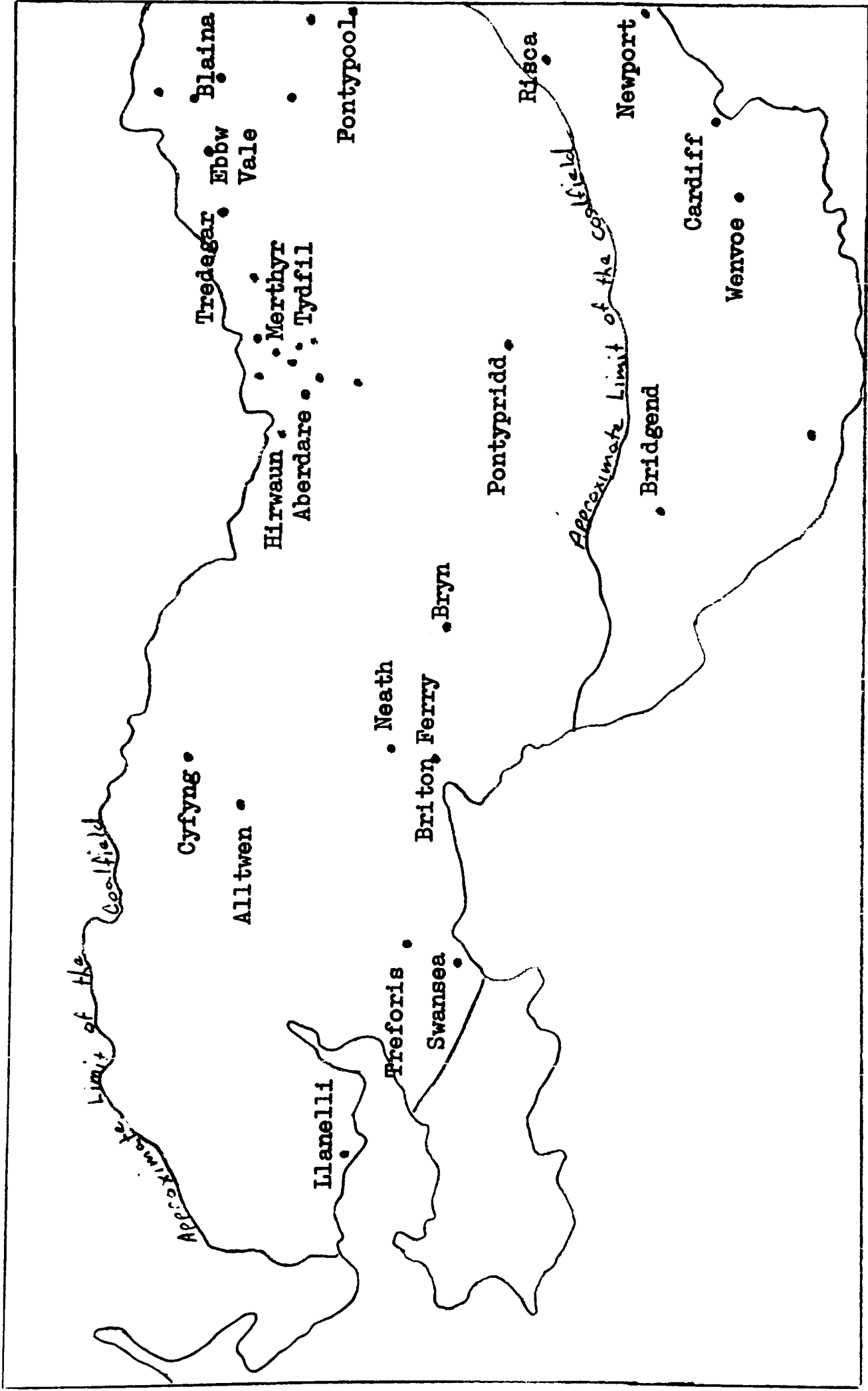


Figure 2. Locations of Latter Day Saint congregations in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with reference to the limits of the South Wales coalfield.

opened an ironworks, and exploited coal deposits around Saundersfoot and Kilgetty (John, 1984: 111).

The Stepside congregation was founded in 1849, coinciding with the opening of the ironworks and the growth of the community. By the end of 1849, there were 13 members--10 males and 3 females. Such a disparate ratio of males to females suggests a community made up primarily of migrants who came in search of work. Thomas Phillips, the first member listed in the congregation's records, was actually baptized in 1848, and might have moved to the area in 1849. Unfortunately, no occupations were recorded for members at Stepside, though it is known that George Thomas, who moved to Stepside from Cuffern Mountain in 1853 to become president of the branch, was a collier.

The congregations of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, and more specifically, the eastern portion of the South Wales coalfield, from Nantyglo on the east to Aberdare on the west, represent the core area of Mormonism in Wales. In addition to congregations in this area, congregations in Cardiff, Newport, and the Swansea vicinity should be included as part of this core area. Over 80% of the membership was located in South Wales, with 2,754 members located in Glamorgan alone (U.S., 1849: 161). Most members throughout the 1840s and 1850s, however, lived and worked in towns and villages along the heads of the valleys, from Nantyglo and Bryn Mawr to Aberdare and Hirwaun, but including the congregation at Cyfyng in the Tawe Valley. For ease of analysis, Mormon distribution

can be broken down into three areas within South Wales: the northern rim of the coalfield and the respective valleys; the port towns of Cardiff and Newport; and the industrial complex of the lower Neath and Tawe Valleys (Swansea and Neath), including Llanelli.

Sociologically, in broad terms, the population of the coalfield differed little from one valley and village to the next, although this should be qualified by noting that distinct neighbourhoods and 'sub-towns', which grew about the various iron-works, existed within towns like Merthyr and Dowlais (Carter, 1989: 10). Prof. Gwyn Williams (1985: 191) also suggests that the miners of Monmouthshire were more volatile than were workers in Glamorgan, perhaps due to the cut-throat nature of the sale coal trade. The Scotch Cattle were active mostly in Monmouthshire; and the majority of the Chartists who marched on Newport came from the Monmouthshire valleys. Indeed, the split between Welsh Chartists into physical-force and moral-force wings was almost a split between Monmouthshire and Glamorgan Chartists. Apart from these differences, the region was marked by general similarities in occupational and social structures, and religious denominationalism. As many of these themes have been discussed in previous chapters, we need not discuss in detail the characteristics of the society in South Wales in which Mormonism developed. Suffice to say that Mormon congregations reflected the overall structure of working class Welsh society in terms of occupations and standards of living.

In South Wales were found the necessary conditions for Mormon success. There were large numbers of migrants into the coalfield. Working class converts of the valley towns, with their rough and often precarious existence, might have seen Mormon theology and ideology as a means of achieving spiritual and material blessings, a degree of self-determination, and a place within the community, which they lost under industrial capitalism. The denominations of Dissent were strongest in the South, and Unitarians, with their radical theology, which flowed over into political dissent, were prominent in the fight for social reforms and the Charter; they may have helped create a niche within a radicalized Arminian segment of the worshipping population into which Mormonism could fit. Lastly, Merthyr Tydfil was the centre of Mormon activity in Wales, thus contact between the church and local populations would have been greater. The heavy concentration of missionary activity and publicity of LDS beliefs, coinciding with the largest concentration of Welsh people, helps to explain why Mormons had more members in South Wales than in the rest of the country.

Mormon missionaries began preaching in South Wales in 1840, but it was not until 1843 that the first converts were baptized (Dennis, 1988b: 221). Missionaries generally preached on the streets, or in chapels and private homes when invited. Missionaries preaching in the open might ask if anyone would open their home for them to preach in, as did Evan Williams and Thomas Richards, when preaching at Twyn y Rhodyn in

1847. By March 1843, a congregation had been established at Penydarren (R.L. Evans, 1937: 185). Congregations soon followed at Beaufort, Rhymney, Tredegar, Merthyr Tydfil, and Aberdare (ibid,: 185). The three year gap between initial contact and establishment of congregations contrasts with North Wales, where congregations were formed almost immediately upon contact with missionaries. This gap may indicate a language barrier, and also a cultural barrier, between English missionaries and a predominantly Welsh population, which may have impeded the diffusion of Mormonism in the South. These barriers were razed when Dan Jones was appointed president of the Welsh congregations on the basis of his ability to speak, read, write and publish in Welsh. The years of his first presidency-- 1846 to 1849-- were fruitful for Mormonism, and this success may be attributed, in part, to the emergence of a Welsh Mormon press and the proliferation of apologetic materials to counter attacks from the Nonconformist press.

Jones made Merthyr Tydfil his headquarters, and established the primacy of the area within the LDS Church in Wales (Jones was fond of calling the Merthyr congregation, the Mother Church of Wales). When he became president there were approximately 500 members in all of South Wales (M.S., 1846: 197). By 1847, there were 606 members in the Merthyr congregation alone, accounting for slightly less than one-third of the total membership (Lewis, 1956: 19). Over 40% of the 1,933 members in Wales lived in the Merthyr area (Merthyr,

Penydarren, and Dowlais); and, if the adjoining valleys are included (Rhymney and Aberdare), we find that just under half of all Mormons lived in an area measuring approximately ten miles from east to west. Though Mormons accounted for only about 2.4% of the total population of Merthyr Tydfil District in 1851, they received a great deal of attention from Nonconformist ministers. The Rev. W.R. Davies, a Baptist minister in Dowlais, published ten articles in four different periodicals, in addition to two pamphlets, between 1846 and 1848, attacking the Mormons, or the 'Latter-day Satanists', as he termed them (Dennis, 1988b: 48). Between 1846 and 1849, a virtual war of words surrounded Merthyr and Dowlais, as Nonconformist editors and ministers attacked the Mormons in print and from the pulpit, and Dan Jones countered with his own attacks on the 'sectarians'. The effect was to raise public awareness of Mormonism, and to increase Mormon visibility within the area-- perhaps better than individual missionaries could have done. The final victory, it could be said, was the Mormons', when in September 1848, Rees Price, the Rev. Davies' right-hand man, converted, claiming that it was Davies' repeated attacks on the Mormons which finally convinced him (P.J., 1848: 131-3).

Perhaps because of this concentration and relative importance, better documentation exists for the congregations in Merthyr area. Within the Merthyr complex there were six congregations: Merthyr, Glebeland, Georgetown, Dowlais, Pen-y-darren, and Cefn-coed-y-cymer.

There were also congregations nearby at Aberdare, Hirwaun, and Rhymney. Records for these congregations are extensive, containing details relating to occupations, birthplaces, and places of residence. They do not reveal precisely how Mormonism was diffused through the area, apart from proselytism, but from the information contained within, reasonable assumptions may be made.

The Merthyr Tydfil congregation was established in 1843, and for much of the 1840s met in the Cymreigyddion Hall. The first member listed in congregational records is an iron miner, baptized in 1843. In the next year, eight members were added. Six were male-- three colliers, one miner, one haulier, and one secretary-- and two females. During 1845 and 1846, another 22 and 28 members were added. Not until 1846 did the number of females in the congregation begin to equal that of males-- of the 59 members who joined between 1843 and 1847, 31 were males, and 28 were females, but through 1845, the male to female ratio was three to two. Of those whose occupations were listed, most were miners and colliers.

