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ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER–DAY SAINTS IN HISTORIC COUNTY DURHAM, 1843–1913

Ronald L. Bartholomew

On May 12, 1851, Joseph Foster Doxford and his wife Charlotte were baptized in Chilton Grange, County Durham, England. Shortly thereafter they became the first members of the newly organized Trimdon Grange Branch, where Joseph was appointed president. During his presidency he laboured extensively as a local (or "member") missionary, a practice common at the time, performing baptisms and confirmations in that branch and the nearby Five Houses Branch. Two and a half years later, on December 7, 1853, he was called as president of the Crook Branch and while in that service he expanded his labours as a local missionary, proselytizing the first ten members of the Marley Hill Branch. Later on July 4, 1856, he was again appointed branch president, this time of the newly created Trimdon Branch. However, this assignment came to an abrupt end on December 16, 1856, when he was "called out" by visiting Apostle Ezra T. Benson to leave his business, family and branch presidency to serve as a full–time travelling elder in the Newcastle Conference. His first assignment was in the Jarrow Branch, where he proselytized several new converts, and baptized every member on record of the newly organized Usworth Colliery Branch. After two more years, he was assigned to continue his labours as a travelling elder in the United States, immigrating without Charlotte and their children. He preached in Pennsylvania from 1858–1862, proselytizing enough people to organize two new branches. In 1860 he sent for Charlotte and the children, and in 1862, after serving 11 years, having been the president of three branches and a local and full–time missionary, he and Charlotte finally migrated to Utah with their family, along with many of the saints from the branches he had organized in Pennsylvania.[1]

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[1]. All of this information was acquired from the family of his descendent and namesake, Joseph Doxford. Copies of all the biographical and family history documents are in the possession of the author.

THE DURHAM CONFERENCES IN ITS VICTORIAN ENGLISH CONTEXT

The experience of Joseph and Charlotte Doxford was not unique to new converts of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century. However, some aspects of missionary work and convert baptisms in historic County Durham were unique, primarily due to local factors. From 1843, when the Church was first established in County Durham to 1913, the year coal production reached its zenith, the residents of County Durham were living on the forefront of the Industrial Revolution. Neighbouring Newcastle-upon-Tyne had previously been the country's most important coal exporting centre, but during this period the majority of the nation's coal came from County Durham, and its coal ports began to rival the previously held monopoly at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As a result, the importance of the proliferation of collieries as Durham's primary industry cannot be overstated. However, County Durham's Victorian heritage also includes other important industries, such as the lead and iron works that dotted the countryside. In addition, Sunderland had become the world's largest ship building centre, and as such, the most important in the county and the country, with additional ship-building centres at Tyneside, Teesside, and Hartlepool. In the midst of the expansive growth of these various industries, County Durham also became home to two of the most revolutionary innovations of the modern era. The world's first railways emerged here as an important part of the colliery industry, and Joseph Swan patented the world's first incandescent electric light bulb in 1878, a full year before America's Thomas Edison. Swan's hometown, Gateshead, became the first city in the world to be lit by this revolutionary invention. It was in this socio-economic context that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was first introduced, and then flourished in County Durham.

These various industries and innovations attracted money and labour. This, in turn, led to a veritable population explosion. County Durham grew from a rural area dotted with small villages to an important industrial centre, with the population expanding from 86,267 in 1831 to nearly 500,000 by 1911—with most of the growth being attributed to the need for labour and the availability of jobs in the

expanding colliery industry.[2] However, this explosive growth was also a socio-economic paradox. As Beynon and Austrin have correctly observed, "Mining was an industry centrally involved in capitalist expan-expansion. In that sense it was clearly part of the 'modern' world. However, with its expansion, so too did 'traditional' relationships of power and authority maintain themselves."[3] In fact, the very nature of the coal mining industry allowed for the strengthening of the position of the landowning class within the county. Rural and industrial elements were held together as the old ruling class regulated the emerging capitalist economy. Therefore, on the Durham coalfield, county society with its institutions remained intact as coal production increased.[4]