Congregations in the Merthyr area grew throughout the 1840s and 1850s at rates far exceeding those of other Mormon congregations. When other congregations were reporting two or three baptisms per month, Merthyr could report twenty (P.J., 1847: 51). In May 1848, Jones wrote that nearly one hundred had been baptized since the beginning of the year (P.J., 1848: 77). By the end of 1848 there were 142 members; the group doubled in size in

1849 when 142 members were added to the rolls. By the end of 1849, according to records from the Georgetown congregation, there were 216 members. No records are available for the Glebeland congregation. By 1851, there were 350 members in the Merthyr congregation. Not all members could have been constant attenders, for approximate attendance at services on Census Sunday was 233-- 107 in the morning, and 180 in the afternoon.

The census does not list a congregation in Georgetown, nor in Glebeland, but does list two congregations meeting in Penydarren. One congregation, with a total attendance of approximately 88, met in a room adjoining the Mason's Arms. This corresponds with the information contained in a petition for a license for the Penydarren congregation, filed on 16 January 1850 by John Jones-- most likely the same John Jones who completed the census form. The Georgetown congregation is most likely represented in the census by the listing of a congregation meeting in the New Inn Room, with a total attendance of about 205; this figure would approximate LDS membership totals for the congregation.

Congregational records provide detailed information concerning places of residence, for nearly all members of the Merthyr congregation, and many members of the Georgetown congregation. While members of both congregations resided throughout the Merthyr area, many were concentrated in several neighbourhoods, suggesting that diffusion may have resulted, in part by word of mouth. Tables 3 and 4 list places of residence, and the

numbers of members living there, for the Georgetown and Merthyr congregations. The names of places of residence were taken from congregational records, and as with the Brechfa congregation, were sometimes illegible and misspelled. Where possible, spellings have been corrected. Table 4 is broken down into four year increments, except for the last column, which covers only two years. As records were wiped clean in 1857, due to the Reformation of the LDS Church, and lists started anew, both tables end with the year 1856.

Table 3

Places of residence of members. Georgetown congregation.

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Georgetown	52
Pen-yr-Heol-Gerrig	22
Collier's Row	9
Gellideg	6
Transbach	6
Mynydd	4
Bryant's Field	2
Penydarren	2
Ynysfach	2
Aberdare	1
Pen-y-Wern	1
Rhymney	1
Total	108

Source: Congregation Register Books, LDS Church.

Table 4Places of residence of members. Merthyr Tydfil Congregation

<u>Residence</u>	<u>1843-6</u>	<u>1847-50</u>	<u>1851-4</u>	<u>1855-6</u>	<u>Total</u>
Abercanaid		4	4	1	9
Bedwarenfach	6	33	30	6	75
Bryn Hyfryd				20	20
Caedraw		39	12	2	53
Caerfarchnal		6			6
Clynmil	3	22	8		33
Collier's Row	1		1		2
Coedcae			1		1
Cwm Bargoed				4	4
Cyfarthfa Row			1		1
Dyffryn		13	10		23
Gellifaelog				3	3
Georgetown		1	4	2	7
Glebeland		1	16		17
Gudrepentre (Goitre?)			5		5
Merthyr Tydfil	5	5	1		11
Mynydd	3	18	13	6	40
Nantygwenith		1			1
Pantyfrind		25			25
Pentrebach		4	1		5
Pensaer Pentre	2	25	6	4	37
Pen Yard			22		22
Penydarren				12	12
Pontmorlais			2		2
Pwllwiaid		29	6	3	38
Rhydycae		1			1
Tai Coedion			2		2
Tai'r Plaihouse	2	2			4
Tramroad	14	30	25	1	70
Troed-y-Rhiw		2	8		10
Twyn-yr-Odyn	18	34	18	2	72
Tydfil's Well			4	3	7
Ynysgau	2	4	17	10	33
Total	56	299	217	79	651

Source: Congregation Register Books, LDS Church.

Several neighbourhoods stand out as having had heavy concentrations of Mormons: Bedwarenfach, Caedraw, Mynydd, Pwllwiaid, the Tramroad, and Twyn-yr-Odyn. Figure 3 shows the locations of places of residences for members of the Merthyr, Georgetown, and Dowlais congregations. All members listed as having resided in

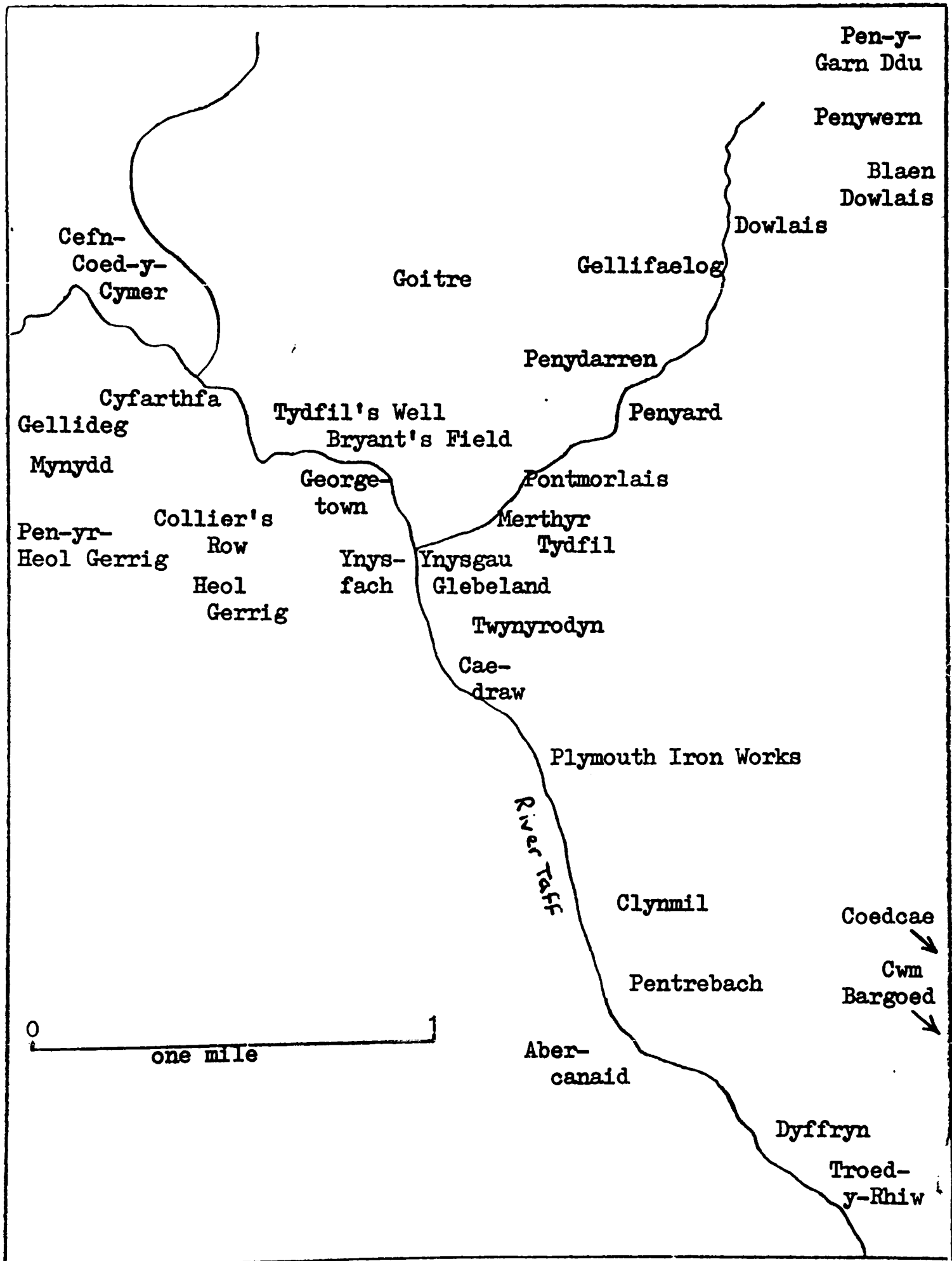


Figure 3. Places of residence of members of the Dowlais, Georgetown, and Merthyr Tydfil congregations, 1843-1856.

these locations may not have all lived at the same time, but did reside at them at some point between the years 1843 and 1856. Nevertheless, these concentrations stand out, and lend credence to the suggestion that Mormonism might have spread by word of mouth through particular neighbourhoods.

A similar pattern of concentration of members in particular neighbourhoods occurs in Dowlais, where a congregation had been meeting since at least 1847 (Emmanuel, 1956: 416). Dowlais became a focal point of the antagonism between the Mormons and the Baptist, and in March 1847, was described as being like 'a boiling cauldron, between two parties as contrary to each other as are Sectarians and Apostolics;...' (P.J., 1847: 51).¹¹ Dan Jones seemed to delight when any Baptists in Dowlais converted, and took that as a sign of the truthfulness of the Mormon gospel, despite the attacks of W.R. Davies.

Two sets of records exist for the Dowlais congregation. One covers the years from 1851 to 1860; for the other, no date is given. This latter set lists 252 members-- 143 males, 109 females. Forty-four of these males were colliers, and 30 were miners; the remaining 15 occupations listed include: 5 labourers, 2 masons, 2 puddlers, 5 cobblers, and 1 fireman. Four of the women were maids. LDS records from the end of 1848 list approximately 230 members (U.S., 1849: 14). The Census of Religion is somewhat unclear as to the numbers in attendance. The return listed 83 present (perhaps in the morning) with a general congregation of 209, but then

¹¹. 'Mae y dref hon fel crochan berwedig, rhwng dwy blaid mor groes i'w gilydd ag yw Sectariaeth ac Apostoliaeth;...'

lists an afternoon attendance of 110, and 112 in the evening. The figure of 209 comes very close to LDS records, and may be taken to reflect the approximate size of the congregation in 1851. Within a couple of years, however, the membership was declining: at the end of 1853, there were only 62 members-- 15 had transferred, 7 had been excommunicated, and 1 had died. By 1855, membership had risen slightly, to 73, but, in general, reflects the overall decline of Mormon membership in Wales during the latter half of the 1850s.

As noted above, members in Dowlais were concentrated in several neighbourhoods. Twenty-five lived at Pwllwiaid; 15 at Cwmrhydabed; 14 at Ugainty; 15 at Pen-y-garn Ddu; and 9 at Pen-y-wern. Some of these members appear to have been part of family groups living in the same locations, if similar surnames can be taken as indicators of relationship.¹² For example, at Pwllwiaid, there were 14 members bearing the surname Thomas. Ten of these can be identified as spouses; two were young children, though old enough to have been baptized; and two were brothers, and possibly the adult sons of one of the couples.¹³ Thus, Mormon distribution was

12. Given the limited variety of Welsh surnames, this is a risky assumption. However, when two or more people with the same surnames appear in order in Mormon records, this may indicate some degree of family relation. Members were recorded in order by baptismal date, so members listed in order were either baptized at the same time or within a close period of time. When surnames and places of residence are the same, familial relationship is inferred.

13. These members were: Evan Thomas and wife; Richard and Mary Thomas; Lewis and Hannah Thomas; Thomas Thomas and wife; David Thomas, wife and two children; Edward and David Thomas, possibly the sons of Evan Thomas, above.

concentrated in several areas, and may indicate the diffusion of Mormonism through family groups and friends living in particular neighbourhoods.

This does not rule out the possibility, however, of diffusion through the workplace, though many workers at the same mines, collieries, and iron works lived in the same neighbourhoods. Not enough is known about Mormon work places to be positive, but in Cefn-Coed-y-Cymer eight colliers joined the church within the space of about three weeks, several of them within days of each other, in 1851.¹⁴ It is of interest that five of the eight were excommunicated in 1852-- one for drunkenness on 30 May, and four for disobedience, one on 13 June, and three on 29 September. The other three were all excommunicated for disobedience on 22 June 1853. While the evidence is not entirely clear, they may reflect the diffusion of Mormonism through a close group of workers, followed by the diffusion of acts or beliefs which were seen as disobedient to the teachings of Mormonism, resulting in their excommunication. In congregations located in smaller villages, with less occupational variety, and fewer places of work, it may be possible that members worked in the same location, particularly if all or most were miners or colliers. On the other hand, members in small villages might have lived in close proximity, thus making it difficult in the long run to determine where Mormon beliefs were diffused.

14. All but one were baptized in June 1851-- one on the 9th of June; two on the 10th; two on the 17th; one on the 18th; and one on the 24th. The eighth was baptized on 2 July.

After 1843, LDS missionaries moved west and south from the Merthyr region, down the valleys and across the northern rim of the coalfield. Near Aberdare, Mormons were involved in the closure of the Gwawr Baptist Chapel in Cwmammon, when its minister, David Bevan Jones, joined the Latter Day Saints in April 1851 (Dennis, 1987b: 264). Jones had begun the practice of laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, and also, had re-baptized his congregation for the remission of sins-- practices which eventually led to his excommunication by the Baptists for heresy (ibid.: 263). In March 1851, he contacted the Latter Day Saints, expressing his interest in joining the church (ibid.:263-4). He turned the chapel over to the Mormons, but must have done so in April 1851, for the census records Gwawr Chapel as being Baptist, with Jones as minister. Attendance at Jones' chapel on the day of the census was approximately 520. It is not clear how many of his congregation followed him to the Mormons. Jones wrote, in Udgorn Seion (1851: 184), that he and another Baptist minister, David Rees,

together with many other Baptists 'had been turned out of the Baptists' and had joined with the Latter Day Saints.¹⁵

There had been a Mormon congregation at Aberdare since the mid-1840s; in 1849 it had a membership of 166, and in 1851 an approximate attendance of 311. Certainly, there would have been some increase in membership between 1849 and 1851, but perhaps not to the degree reflected in

15. '... ynghyd ag ereill lawer o'r Bedyddwyr, "wedi troi oddiwrth y Bedyddwyr," ac ymuno a y Saint y Dyddiau Diweddaf.'

census figures. It may be possible that some of Jones' congregation had already converted to Mormonism, or were worshipping with the Mormons, at the time of the census. David Bevan Jones went on to become an important figure in Welsh Mormon history; his chapel was returned to the Baptists after the Rev. Thomas Price sued for its return (Dennis, 1987b: 264).

Congregations in the Swansea vicinity seem to have been established by missionaries moving westward from Merthyr, then south through the Neath and Tawe Valleys, with Swansea being one of the last congregations established. Cyfyng, in the upper Tawe Valley (now part of Ystalyfera) was one of the earliest congregations established in western Glamorgan, and Treboeth followed soon after in 1844. By 1847, congregations had been established in the industrial towns in the vicinity of Swansea, namely Llanelli and Neath, but a congregation would not be formed in Swansea itself until 1849. This pattern of diffusion was repeated in 1853, when members of the Cyfyng congregation moved south to establish a congregation at Morryston (Treforis), three miles north of Swansea.

In eastern Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, congregations had been established in the same manner, and prior to 1847, no converts had been baptized in Cardiff, nor does any proselytism appear to have occurred. The first convert to be baptized was William Jenkins, a mason, who heard Apostle John Taylor preach after the latter had arrived in Cardiff on his way to

Merthyr. Within the year, Jenkins was ordained to the priesthood and began to undertake missionary duties-- it was he who filed the petition to license a meeting house in Newport in March 1848 (Emmanuel, 1956: 220). This example, and that of the Swansea region, seem to contradict the conclusion reached by Gay (1968: 61) that Mormonism spread from port cities to 'their immediate hinterlands'.¹⁶ Gay applied this conclusion to LDS distribution in England, and if he had been correct, we might assume also that Mormon distribution in Wales would have spread from the ports of Swansea, Cardiff, and Newport, north into the industrial valleys.

Mormonism was diffused primarily through the towns and villages of industrial Wales in much the same manner as the ideas of the Anti-Corn Law League and Chartism. All three groups shared somewhat similar distributions, being located primarily in South and Northeast Wales. All groups utilized missionaries and the print media to disseminate their beliefs. And, like Walter Griffith of the Anti-Corn Law League, Mormon missionaries met with similar success in industrial towns, and similar opposition in the more conservative countryside.

The diffusion of Mormonism followed traditional paths of dispersion through Wales, arriving from England,

16. Gay maintains that Mormonism spread outward from Liverpool, Bristol, and Southampton (ibid.: 60). This conclusion was based on his interpretation of data from the Census of Religion. Though missionaries did enter England through Liverpool, the first congregation was formed in Preston. Diffusion was at first through the industrial towns of Lancashire, the Potteries, and the West Midlands. Only several years after initial missionary activity began were congregations established at Liverpool, Bristol, and Southampton.

and moving first through the border regions and major towns of Northeast and South Wales, and then to more peripheral areas of Wales. It was strongest in those areas with a history of radicalism in politics and Dissent in religion. In North Wales, where Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodism dominated, Mormonism succeeded best in areas with relatively stronger presences of Dissent. Though Mormon ideology bore similarities with secular ideology, care should be taken not to link too closely the distribution of the one with the other. Radicalism was not the condition which determined the distribution of Mormonism. Rather, the socio-economic conditions, and perhaps the historical responses of people to these conditions, are what led to the success of both Mormonism and Chartism. Both were active responses to conditions in society.

It is tempting to try to use Mormon distribution as a predictor for the growth and distribution of other sects, but such an attempt would only lead to imprecise conclusions. Mormonism in Wales and England followed similar patterns of distribution and attracted members from similar backgrounds, as did also radical Christian and secular groups in general. But they all were influenced by similar conditions. Where conditions differ, we should expect different distributions and different membership characteristics. As far as broader implications arising from the growth and distribution of Mormonism are concerned, we should hesitate before making too many. The distribution of congregations, and the

characteristics of the membership are specific to the time and conditions of society in which it developed. As we shall see, as conditions began to change in Welsh society, Mormonism's appeal diminished.

CHAPTER SIX

DIFFUSION AND DECLINE

Mormonism was very much a product of its times. Despite the claim that its doctrines were divinely revealed, Latter Day Saint theology and ideology contain enough similarities with the beliefs of other millenarian and radical Christian groups, as well as with secular radical movements such as the Chartists, and some groups within the European Communists, that Mormonism must be seen as having been influenced by the same social and economic conditions which gave rise to the radical movement in general in both Europe and North America. During the 1840s in Wales, Mormonism was diffused among a working class population which had gained consciousness of itself only in the previous decade. The period leading up to the arrival of Mormonism in Wales had witnessed, in the 1820s, early attempts at the formation of trade unions, benefit societies, as well as the emergence of the Scotch Cattle, the latter representing a primitive and shadowy organization directed at exerting power within society. Trade unions were banned, and the Scotch Cattle remained an underground organization. The 1830s saw the gradual emergence of a political agenda, which recognized that in order to achieve its aims for reforming society, the working class must first have access to power. The People's Charter, which sought to achieve this goal by extending suffrage to every male, was rejected by Parliament; the subsequent attack on

Newport by Welsh Chartists led to further defeat of Chartism, though, importantly, not to its disappearance. A further blow to the radical movement in Wales came with the failure of the general strike in 1842 to achieve its demands. In support of E.P. Thompson's pattern of oscillation between radical politics and millenarian (and perhaps radical) Christianity, Mormonism began gaining converts in South Wales in 1843, after the strike and after Chartism went into a period of relative decline.

Mormon beliefs were diffused by three methods: proselytism, word of mouth between members and their neighbours and co-workers, and the print media. Proselytism by missionaries was an integral part of the diffusion process, and took place primarily in the towns and villages of industrial Wales. The latter two methods are more difficult to measure, but it would appear that they were important, though not primary means of spreading Mormon beliefs.

The publishing of pamphlets, tracts, and the two Mormon periodicals were important forums for expounding beliefs, countering critics, and announcing church news. It is difficult to determine the full extent of the influence of the LDS press on growth and distribution. Prophwyd y Jubili had a circulation of approximately 1,200 in 1847, and Udgorn Seion's circulation peaked at about 2,000 in the early 1850s (Dennis, 1988b: 31, 75). If we assume that a family received only one copy, and also that copies may have been shared and read by more than one household, then the periodicals probably reached

most of the members. Dennis (1988b: 231) has noted that the publishing of Mormon apologetic material coincides with the increase of members during the late 1840s, and suggests a causal relationship between the two. This may have been true to a certain extent, but certainly the economic conditions and ideological atmosphere of Welsh working class society played a much more important role in nurturing a climate in which Mormonism could develop--the LDS press simply made more people aware of Mormon beliefs. Furthermore, in terms of its importance in the diffusion process, it must be remembered that any publication sold to a non-member had to pass from either a member or a missionary, thus, some proselytizing might have occurred at the same time. It would be difficult to distinguish which was more influential in conversion--proselytism or publications-- though certainly printed matter could be diffused more easily, and perhaps more rapidly, than missionaries could travel and preach.

The second means of diffusion listed above-- word of mouth-- seems to have been effective in some cases, but again, it is difficult to measure its influence due to the lack of appropriate data. In larger towns, such as Merthyr Tydfil, Dowlais, and Swansea, particular neighbourhoods emerge as having had concentrations of Mormons. This suggests the diffusion of beliefs by word of mouth, especially since it does not appear that Mormon elders concentrated their activities in any one neighbourhood.

Finally, missionary activity, as noted above, was the most important means by which Mormonism was diffused. Yet, it was also subject to certain constraints which limited the areas to which missionaries could, or would, travel. The scattered nature of the agricultural population made it less efficient and effective to preach in the countryside, and it appears that for this reason missionaries, when they preached in rural Wales, did so in market towns. Initial contacts between missionaries and the rural Welsh were in market towns such as Tregaron and Llanybydder. Opposition from a conservative gentry and clergy may also have inhibited Mormon growth in rural Wales, and even in the market towns and smaller villages of that region. We can only assume that this was so, based on the remarks of a few missionaries, and of other reformers and radicals, such as Walter Griffith. However, Mormonism was likely also, given the radical and, to some, heretical nature of its theology, to attract opposition in areas controlled by conservatives.

Thus, the diffusion of Mormonism was concentrated in the urban-industrial regions of Wales. Nearly all congregations were located in industrial North and South Wales. But members were not evenly distributed between these two regions. The majority of members were located in South Wales, and specifically in Monmouthshire and eastern Glamorgan. Possible explanations for this vast difference in the numbers of members in each area may relate to the denominational structures, the demographics, and the social histories of the two

regions. North Wales was strongly Methodist, mainly Calvinistic, but Wesleyans were strong in the Northeast. Mormon congregations in the Northeast were located in areas where Wesleyan denominations were proportionally weaker than in the district as a whole. In Northwest Wales, Mormons were present in towns which resembled South Wales denominational patterns-- Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda-- in that Dissenters had more attendants than Methodists.

The Northeast was beginning to stabilize in terms of population growth, reflecting a peak in the growth of industry, and perhaps a lesser degree of anomie and social disorganization. The stabilization of industrial and population growth in the Northeast differed from South Wales during the 1840s, where industry continued to grow and migrants were still attracted to the area. In North Wales, older Arminian denominations, namely Wesleyan Methodist groups, were stronger. Mormonism might have appealed to a much narrower segment of the population of North Wales.