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[2]. In significant ways, the Victorian history of this county is the history of coal mining, with the extraction, movement and utilization of the mineral significantly determining the population and employment patterns and settlement types. At the beginning of the 19th century the county was producing no more than 2,000,000 tons; at the turn of the 20th century output reached 41,500,000 tons. Over the same period the number of miners rose from fewer than 10,000 to 165,000. The significance of the latter statistic is put into context when compared with the employment in agriculture. In 1800 farming was the leading occupation, employing perhaps 10 times more people than mining; by the turn of the 20th century the roles were reversed, with miners now many times more numerous than agricultural workers. The result was the creation of dozens of new colliery or pit villages, a new feature in the Durham countryside. Mineral and mineral lines were thus interdependent—and both were the basis for a distinctive industrial growth as the century progressed. In the words of Timothy Eden, "coal begat locomotion and locomotion begat more coal and more coal begat more industries." Despite this growth, however, studies have shown that the vast majority of those migrating in to County Durham were from the northeast of England—in other words, the migration was provincial. These miners were extremely mobile, in that they moved frequently from mine to mine, but their occupational immobility left little room for outsiders. In fact, it was the commonly held view of government officials and mine owners alike that "Pitmen must be bred to work from their childhood. Their number cannot be recruited from any other class... the increase of the pit population comes solely from internal sources." See Roger Charles Norris and Douglas Charles D. Pocock, *A History of County Durham* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1990), 51, 55 and 57.

[3]. Terry Austrin and Huw Benyon, *Masters and Servants: Class and Patronage in the Making of a Labour Organisation* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1994), 9.

[4]. In fact, to list the coal owners in the nineteenth century is to produce a roll call of the area's major landed families, ranging from the Church to Dukes,

In contrast to the urbanization that occurred in the cotton towns, where masses of people migrated away from the agricultural caste system dominated by the landed gentry and towards the cities and factories, thus discarding traditions of the past on multiple levels, County Durham experienced no such social revolution. The coal pits were inextricably connected to the landed gentry—the same families that owned both the land and the coal that was being taken from it, and so County Durham's own industrial revolution was simply a shift from one landed industry to another.[5] Across the county, agriculture was simply replaced by coal and the rural villages were replaced by company towns. Instead of industrial urban centres emerging throughout the countryside, the colliery population was as scattered as the coal pits.

Another aspect of the socio-economic condition of the Durham coalfield was the paternalism of these landowners. During the early stages of the development of the coalmines, the colliery row living conditions were deplorable. However, over time the conditions of the tied housing improved, and the mine owners eventually provided medical treatments and education for their pitmen and their families as long as they remained in their employ.[6] This paternalistic order was formalized with the "bonding" of employees, who were required annually to enter into a bond, or a legally binding agreement with their employers. For those who were able to obtain a bond, this legally binding contract ensured the pitmen of secure employment, housing and

Baronets and Squires. Although independent capitalist developments often took place in the form of sub-contracting (leasing Church lands or other lands and thereby taking all the risks), these efforts were either taken over with land purchases or joined hands with the landowners for profits sake. See Austrin and Benyon, Masters and Servants, 16.

[5]. For example, in 1867 the Second Earl of Durham obtained and income of £27,000 from the tenant farmers on his agricultural estates. In the same year his coal profits (excluding the lessee's payments) amounted to £52,000. See Austrin and Benyon, *Masters and Servants*, 18.

[6]. In addition, these wealthy land and mine owners saw themselves as more than capitalists—they saw themselves as occupying positions of respect and honour with public rights and responsibilities. Not only were the pitmen and their families totally dependent upon the landowners, the landowners acted towards their pitmen in terms familial relationships—as a husband would to a wife and his children. This even included the welfare of the families of the victims of mining disasters. See Austrin and Benyon, *Masters and Servants*, 25.

such, but also reduced them to "bondsmen" or slavery status, technically punishable by law and imprisonment.[7] Essentially, mine labourers were bought and sold by their mine owners, much like black slaves in the US South. This situation can be seen more clearly from a letter one pit supervisor wrote to his pit owner: "What we have to guard against is any obvious legislature interference in the established customs of our particular race of pitmen. The stock can only be kept up by breeding—it never could be reinvented from an adult population… [B]ut if our meddling, morbid, humanity mongers get it infused into their heads that it is cruel and unnatural slavery to work in the dark and to be imprisoned twelve hours a day in the pit, a screw in the system will be let loose."[8] The bonding of pitmen continued through 1872, until it was finally abolished through the efforts of the Durham Miners' Association, formed in 1869 and the successor to three earlier short-lived labour union movements.[9] Despite the efforts and growing strength of trade unionism, there were still periodic lapses in work opportunities, as the mine owners either experienced or created market fluctuations in coal production. The extant historical records from Church members regularly reported the indigent circumstances of unemployed miners. However, coal remained king in historic County Durham, and the population continued to expand as not only the colliery industry, but related shipping, railway, and metallurgical industries all drew in a huge numbers of labourers. This complex social construct not only retained some Mormon converts in the county, because of opportunity and need for labour; it also facilitated Church