Finally, the social histories of the two regions may have influenced the extent of the diffusion of Mormonism. North Wales seems to have been generally more conservative than the radicalized South. Much of the history of labour unrest among the Welsh working class pertains^{to} the South. Given this history of radicalism in politics, extending back to the Jacobin clubs of Merthyr during the late-eighteenth century, and also dissent in religion, often coupled, as was the case with the

Unitarians of South Wales, with politics, South Walian society (at the risk of sounding deterministic) was perhaps better suited for a theology such as Mormonism. Latter Day Saint congregations in North Wales were generally small, and it is interesting that one of the largest congregations was located in Bethesda, a slate-quarrying town which Prof. Gwyn Williams has characterized as being very similar in religion and politics to working class towns of South Wales.

None of these factors were mutually exclusive in the diffusion of Mormonism and the resultant distribution. It would be difficult, perhaps even dangerously speculative, to make a positive statement as to the predictive capabilities of the data presented above, given the incomplete information contained in Mormon records, but the characteristics of LDS distribution in Wales support the conclusion that Mormonism succeeded best in urban-industrial populations with a history of dissent in religion and politics. It might also be added that Mormonism succeeded best in populations which were in a state of flux, with levels of anomie and social disorganization brought on by industrial development. In a radicalized population, where efforts at reform had failed, or were perceived as not succeeding, Mormonism offered an alternative.

Latter Day Saint membership in Wales peaked in 1851. The first decade of Mormonism had been one of gradual, then rapid growth. The decade of the 1850s, however, would witness the gradual decline of membership,

beginning a trend which continued into the mid-twentieth century. The most obvious cause of decline was the emigration of members, beginning on an organized basis in Wales in 1849. Lest too much emphasis be placed on emigration as a reason for decline, it should be noted that English members had been emigrating since 1840, yet membership levels had continued to increase, also peaking in 1851 (Gay, 1971: 194). Thus, following from the English example, it might be concluded that, though large numbers of Welsh members were emigrating after 1849, levels of conversions would be high enough to offset losses. Membership in both England and Wales declined after 1852, and thus if emigration is taken as a cause of decline in membership, it must be coupled with the failure to attract new converts. Other factors must then be identified relating to the decline in numbers of conversions.

Emigration had the effect of siphoning off some of the most committed members. Among the emigrants accompanying Dan Jones to Utah in 1849 were Thomas Jeremy, Thomas Giles, and William Jenkins-- some of the most active missionaries and congregation presidents (Lewis, 1956: 120). Seventeen members of the Blaenau Ffestiniog congregation-- approximately half of the congregation--emigrated with Jones. Among this group were seven of the first twelve members of the congregation. It could be argued that, having lost its core of committed members, a congregation might slowly decline and disband as the less committed members either lapsed

into irreligion or rejoined their previous denominations. As a congregation experienced such a decline, fewer members might have been available or willing to proselytize in the area in order to gain new converts. This could account for the failure to replenish losses of members within Wales. Leaders of the church seemed to realize this, and from time to time sent members from one congregation to another in order to bolster flagging groups. Despite such losses, even the loss of as influential a person as Dan Jones, conversions between 1849 and 1852 were enough to replenish membership losses due to emigration. Clearly, the decline after 1852 was due not only to emigration, but also to the lack of new converts.

A series of events, occurring after 1851, can be identified as contributing to the decline of Mormonism in Wales. These include: the introduction of polygamy, the Adam-God theory, increasing pressure by the U.S. government on Mormon society during the late-1850s, the arrival of RLDS missionaries in Wales in the early 1860s, and the achievement of social and political reforms affecting the upper levels of the working class, along with general improvements in trade, and thus wages, during the 1850s and 1860s. Taken separately, each of these events cannot be seen as contributing entirely to Mormonism's decline (though the introduction of polygamy, and the achievement of reforms are more significant than the others), thus each shall be considered as a means of

explaining the decline of Mormonism in Wales in the 1850s.

Of all the causes of this decline, the announcement of the doctrine of celestial marriage, of which polygamy was an essential feature, in January 1853 may have had the greatest impact on Mormon membership and continued success in Wales.¹ According to Gay (1971: 194) this doctrine made the LDS Church a 'laughing stock.' While this description may not be entirely appropriate, the effect of the doctrine was to offend Victorian sensibilities and morality. Whatever opposition Mormons had encountered previously was compounded. The fact that only a small minority of members in Utah ever accepted and practised polygamy was beside the point, Mormonism became associated only with polygamy, and this no doubt restricted the numbers of new converts.²

At the end of December 1852, there were 4,872 members in Wales, representing a decline of nearly 400 during the year (L.G. Roberts, 1952: 129). In the six months following the announcement of polygamy, membership declined by 475 (ibid.: 129). While not all of this decline can be attributed to opposition to the doctrine (and it would be difficult to determine exactly how much was), it does reveal a sharp decrease in membership. Figures from the East Glamorgan Conference are more

1. Polygamy was actually announced in Salt Lake City on 29 August 1852, and in England in late 1852. Udgorn Seion began publishing articles explaining and defending the doctrine in January 1853.

2. Ralston (1963: 153) writes that 'it is doubtful that there were ever more than 4 or 5 per cent of the people of the church actually obeying this doctrine...' O'Dea (1957) puts the number at about 7 or 8 per cent.

revealing. In 1850, there had been 314 excommunications, 976 baptisms, and 157 emigrants (ibid.: 146). Between January and June 1851, there were 97 excommunications, 325 baptisms, and only 31 emigrants (ibid.: 147). Membership had increased by about 200 within the conference, and by 358 for the total Welsh membership (ibid.: 146-7, 129). During 1852, excommunications and baptisms ran about even, 169 and 165, respectively (ibid.: 147). However, by June 1853, excommunications increased considerably, to 297, while the number of baptisms dropped to 95 (ibid.: 148). As stated, it is difficult to pinpoint reasons for excommunication. Mormon records generally list as reasons either drunkenness, adultery, or disobedience to the priesthood. The latter is a rather broad description and could relate to disobedience to any number of doctrines or counsellings from priesthood members. Apostasy, though rarely mentioned, was a reason for excommunication, and since it entailed disobedience to the priesthood, may have been classified as such. It should be noted that a member could be reinstated after excommunication, provided he or she asked for forgiveness (D.J. Davies, 1987: 11). The sharp increase of excommunications following the announcement of polygamy would suggest a relationship between the two; furthermore, the continued decline of membership totals after 1853 might suggest that many of the excommunicated members were not returning to the church.

That opposition to and confusion over the announcement of polygamy existed among the membership in Wales is evident from a letter from John Jeremiah of Maesteg which appeared in Udgorn Seion on 29 January 1853. Jeremiah noted editor John Davis' shift of position concerning polygamy, correctly pointing out that in 1851 Davis, in Udgorn Seion, had denied accusations of its practice in Utah, and that it had ever been a doctrine of the LDS Church, yet was now defending its practice and claiming that it had been revealed to Joseph Smith as early as 1844. Jeremiah asked Davis to explain this shift, writing:

Now, Mr. Editor, the question, which of your Udgorns is to be believed, as I am liable to be a burning liar without delay. I wish you would place this in the Udgorn, so I and others are able to have your thought on the subject (U.S., 1853: 78).³

Davis' reply reiterated the leadership's stance, which had been presented in the 1 January issue of Udgorn Seion, in a translation of an article from the Deseret News Extra of 14 September 1852. Church leaders claimed that polygamy was justified in the Bible, and that it was 'one of the chief subjects of the Bible, and according to the purposes of the Lord' (ibid.: 16). Scriptures pertaining to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and Solomon were interpreted as demonstrating that God had looked on favourably (ibid.: 16; Ralston, 1963: 163-70). Furthermore, it was pointed out that polygamy was

3. 'Yn awr, Mr. Gol., y gofyniad ydyw, pa un o'ch Udgyrn sydd i gredu, fel y gallwyf losgi y celwyddwr yn ddioed. Dymunaf arnoch i osod hwn yn yr Udgorn, ynghyd a'ch atebiad chwithau, fel y gallwyf fi ac ereill gael eich meddwl ar y pwnc.'

practised all over the world, implying that only Western society (which Mormons had already identified as corrupt) prohibited its practice (U.S., 1853: 16). These justifications were scoffed at, and ministers of other denominations were quick to point out that the Bible did not justify or command the practice of polygamy (though neither did it specifically prohibit polygamy in all cases, as some would claim.)⁴ But one other reason for its practice was given-- one which has not been addressed sufficiently.

After the scriptural justifications were outlined, it was noted that 'in Zion there exists no adultery, because it is not fit for anyone here to desire the wife of his neighbour' (ibid.: 16). This was in contrast to non-Mormon society in which existed, alongside monogamy, adultery and prostitution, producing 'innumerable bastards, instead of legal descendants such as belonging to Abraham and others who enjoyed polygamy' (ibid.: 16). This theme is repeated consistently enough that one should wonder perhaps if the main reason for polygamy's introduction was to affect a radical overturning of the traditional concept of marriage, which, to Mormon leaders in Utah, had failed to extinguish the evils of adultery and prostitution, and the attendant misery of women often resulting from the two. It is useful to note that the alteration of traditional concepts of marriage among

4. Macfarlane (1986: 221) quotes Westermarck: "although the New Testament assumes monogamy as the normal or ideal form of marriage, it does not expressly prohibit polygyny, except in the case of a bishop and a deacon"

radical Christian sects and secular utopian communities seems to occur frequently. The Anabaptists of Munster instituted polygamy in their short-lived communistic society; the Oneida Perfectionists did away with marriage in the traditional sense, replacing it with what they called 'complex marriage', in which love was expressed not between two people only, but among all members of the community (Nordhoff, 1875: 276-7). Furthermore, as Macfarlane (1986: 221) points out, a strong underground tradition existed within Christianity which advocated the practice of polygamy, or at least saw no sinfulness involved in its practice. Even among Communists of the mid-nineteenth century, it was being suggested that monogamy suited capitalism, implying that the overthrowing of the latter would also bring about a change in the conception of marriage and the family.⁵ Mormonism can be seen as following in this tradition and trend towards altering the practice of marriage. The Millennial Star in 1857, as D.J. Davies (1987: 21) notes, maintained 'that monogamy was a "cruel and vicious system" of family life and social organization...' The introduction of polygamy may represent that the institution of marriage was another aspect of society which Mormonism sought to overturn in its quest to create a more perfect society in which man could progress to the fullest extent. It is not surprising, then, that Mormon leaders saw the practice of polygamy as necessary for the attainment of godhood status by men (Ralston, 1963: 151).

5. See Engels (1977: 20-21).

However, the fact that polygamy benefited primarily men within Mormon society (though it may be argued, as Mormon leaders did, that plural wives could dole out household and childminding duties, thus relieving everyday strain), reflects that Mormons had not overturned the traditional conception of the male as the head of the household. They never advocated polyandry⁶-- which would have been a truly radical concept within Western Christian society.

Though it represented an overturning of the traditional conception of marriage and the family, in line with traditions within radical Christian beliefs through history, polygamy may have been too radical, even for a working class which sought to alter the organization of society. Groups such as the Scotch Cattle and Rebecca decried adultery and the illegitimate births and hardships experienced by unwed mothers to which it inevitably led, and they took action against fathers of illegitimate children, forcing them to recognize their responsibilities, but they did not suggest altering the practice of marriage and family life. Thus, whereas most Mormon doctrines corresponded or were somewhat similar to secular Welsh radical ideology, this may have alienated many members of the proletariat who had been, or would have been attracted to Mormonism.

The Adam-God theory, discussed in chapter four, provoked additional cries of heresy and perversion of

6. The taking of more than one husband by a woman.

Christian doctrines from mainstream Protestants (D.J. Davies, 1987: 16). Though it bore similarities to materialist philosophy, and may have been acceptable to members and potential converts familiar with such concepts, it nevertheless was an extremely controversial doctrine. Like polygamy, it would be difficult to assess the negative impact of the Adam-God theory upon the church. Coming after the announcement of polygamy, it merely added to the opposition created by the latter, and no doubt helped further the decline, though it might not have had as negative an impact had it been presented before polygamy. Since Mormonism presented itself as, not only a restoration of early Christianity, but also as a progressive theology in which continual revelation was a primary aspect, the Adam-God theory, as a new theological concept, may have been easier to accept than polygamy, which required an alteration of traditional moral values.

Though church leaders (especially Brigham Young) stressed the importance of the doctrine in Mormon theology, it is unclear as to how many members fervently believed the doctrines. It has been noted that only a small percentage of members in Utah ever practised polygamy; there are no figures on how many tacitly accepted it, while not actually engaging in its practice. No figures are available demonstrating how many members believed in the Adam-God theory. The LDS Church does not appear to have required an affirmation of faith in these doctrines, and it obviously did not excommunicate members

for non-practice of polygamy. Though these doctrines may have contributed to Mormon decline during the 1850s, they also reveal a, perhaps surprising, degree of tolerance and liberality toward radical theological innovation among those members who remained within the church. There is the possibility that some members blindly followed the dictates of church leaders, but to assume that possibly 95% of the membership did so seems rather unrealistic.

Through the 1850s, opposition toward Mormon polygamy increased within the United States. Those whose morals had been offended demanded that the government take action against polygamy. Tensions between the Latter Day Saints and the government increased, and climaxed in 1857, when the Federal government decided to break Mormon power in Utah Territory by installing a non-Mormon governor, thus removing Brigham Young from the position. Young refused to step down, claiming that Mormon society, embracing all aspects of life, could not be governed by anyone outside the church. This amounted to rebellion against Congress, and troops were sent to Salt Lake City to insure that the newly appointed governor took office. Salt Lake City was evacuated, with Young and other leaders, as well as much of the population fleeing to Mormon colonies in southern Utah. Young eventually relented and recognized the authority of the new governor, and Utah society returned to some degree of normality. However, during this period, communications with Britain were disrupted, leaving the members feeling

cut off from America since, as the editor of the Millennial Star wrote in 1858, 'nearly all communication has been suspended between us and the Presidency in Zion' (in *ibid.*: 22). Emigration also declined during the crisis, partly due to a directive from church leaders for emigrants to wait until the conflict was over, dropping from 1900 emigrants between January and June 1857, to 86 during the remainder of the year (K. Carter, 1963: 263). The number of emigrants from Britain remained low throughout 1858, and began to rise only after the resolution of the conflict, and the return of Mormon society to order in 1859 (*ibid.*: 264-5). Though the conflict between the church and the U.S. government did not lead directly to any decrease in membership in Wales, and may actually have strengthened the commitment of some members in the face of what was seen as another wave of persecution, it may also have pointed out that all was not perfect in Zion, and that even there, the perfect society could not be built without opposition. The appointment of a non-Mormon governor was a blow to the political autonomy of Mormon society, and meant that God's kingdom on earth, despite the continuing, and considerable power of Brigham Young, was subservient to a secular government in Washington, D.C. This, to members and interested non-members in Wales, may have eroded the image of Mormonism as providing an alternative society, where efforts at reform and the alteration of the organization of society could proceed unopposed. Though Zion still stood as an alternative society, the

imposition of secular political authority over the Latter Day Saints, and the gradual achievement of reforms by a union of working class and middle class radicals in Wales, may have narrowed the perceived differences between society in Britain and in Mormon Utah.

In 1862, missionaries of the RLDS Church arrived in Wales, claiming that Joseph Smith's son, Joseph III, was the rightful successor to his father as prophet and leader of the church, and announced that the church, which had dispersed after Smith's death, had been reorganized. Their immediate task was not so much to proselytize among non-Mormons, but to inform followers of Brigham Young that his claim to the leadership of the church was invalid. This obviously was staunchly opposed by the LDS leadership in Wales. The RLDS Church was not a splinter sect formed by members in America who had left the main body of the LDS Church, and thus might eventually be attracted back into the fold, but had been formed by members of the original church who had not followed Young to Utah in 1846. Thus, there was no chance of accommodation, and intense antagonism developed between the two groups. Members who showed serious interest in the RLDS Church risked excommunication; those who joined it were excommunicated. On 30 August 1863, Robert Humphrey, a member of the Dinas congregation, was excommunicated for denying that Brigham Young was the prophet, and supporting the claims of Joseph III. Similarly, Nicholas and Miriam Griggs, members of the Ebbw Vale congregation, were cut out for denying the

faith in 1864. In the Coalbrookvale congregation in 1864, seventeen members were suspended, and eleven eventually left the church, during a time which the congregation's records note as being a period of apostasy. Some of those who switched from the LDS to the RLDS Church were members of the priesthood-- Griggs became president of the Beaufort congregation of the RLDS Church soon after joining; Humphrey was president of the Llanfabon congregation in 1864 (RLDS History, vol. 3: 405).

Wales was the focal point of RLDS growth, not only in Britain, but also in Europe. The British conference was held in Penydarren in December 1863, with six congregations reported (I.S. Davis, 1934: 478). The following spring, Jason Briggs began publishing and editing the bi-lingual periodical, Yr Adferyd/The Restorer from Penydarren (ibid.: 479). In April 1865, the RLDS Church held its European conference at which a total membership of 165 was reported, many residing in Wales (RLDS History, vol. 3: 417).

The impact of the RLDS Church, in terms of actual members attracted from the LDS Church, was slight, but for a few years in the mid-1860s, it seems to have caused somewhat of an uproar and disruption among Mormon members. The number of LDS members actually re-baptized by RLDS missionaries in Wales is difficult to determine, since very few sources relating to RLDS activities in Wales exist, and what are available are generally RLDS histories or references drawn from them.

Some LDS members did switch groups, but it would appear also that some of those who joined the RLDS Church were Mormons who had either never followed Brigham Young, or had been excommunicated in years prior to the arrival of RLDS missionaries. In August 1863, Jason Briggs wrote from Merthyr:

I have visited a number of towns within ten miles of this place; viz.: Aberdare, Aberaman, Cymbach [sic], Llrwin [sic], Dowlais, Rhymney, and New Tredegar. In all places are old saints, not connected with the Brighamites (ibid.: 327).

Many of these members may have been among those who left the LDS Church in the early 1850s after the announcement of polygamy (the RLDS Church strongly denounced the practice of polygamy, refuting the claim by the LDS Church that the doctrine was revealed to Joseph Smith.) If so, it demonstrated that they had not rejected Mormonism entirely. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the opposition created by the RLDS Church contributed significantly to the decline of the LDS Church, by drawing away members, but could have created an atmosphere of confusion, as potential converts were now confronted with two versions of Mormonism, quite often opposed to each other, and with the larger group--the LDS Church--presenting a radical and progressive theology, increasingly at odds with mainstream Christianity; and the smaller group--the RLDS Church--apart from its belief in continual revelation and use of the Book of Mormon, appearing to be little more than another Protestant sect.

Finally, just as conditions within Welsh society were taken into account in examining Mormon growth, they must also be seen as contributing to its decline. From the late 1840s onward, trade improved generally in Wales. In South Wales, this improved economic climate resulted from the demand for iron for railways in Britain and abroad, and from the demand for Welsh coal by the Royal Navy (G.A. Williams, 1985: 196, 201). The demand for slate increased after 1851, benefiting Northwest Wales, with its virtual monopoly on resources in Britain (ibid.: 199). According to Prof. Williams (1985: 196), this 'abrupt change in atmosphere heralded a profound social change' and brought about a major realignment of society.' Foster (1974: 205-7) roots the breakdown of the working class movement partly in the economic recovery, but also in 'active attempts by the bourgeoisie to win back mass allegiance.' Throughout Britain a process of liberalization began, uniting bourgeois reformers with the upper strata of the proletariat-- the 'labour aristocracy' (ibid.: 7).

The third quarter of the nineteenth century in Wales would see the gradual achievement of reforms, ranging from public health to politics. The former improved the basic conditions of life in larger industrial towns, while the latter, particularly the Reform Act of 1867, enfranchised a portion of the working class, tripling the electorate (I.G. Jones, 1984: 68-9; G.A. Williams, 1985: 215). While many reforms would not be instituted until the mid-1860s, the process of liberalization had begun

during the 1850s, and at least created the appearance of change within society. The opportunities for self-actualization and individual control of aspects of spiritual and material life offered by Mormonism was being eroded by the rising strength of the Liberation Society and liberal Nonconformist politics in Wales. The Merthyr election of 1868 realized this opportunity when the power of the ironmasters and the old order was broken by the election of Henry Richard to Parliament, representing the union of the Nonconformist middle class and working class interests.

Not only was there a combination of class interests for the sake of reform, but the rising Welsh middle class, led in part by Nonconformist ministers, began to perceive a need to protect Welsh culture against increasing anglicisation. The Education Commission's Report of 1847-- the 'Treason of the Blue Books', as it became known in Welsh lore⁷-- sparked a resurgence of cultural nationalism, and the belief that Welshmen should have a role in the reforming of society, and that reforms should not be at the expense of the language and culture. Thus, a new identity was created, one in which the working class, as preservers of the language and culture, could play an active role. This is perhaps best illustrated by the creation of the University College of

7. In Welsh, 'Brad y Llyfrau Gleision', a pun on the 'Brad y Cyllyll Hirion' (Treason of the Long Knives), referring to the murder of Romano-British chieftains by Saxons, after all had sat down to feast together in peace (see P. Morgan, 1984).

Wales at Aberystwyth in 1867, largely through donations from the working class (ibid.: 212).

For Mormonism, the resurgence of Welsh cultural nationalism and the union of class interests in achieving reforms, perhaps undercut its base within society. Liberalization restored faith that society could be changed from within, making it unnecessary for people to look elsewhere for the creation of a new society. It is significant that the ^{last} attempt to create a new Welsh homeland, this time in Patagonia, occurred in 1865. From the 1850s on, the majority of Welsh perhaps saw that change could be achieved at home-- Britain was no longer Babylon. In contrast, Mormonism continued to orient itself towards the creation of its own society in America, with no room in ideology for supporting Welsh nationalism. 'The language of Zion', as D.J. Davies (1987: 19), termed it, after 1856, was English. Davies (ibid.: 19), quoting in part from the Millennial Star, writes:

It was no arbitrary social accident since 'the Lord saw fit to reveal his Gospel in these last days in the English language.'

The last issue of Udgorn Seion appeared in April 1862, and though circulation had only been at about 500 since 1859, in light of the above, the British leadership may have decided that English should predominate throughout the church. William Ajax, the last editor, wrote in his journal about the demise of Udgorn Seion and

the decision to maintain only the Millennial Star:

It would be a great loss to the Welsh Saints to lose it.... He [the Welshman] may manage to converse freely in the English language to transact any business in it; but there is no language that can reach his heart as well as the Welsh (in Dennis, 1988b: 75).

Thus, the identity which Mormonism provided, in the roles for achieving a new society offered to Welsh converts, can be seen as clashing with the new identity for the working class created by reforms, the resurgence of cultural nationalism, and the emergence of liberal Nonconformist politics during the 1850s. The mid-nineteenth century is perhaps too early to speak of a large scale rejection or decline of religiosity within the Welsh proletariat, though it cannot be said that such a process had not begun already, indeed had not been progressing for several decades. The chapel, however, remained a part of Welsh society throughout the latter half of the century, whether as a means of escaping the realities of life, or as a forum for focusing efforts at reform. Yet, it would appear that secular organizations, especially trades unions, ^{were} becoming more important in working class radicalism, and moreover, no longer looked to religious institutions and Christian doctrines for justification or ideological support. This supports Marx's premise that religion is a secondary phenomenon, that, perhaps, as people no longer need it to provide an alternative ideology, or an answer to conditions of society, it is cast aside. The rise of scientific socialism during the latter half of the century can be

seen as supplanting the need for a radical Christianity in its provision of an ideology of active change, based on its rational analysis of the problems of capitalist society, and its assurance that communism would follow the latter's demise.

The days of utopian socialist experiments and calls for new Welsh homelands were over, or at least passing quickly. Furthermore, as more Welsh emigrated to Utah, it was only a matter of time before letters from some emigrants began to filter back reporting that all was not perfect in Zion, that some were not realizing the material gain, nor the aspirations, which had been promised.⁸ Such letters had always been dismissed as the complaints of apostates, but as Mormon society lost some of its autonomy to the U.S. government in the late-1850s, and as RLDS missionaries began speaking in opposition to Brigham Young's leadership, perhaps Welsh Mormons and potential converts may have reassessed their need for a Zionite society.

Radical Christianity can be seen as providing an interim ideology, during a period when secular radical ideologies had not progressed to the point of standing alone, or while a forming proletariat was not yet prepared to let go of the familiarity of Christian teachings as a basis for its calls for reform. And, it might be said that radical Christianity was the cause of its own demise. It had always strayed close to freethought, which negated the need for institutionalized

8. See Conway (1961) for letters from Welsh Mormons speaking of poor conditions in Utah.

religion, and opened the way for a variety of interpretations of religious beliefs. Even Mormonism seems to have strayed dangerously close to materialism, and may be seen as, perhaps, bridging the gap between mainstream Christianity and secular humanism, at least in its conception of the relationship between God and man. As scientific socialism was disseminated among the working class during the last half of the nineteenth century, it provided a replacement for radical Christianity, and had no need for Christianity to bolster its calls for revolutionary change. Mankind, and more specifically, the working class, was the agent of change in society, and needed no justification from a higher authority. Perhaps it might not be too far from the truth to say that the Welsh working class had outgrown its need, or even desire, for a radical theology such as Mormonism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

<u>AAAG</u>	<u>Annals of the Association of American Geographers.</u>
<u>BBCS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.</u>
<u>Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.</u>

Primary Sources:

Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales. Reports and Tables (1690), H.C. (1852-3). LXXXIX. 1.

Congregational Register Books, British Mission Membership Records, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Periodicals (Publishing organization)

Yr Adferydd/The Restorer (Reorganized Latter Day Saints)

Y Diwygiwr [The Reformer] (Independents)

Yr Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd [The Wesleyan Magazine] (Wesleyan)

Yr Haul [The Sun] (Church of England)

Journal of Discourses (Latter Day Saints)

The Labourer (Chartist)

The Latter Day Saint Millennial Star (Latter Day Saints)

Prophwyd y Jubili [Prophet of Jubilee] (Latter Day Saints)

Seren Gomer [Star of Gomer] (Baptist)

Y Traethodydd [The Essayist] (Non-denominational)

Udgorn Seion [Zion's Trumpet] (Latter Day Saints)

Yr Ymofynydd [The Inquirer] (Unitarian)

Tracts and Pamphlets

- Jones, Dan, 1847a: 'Defense of the Saints versus the Accusations of Thomas Jones, Merthyr, and Others', trans. by Ronald Dennis. Rhydybont, Carmarthenshire: John Jones.
- _____, 1847b: '"Haman" Hanging From His Own Gallows! or Daniel Jones (the Blind) and his book proving the truth of Mormonism!!', trans. by Ronald Dennis. Merthyr Tydfil: Dan Jones.

Sermons and Articles

- Cannon, George Q., 1869: 'The Order of Enoch-- Socialistic Experiments-- The Social Problem', Journal of Discourses, 13: 95-103.
- Taylor, John, 1857: 'Communism-- Sectarianism-- The Gospel and its effects, etc.', Journal of Discourses, 5, 237-248.

Secondary Sources:

- Alston, J.P., 1971: 'Religious Mobility and Socio-economic Status', Sociological Analysis, 32, 140-148.
- Aitchison, J., and H. Carter, 1985: The Welsh Language 1961-1981. An Interpretative Atlas. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Anonymous, 1857: The Mormons: The Dream and the Reality or, Leaves from the Sketch Book of Experience. London: J. Masters.
- Anonymous, 1860: A Friendly Warning to the Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons; in Which the True Character of the Mormon Missionaries is Plainly Set Forth. London: publisher not listed.
- Anonymous, no date: Awful Disclosures of Mormonism and its Mysteries. no location or publisher listed.
- Aquaviva, S.S., 1960: 'The Psychology of dechristianization in the dynamics of industrial society', Social Compass, 7, 209-225.
- Armytage, W.H.G., 1961: Heavens Below. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Arrington, Leonard J., 1958: The Great Basin Kingdom. An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

- Arrington, Leonard J., 1985: Brigham Young: American Moses. New York: Knopf.
- Ashby, A.W. and I.L. Evans, 1944: The Agriculture of Wales and Monmouthshire.
- Ashton, Elwyn T., 1984: The Welsh in the United States. Hove, Sussex.
- Atkinson, Michael and Colin Baber, 1987: The Growth and Decline of the South Wales Iron Industry, 1760-1880. Social Science Monographs, no. 9; University of Wales, Board of Celtic Studies.
- Bak, Janos and Gerhard Benecke (eds.), 1984: Religion and Rural Revolt. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bamford, Samuel, 1984: Passages in the Life of a Radical. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beauregard, Robert A., 1988: 'In the absence of practice: the locality research debate', Antipode, 20 (1), 52-59.
- Berenson, Edward, 1984: Populist Religion and Left-wing Politics in France, 1830-1852. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Berthoff, Rowland T., 1953: British Immigrants in Industrial America. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Blaut, J.M., 1987: 'Diffusionism: A Uniformitarian Critique', AAAG 77 (1), 30-47.
- Bloxham, V. Ben, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter (eds.), 1987: Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles.
- Book of Commandments, 1833 (1972 reprint). Independence, Missouri: Herald House.
- Book of Mormon, 1966 edition. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Independence, Missouri: Herald House.
- Borrow, George, 1977: Wild Wales. Its people, language and scenery. Glasgow: Fontana/Wm. Collins Sons and Co.
- Boston, Ray, 1971: British Chartists in America. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Bowen, E.G., 1941: Wales. A Study in Geography and History. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board.
- _____, 1954: The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- _____, (ed.), 1957: Wales. A Physical, Historical and Regional Geography. London: Methuen and Company.
- _____, 1971: 'The dispersed habitat of Wales', in Buchanan, R.M., Emrys Jones and Desmond McCourt (eds.), Man and his habitat, pp. 186-201. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- _____, 1976: Geography, Culture and Habitat. Selected essays (1925-1975). Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- Boyns, Trevor, Dennis Thomas and Colin Baber, 1980: 'The Iron, Steel and Tinplate Industries, 1750-1914', in Williams, Glanmor and Arthur H. John (eds.), Glamorgan County History, vol. 5. Cardiff: Glamorgan County History Trust Limited.
- Briggs, Asa, 1959: Chartist Studies. London: Macmillan and Company.
- Brinkerhoff, Merlin B., 1978: 'Religion and Goal Orientations: Does Denomination Make a Difference?', Sociological Analysis, 39, 3: 203-218.
- Brodie, Fawn M., 1963: No Man Knows My History. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- _____, 1970: 'Can We Manipulate the Past?'. First Annual American West Lecture. Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Buckle, Robert, 1971: 'Mormons in Britain: a Survey', in Hill, Michael (ed.), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, 4: 160-179. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Cannon, M. Hamlin, 1952: 'The English Mormons in America', American History Review, 57 (4): 893-908.
- Carr-Saunders, A.M., D. Caradog Jones and C.A. Moser, 1978: Social Conditions in England and Wales. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Carter, Harold, 1989: 'Whose City? A view from the periphery', Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr., N.S. 14 (1) 4-23.
- _____, 1965: The Towns of Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Carter, Harold and J.W. Aitchison, 1987: 'The Welsh Language in Cardiff: a quiet revolution', Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr., N.S. 12: 482-492.
- Carter, Harold and W.K.D. Davies (ed.), 1970: Urban Essays. Studies in the Geography of Wales. London: Longman.
- Carter, Harold and Sandra Wheatley, 1982: Merthyr Tydfil in 1851. Social Science Monograph, no. 7. University of Wales and Board of Celtic Studies. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Carter, Kate B., 1963: 'Mormon Emigration 1840-1869', Our Pioneer Heritage, vol. 6: 229-296. Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of Utah Pioneers.
- Caswall, Henry, 1842: The City of the Mormons; or, Three days at Nauvoo in 1842. London: JGF & J Rivington.
- _____, 1843: The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century; or, the rise, progress, and present state of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints. London: JGF & J Rivington.
- Chadwick, Owen, 1975: The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charlton, William, Tatiana Mallinson and Robert Oakeshott, 1986: The Christian Response to Industrial Capitalism. London
- Cheville, Roy A., 1959: The Field of Theology. Independence, Missouri: Herald House.
- Clements, Kevin, 1971: 'The Religious Variable: Dependent, Independent or Interdependent?', in Hill, Michael (ed.), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, 4: 36-45. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Cogley, Richard W., 1987: 'Survey Article: "Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism"', Religion, 17: 379-396.
- Cohn, Norman, 1957: The Pursuit of the Millennium. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Colley, Linda, 1986: 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830', Past and Present, 113: 97-117.

- Colyer, R.J., 1976: 'The Size of Farms in Late-Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Century Cardiganshire', BBCS, 27 (1): 119-126.
- _____, 1978: 'Limitations to Agrarian Development in Nineteenth-century Wales', BBCS, 27 (4): 602-617.
- Conway, Alan (ed.), 1961: The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Cowley, Matthias F., 1978: Wilford Woodruff. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft.
- Crowley, Peter, 1982: 'Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 15 (3): 13-26.
- Cross, Whitney R., 1950: The Burned-over District. The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Darby, H.C., 1951: 'The Changing English Landscape', The Geographic Journal, 117 (4): 377-394.
- Davies, D.J., 1972: 'The Mormons of Merthyr Tydfil', unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University.
- _____, D.J., 1987: Mormon Spirituality: Latter-day Saints in Wales and Zion. Nottingham: Nottingham University Press.
- Davies, E.T., 1965: Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Davies, Elwyn, and Alwyn D. Rees, 1962: Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Davies, Hywel M., 1980: 'Morgan John Rhys and James Bicheno: Anti-Christ and the French Revolution in England and Wales', BBCS, 29 (1): 111-127.
- Davies, Phillips G., 1986: 'The Welsh Settlements in Minnesota: The evidence of the churches in Blue Earth and Le Sueur Counties', Welsh History Review, 13 (2): 139-154.
- Davies, R.R., Ralph A. Griffiths, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and Kenneth O. Morgan (eds.), 1984: Welsh Society and Nationhood. Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Davies, Wendy, 1951: Wales in Maps. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Davis, Inez Smith, 1964: The Story of the Church. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House.
- Dennis, Ronald D., 1985: 'Captain Dan Jones and the Welch Indians', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 18 (4): 112-117.
- _____, 1987a: 'Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home', Ensign, 17 (4): 50-56.
- _____, 1987b: 'The Welsh and the Gospel', in Bloxham, Moss, and Porter (eds.), Truth Will Prevail.
- _____, 1988a: Call of Zion. The Story of the First Welsh Emigration. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.
- _____, 1988b: Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: A Historical Bibliography. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.
- Dick, Thomas, 1833: The Philosophy of a Future State. Glasgow: William Collins.
- Dodd, A.H., 1927: 'The enclosure movement in North Wales', BBCS, 3 (3): 210-238.
- _____, 1933: The Industrial Revolution in North Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board.
- _____, 1955: 'Letters from Welsh settlers in New York State, 1816-1844', Journal of the National Library of Wales, 9 (): 42-.
- _____, 1957: The Character of Early Welsh Emigration to the United States. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Dolgin, Janet L., 1974: 'Latter-Day Sense and Substance', in Zaretsky, Irving I. and Mark P. Leone (eds.), Religious Movements in Contemporary America, pp. 519-546. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Driggs, Kenneth David, 1988: 'The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth-Century America', Journal of Church and State, 30 (2): 273-289.
- Edwards, Ness, 1924: The Industrial Revolution in South Wales. London: Labour Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Emanuel, Hywel D., 1954, 1955: 'Dissent in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth', Journal of the National Library of Wales, 8 (4): 399-418; 9 (1): 22-41; 9 (2): 216-234.
- Emery, Frank V., 1969: The World's Landscapes: Wales. London: Longman.

- Engels, Friedrich, 1975: Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Peking: Foreign Language Press.
- _____, 1977: Principles of Communism. Peking: Foreign Language Press.
- _____, 1987: The Condition of the Working Class in England. London: Penguin.
- Erickson, Charlotte, 1972: Invisible Immigrants. The Adaptations of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America. London: The London School of Economics and Political Science, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Evans, Neil, 1988: 'The Urbanization of Welsh Society', in Herbert, Trevor and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds.), People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880, pp. 7-36. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Evans, Richard L., 1937: A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press.
- Faulkner, Harold Underwood, 1916: 'Chartism and the Churches. A Study in Democracy', Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol., 73 (3). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Flanders, Robert Bruce, 1965: Nauvoo. Kingdom on the Mississippi. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- _____, 1972: 'The Kingdom of God in Illinois: Politics in Utopia', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 5 (1), 26-36.
- Foster, John, 1974: Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson.
- Foster, Laurence, 1983: 'Joseph Smith and the Latter-day Saints', in Noll, Mark A., Nathan O. Hatch, George M. Marsden, David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge, Christianity in America, pp. 200-202. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.
- Gastil, Raymond D., 1975: Cultural Regions of the United States. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington.
- Gates, Susan Young and Leah D. Widtsoe, 1930: The Life Story of Brigham Young. New York: Macmillan.
- Gaustad, Edwin S., 1982: A Documentary History of Religion in America. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

- Gay, John D., 1968: 'Some Aspects of the Social Geography of Religion in England: the Roman Catholics and the Mormons', in Martin, David (ed.), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain: 1, pp. 47-76. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- _____, 1971: The Geography of Religion in England. London: Duckworth.
- Gilbert, A.D., 1976: Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914. London: Longman.
- Gottlieb, Robert and Peter Wiley, 1984: America's Saints: the Rise of Mormon Power. New York: Putnam's.
- Grandy, Dave, 1986: 'Of Quiffs, Quarks and God', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 19 (4), 150-157.
- Green, F.C., 1950: Rousseau and the Idea of Progress. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Griffith, John T., 1910: Rev. Morgan John Rhys: 'The Welsh Baptist Hero of Civil and Religious Liberty of the Eighteenth Century'. Carmarthen: W.M. Evans and Sons.
- Hackett, David G., 1988: 'The Social Origins of Nationalism: Albany, New York, 1754-1835', Journal of Social History, 21 (4), 659-681.
- Hadaway, C.K., 1978: 'Denominational Switching and Membership Growth: In Search of a Relationship', Sociological Analysis, 39 (4), 321-337.
- Halevy, Elie, 1971: The Birth of Methodism in England, trans. by Bernard Semmel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____, 1987: A History of the English People in 1815. London: Ark Paperbacks.
- Hansen, Marcus L., 1941: The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Harrison, J.F.C., 1969: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harrison, J.F.C., 1979: The Second Coming. Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harrison, Mark, 1986: 'The ordering of the urban environment: time, work and the occurrence of crowds', Past and Present, 110, 134-168.
- Hartmann, E.G., 1967: Americans from Wales. Boston, Mass.

- Harvey, David W., 1967: 'Models of the Evolution of Spatial Patterns in Human Geography', in Haggett, P. and R.J. Chorley (eds.), Models in Geography, pp. 549-608. London: Methuen.
- _____, 1973: Explanation in Geography. London: Edward Arnold.
- _____, 1982: The Limits to Capital. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Harvey, Van A., 1985: 'Ludwig Feuerbach and Karl Marx', in Smart, Ninian, John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, and Steven T. Katz (eds.), Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West, vol. 1, pp. 291-328. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hechter, Michael, 1975: Internal Colonialism. London:
- Heinerman, John and Anson Shupe, 1985: The Mormon Corporate Empire. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- Hill, Christopher, 1962: Puritanism and Revolution. London: Secker and Warburg.
- History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, vol. 3, 1844-1872, first published 1896. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 1959: Primitive Rebels. Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- _____, 1984: The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848. London: Abacus Paperbacks.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, 1983: The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoekema, Anthony A., 1963: The Four Major Cults. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.
- Hovell, Mark, 1918: The Chartist Movement. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Howell, David, 1977: Land and People in 19th Century Wales. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- _____, 1988: 'The Rebecca Riots', in Herbert, Trevor and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds.), People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880, pp. 113-138. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Howells, Brian, 1977: 'Modern History', in Thomas, David (ed.), Wales: A New Study. Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles.
- Husbands, Chris, 1987: 'Regional change in a pre-industrial economy: wealth and population in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Journal of Historical Geography, 13 (4), 345-359.
- Hwlffordd, 1883: 'A Mormon Exodus from Wales', Red Dragon, 4, 54-59.
- Inglis, K.S., 1963: Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jackson, R.V., 1987: 'The Structure of pay in nineteenth-century Britain', Economic History Review, 2nd series, 40, (4), 561-570.
- Jenkins, David, 1962: 'Aber-Porth. A Study of a Coastal Village in South Cardiganshire', in Davies, Elwyn and Alwyn D. Rees, Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- _____, 1971: The Agricultural Community in South-west Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Jenkins, Geraint H., 1977: 'Popular beliefs in Wales from the Restoration to Methodism', BBCS, 27 (3), 440-462.
- John, Angela V., 1970: 'The Chartists of Industrial South Wales, 1840-68', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, Swansea.
- _____, 1971: 'The Chartist Endurance: Industrial South Wales, 1840-68', Morgannwg, 15, 23-49.
- John, Brian, 1984: Pembrokeshire. Newport, Pems.: Greencroft.
- Johnson, Christopher H., 1974: Utopian Communism in France: Cabot and the Icarians 1839-1851. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Jones, C. Sheridan, 1911: The Mormons Unmasked. London: Jarrold and Sons.
- Jones, David J.V., 1987: The Last Rising. The Newport Insurrection of 1839. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jones, Emrys, 1985: 'The Welsh in London in the Nineteenth Century', Cambria, 12 (1), 149-169, in Davies, W.K.D. (ed.), Human Geography from Wales: Proceedings of the E.G. Bowen Memorial Conference.

- Jones, Ieuan Gwynedd, 1966: 'Review Article: Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales, by E.T. Davies', Welsh History Review, 3 (1), 82-85.
- _____, 1976a: 'Merthyr Tydfil: The Politics of Survival', Llafur, 2 (1), 18-31.
- _____, (ed.) 1976b: Religious Census of 1851. A calendar of returns relating to Wales, vol. 1, South Wales. vol. 2, North Wales.
- _____, 1978: 'The Anti-Corn Law Letters of Walter Griffith', BBCS, 28 (1), 95-128.
- _____, 1980: 'Language and Community in Nineteenth Century Wales', in Smith, David (ed.), A People and a Proletariat. Essays in the History of Wales 1780-1980, pp. 47-71.
- _____, 1981: Explorations and Explanations. Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales. Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- _____, 1984a: 'Ecclesiastical Economy: Aspects of Church Building in Victorian Wales', in R.R. Davies et al, Welsh Society and Nationhood, pp. 216-231. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- _____, 1984b: 'The Swansea Valley: life and labour in the nineteenth century', Llafur, 4 (1)
- Jones, J. Idwal, 1952: Atlas Hanesyddol o Gymru. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prigysgol Cymru.
- Jones, Maldwyn Allen, 1960: American Immigration. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, Owain W., 1976: 'The Welsh Church in the 19th Century', in Walker, David (ed.), A History of the Church in Wales. Penarth: Church in Wales Publications.
- Lambert, W.R., 1976: 'Some working-class attitudes towards organized religion in nineteenth-century Wales', Llafur, 2 (1), 4-17.
- Langton, John, 1979: Geographical Change and Industrial Revolution: Coalmining in Southwest Lancashire 1590-1799. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____, 1986: 'Habitat, economy and society revisited: peasant ecotypes and economic development, with examples from eastern Ostergotland in the early nineteenth century', Cambria, 13, 5-24. In Davies, W.K.D. (ed.), Human Geography from Wales: Proceedings of the E.G. Bowen Memorial Conference.

- Langton, John and R.J. Morris (eds.), 1986: Atlas of Industrializing Britain 1780-1914. London: Methuen.
- Lawton, R., 1987: 'Peopling the Past', Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr., N.S. 12 (3), 259-283.
- Leites, Edmund, 1978: 'Conscience, Leisure, and Learning: Locke and the Levellers', Sociological Analysis, 39 (1), 36-61.
- Levi, Thomas, 1865, 1866: 'Cwm Tawy', Y Traethodydd, (1865), 236-249; 467-477; (1866), 403-420.
- Lewis, E.D., 1959: The Rhondda Valleys. London: Phoenix.
- Lewis, Samuel, 1845: A Topographical Dictionary of Wales, vols. 1 and 2. London: S. Lewis and Co.
- Lewis, T.H., 1956: Y Mormoniaid yng Nghymru. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- _____, 1971: 'Letters from Welsh Pioneers', The Ensign, 1, 35-37.
- Lewis, W.J., 1963: 'The Condition of Labour in Mid-Cardiganshire in the Early Nineteenth Century', Ceredigion, 4 (4)
- Lineham, Peter J., 1986: 'How Popular Was Eighteenth Century Methodism?', Labour History Bulletin, 51 (1), 8-9.
- Linn, William A., 1902: The Story of the Mormons. From the date of their origin to the year 1901. New York: Macmillan.
- Lively, Robert L., 1977: 'The Catholic-Apostolic Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: A Comparative Study of Two Minority Millenarian Groups in Nineteenth-Century England', unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University.
- Lloyd-Jones, I.D., 1956: 'The Mormons in American History: the story of a frontier theocracy', History Today, 6 (3), 164-169.
- Machin, G.I.T., 1987: Politics and the Churches in Great Britain. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Manuel, Frank E. and Fritzie P. Manuel, 1979: Utopian Thought in the Western World. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press.
- Marty, Martin E., 1984: Pilgrims in their own land: 500 Years of religion in America. Boston, Mass: Brown and Co.

- Marx, Karl, 1976: Capital. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- _____, 1978a: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. Peking: Foreign Language Press.
- _____, 1978b: The Poverty of Philosophy. Peking: Foreign Language Press.
- _____, 1978c: Wage Labour and Capital. Peking: Foreign Language Press.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels, 1975: On Religion. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels, 1981: The German Ideology. New York: International Publishers.
- Macfarlane, Alan, 1986: Marriage and Love in England. Modes of Reproduction. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- McLellan, David, 1987: Marxism and Religion. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- McNeill, John T., 1954: The History and Character of Calvinism. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Meinig, D.W., 1965: 'The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964', AAAG, 55 (2), 191-220.
- Miles, Dillwyn, 1987: The Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. London: David and Charles.
- Molloy, Pat, 1983: And They Blessed Rebecca. Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- Morgan, Kenneth O., 1980: Wales in British Politics. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Morgan, Prys, 1983: 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period', in Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, pp. 43-100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____, 1984: 'From Long Knives to Blue Books', in R.R. Davies et al., Welsh Society and Nationhood. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Moore, R. Laurence, 1986: Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nordhoff, Charles, 1875: The Communistic Societies of the United States. London: John Murray.

- O'Dea, Thomas F., 1957: The Mormons. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____, 1966: The Sociology of Religion. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Parry, Robert, 1857: Teithiau a Barddoniaeth Robyn Ddu Eryri. Caernarfon
- Parsons, Gerald, 1986: 'Hymns and the religion of the people', Labour History Bulletin, 51 (1), 10.
- Phillips, A.B., 1928: The Restoration Movement and the Latter Day Saints. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House.
- Phillips, Thomas, 1849: Wales. The Language, social condition, moral character, and religious opinions of the people, considered in their relation to education. London: John W. Parker.
- Pickering, Paul A., 1988: 'Class Without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement', Past and Present, 112, 144-162.
- Pollard, Sidney, 1965: The Genesis of Modern Management. London: Edward Arnold.
- _____, 1981: Peaceful Conquest. The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pottenger, John R., 1983: 'Marxism and Mormonism', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 16 (2), 126-128.
- Pratt, Parley P., 1855: Key to the Science of Theology. Liverpool: J. Sadler.
- _____, 1889: A Voice of Warning and Instruction to all People; or, an introduction to the faith and doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Liverpool: George Teasdale.
- _____, 1985: Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co.
- Quinn, D. Michael, 1987: 'Socioreligious Radicalism of the Mormon Church: A Parallel to the Anabaptists', in Bitton, Davis and Maureen Ursenbach (eds.), New Views of Mormon History. Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington, pp. 363-386. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press.
- Ralston, Russell F., 1963: Fundamental Differences between the Reorganized Church and the Church in Utah. Independence, Missouri: Herald House.

- Ready References. A Compilation of Scripture Texts, 1887. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Co.
- Rees, Thomas, 1861: History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time. London: John Snow.
- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Member's Manual, 1969. Independence, Missouri: Herald House.
- Rexroth, Kenneth, 1974: Communalism: from its origins to the Twentieth Century. New York: Seabury Press.
- Richard, Henry, 1866: Letters on the Social and Political Condition of the Principality of Wales. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder.
- Roberts, Griffith T., 'Methodism in Wales', in Davies, Rupert, A.R. George and G. Rupp (eds.), History of the Methodist Church, vol. 3, pp. 253-264. London: Epworth Press.
- Roberts, L.G., 1952: 'Hanes Genhadaeth y Mormoniaid yng Nghymru', unpublished manuscript. National Library of Wales (NLW MS. 22439E).
- Roderick, G.W., 1987: 'Education, culture and industry in Wales in the Nineteenth Century', Welsh History Review, 13 (4), 438-452.
- Rowe, David L., 1985: Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850. Chico, Cal.: American Academy of Religion.
- Silltio, John R. and John S. McCormick, 1985: 'Socialist Saints: Mormons and the Socialist Party in Utah, 1900-1920', Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 18 (1), 121-131.
- Scharffs, Gilbert W., 1970: Mormonism in Germany. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co.
- Sellers, Ian, 1977: Nineteenth-Century Nonconformity. London: Edward Arnold.
- Slaney, Robert A., 1841: Reports of the House of Commons on the Education (1838), and on the Health (1840), of the Poorer Classes in Large Towns: With Some Suggestions for Improvement. London: C. Knight and Co.; Longman and Co.; Hatchard and Son.
- Smith, Eliza R. Snow, 1884: Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Co.

- Smith, Joseph, 1979: The Journal of Joseph. The personal history of a modern prophet, Nelson, Leland R. (compiler). Provo, Utah: Council Press.
- _____, (trans.), 1945: The Lost Book of Genesis, Dalberg, Linden (ed.). Kent, Washington: John Victor Ltd.
- Stark, Werner, 1967: 'Religious Sect and Political Party', in Stark, Werner, The Sociology of Religion, a study in Christendom, vol. 2: Sectarian Religion, pp. 51-59. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stenhouse, T.B.H., 1873: Rocky Mountain Saints. London: Ward, Lock and Tyler.
- Strange, Keith, 1980: 'In Search of the Celestial Empire. Crime in Merthyr, 1830-1860', Llafur, 3 (1), 44-86.
- Strout, Cushing, 1974: The New Heavens and New Earth. New York: Harper and Row.
- Stump, Roger W., 1987: 'Regional variations in denominational switching among white Protestants', Professional Geographer, 39 (4), 438-449.
- Talmage, James E., 1899: The Articles of Faith. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News Co.
- Tawney, R.H., 1964: The Radical Tradition, Hinden, Rita (ed.). London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Taylor, P.A.M., 1965: Expectations Westward. London and Edinburgh:
- Thomas, Brinley, 1954: Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____, (ed.), 1962: The Welsh Economy: Studies in Expansion. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- _____, 1969: 'The Migration of Labour into the Glamorganshire Coalfield, 1861-1911', in Minchinton, W.E. (ed.), Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914, pp. 37-56. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.
- _____, 1987: 'A Cauldron of Rebirth: Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century', Welsh History Review, 13 (4), 418-437.
- Thomas, D.O., 1989: Ymateb i Chwyldro/Response to Revolution. Swansea: University of Wales Press.

- Thomas, David, 1963: Agriculture in Wales during the Napoleonic Wars. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Thomas, J. Gareth, 1956: 'The Geographical Distribution of the Welsh Language', The Geographical Journal, 122 (1), 71-79.
- Thomas, Rev. R.D., 1983: Hanes Cymry America (A History of the Welsh in America), Davies, Phillips G. (trans.). New York
- Thompson, E.P., 1980: The Making of the English Working Class. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Thorp, Malcolm R., 1987: 'The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social, and Economic Conditions', in Bloxham, Moss, and Porter (eds.), Truth Will Prevail, pp. 44-69.
- _____, 1988: 'Sectarian Violence in early Victorian Britain: The Mormon Experience, 1837-1860', Bulletin of the John Ryland's University Library of Manchester, 70 (3), 135-147.
- Turner, Christopher, B., 1984: 'Religious Revivalism and Welsh Industrial Society: Aberdare in 1859', Llafur, 4 (1), 4-13.
- _____, 1988: 'The Nonconformist Response', in Herbert and Jones, People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880, pp. 73-111. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Turner, Frederick, 1980: Beyond Geography. New York: Viking.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 1972: The Frontier in American History. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Vatikiotis, P.J., 1987: Islam and the State. London: Croom Helm.
- Vogler, Gunter, 1988: 'The Anabaptist Kingdom of Munster in the Tension Between Anabaptism and Imperial Policy', in Hillerbrand, Hans J. (ed.), Radical Tendencies in the Reformation: Divergent Perspectives, vol 9, 16th Century Essays and Studies. Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal.
- Wallace, Ryland, 1985: 'Wales and the Parliamentary reform movement, 1866-1868', Welsh History Review, 11 (), 469-487.
- Waller, P.J., 1983: Town, City and Nation. England 1850-1914. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Walters, Huw, 1987: Y Wasg Gynodol Gymreig (The Welsh Periodical Press) 1735-1900. Aberystwyth: Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.
- Wilbur, Earl Morse, 1945: A History of Unitarianism, in Transylvania, England and America. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.
- Wilkins, Charles, 1867: The History of Merthyr Tydfil. Merthyr Tydfil: Harry Wood Southey.
- Williams, C.R., 1952: 'The Welsh Religious Revival of 1904-1905', British Journal of Sociology, 3 (3), 242-254.
- Williams, David, 1927: 'Y Cymry a'r Eglwys Formonaidd', Y Llenor, 6, 247-252.
- _____, 1935: 'Some figures relating to emigration from Wales', BBCS, 7 (4), 396-415.
- _____, 1939: John Frost. A Study in Chartism. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board.
- _____, 1948: 'The Welsh Mormons', Welsh Review, 7, 113-118.
- _____, 1951: A History of Modern Wales. London: John Murray.
- _____, 1955: The Rebecca Riots. A Study in Agrarian Discontent. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- _____, 1959: 'Chartism in Wales', in Briggs, Asa (ed.), Chartist Studies, pp. 220-248. London: Macmillan.
- _____, 1961: 'The Census of Religious Worship of 1851 in Cardiganshire', Ceredigion, 4 (2), 113-128.
- Williams, D. Trevor, 1962: 'Industrial South Wales', in Mitchell, J.B. (ed.), Great Britain. Geographical Essays, pp. 226-246. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Glanmor (ed.), 1966: Merthyr Politics: the making of a working-class tradition. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Williams, Gwyn A., 1967: 'Morgan John Rhees and his Beula', Welsh History Review, 3 (4), 441-472.
- _____, 1978: 'David Williams', Llafur, 2 (3), 7-9.
- _____, 1980: 'Locating a Welsh Working Class: The Frontier Years', in Smith, David (ed.), A People and A Proletariat, pp. 16-46. London: Pluto Press.
- _____, 1982: The Welsh in their History. London: Croom Helm.
- _____, 1985: When Was Wales? London: Black Raven Press.
- _____, 1987: Madoc: The Making of a Myth. Oxford: Oxford University Press Paperback.
- Williams, Moelwyn, 1975: The Making of the South Wales Landscape. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Williams, Raymond, 1961: Culture and Society. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- _____, 1975: The Country and the city. St. Albans, Herts.: Paladin.
- Wilson, Alexander, 1970: The Chartist Movement in Scotland. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wilson, Bryan R., 1970: Religious Sects. London: World University Library.
- _____, 1973: Magic and the Millennium: a Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples. London
- Wright, Leslie C., 1953: Scottish Chartism. London: Oliver and Boyd Ltd.
- Yeo, Eileen, 1981: 'Christianity in the Chartist Struggle 1838-1842', Past and Present, 91, 109-139
- Young, Brigham, 1925: Discourses of Brigham Young, Widtsoe, John A. (ed.). Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur, 1961: 'An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952', AAAG, 51, 139-193.