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[7]. Of this, Benyon and Austrin summarized the positive, as well as the negative aspects of such a paternalistic order: "In the nineteenth century the Durham coal owners operated a sophisticated system of labour and regulation and control.…It was a system which was based upon previous rural forms and relationships which in mining (in contrast to the other expanding industries) was extended and developed rather than curtailed by capitalist expansion. In this, the bond represented the detailed system for hiring and regulating labour. It was a contract that extended beyond wages, establishing (via "free" housing and coal) economic control into the very fabric of civil society.… So to it was used as a flexible method for disciplining labour… miscreants could be dealt with by the law through fines and imprisonment" for such misdemeanour's as absenteeism or attempting to hire on with another mine owner. See Austrin and Benyon, *Masters and Servants*, 21–32.

[8]. Austrin and Benyon, *Masters and Servants*, 28–29.

[9]. Norris and Pocock, *A History of County Durham*, 58.

growth during a time of mass emigration and declining success in missionary work throughout the rest of the British and European Missions.

It is the thesis of this article that the beginnings of the Church in historic County Durham followed a pattern similar to that experienced in other areas of Great Britain: American missionaries may have initiated proselytizing efforts, but the majority of convert baptisms were the result of the efforts of native converts serving either as local member missionaries or full–time travelling elders. However, unlike the decline in missionary success and convert baptisms experienced in other areas of the British Mission toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the success of proselytizing efforts and convert baptisms in this county accelerated. This article will examine the historical development of the Church in historic County Durham, focusing on a combination of missionary and local factors as possible explanations for the distinctive phenomena. Issues in this article will address include:

The nature of assigning local converts to serve as full–time missionaries;

The role and impact of local converts who engaged in what we would term "member missionary work."

Other factors which might explain the somewhat unique, accelerated growth of the Church in County Durham throughout the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

MISSIONARY WORK AND CONVERT BAPTISMS

As early as 1840, during his first mission to England, Brigham Young instructed that full–time missionaries should be chosen from among members whose circumstances would permit them to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry.[10] Unlike the American missionaries whose calls were typically announced by a member of the First Presidency during general conference in Salt Lake City, it was the

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[10]. Brigham Young, "Minutes of General Conference," *Millennial Star*, July 1840, 70.

responsibility of the pastors[11] and conference presidents serving as missionaries in England to call recent converts to full–time missionary service.[12] For example, Henry Lunt, who was supervising several conferences as a "pastor," mentioned calling up local elders living in County Durham into full–time service as travelling elders in his personal writings.[13] Members called out to full–time service in the Durham Conference found it difficult to leave their livelihood for full–time service. Pastor William J. Smith noted: "I called out Morrey Elobis to preach the Gospel in the streets and alleys and warn the people. I[t] was quite difficult to get the Elders to doo [sic] their duty. The opposition was so strong."[14] However, many in the County Durham responded to the call. Joseph Foster Doxford is one example.

LDS historian Ronald Walker observed: "The American missionaries might take the lead, but duly ordained English converts carried the ministerial load. This practice allowed Mormonism to shed whatever image it might have possessed as a foreign intruder. Indeed it facilitated the conversion of former preachers . . . to secure Mormon membership and Mormon priesthood on the same day and continue without interruption their errand for the Lord."[15] In fact, William G. Hartley correctly observed that most "of the [British] mission's conference presidents, branch presidents and missionaries" [16] came from the ranks of the British converts. This was definitely true for those serving

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[11]. "Pastors" were full–time missionaries who supervised several conferences and reported directly to the British Mission president. See William G. Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852–1855" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 200.

[12]. Brigham Young, "General Instructions to Pastors, Presidents, and Elders," *Millennial Star*, April 11, 1857, 232–233.

[13]. See Henry Lunt, "Home Correspondence," *Millennial Star*, April 26, 1856, 266–67 and "Home Correspondence," *Millennial Star*, August 2, 1856, 494.

[14]. William Joseph Smith, *Life and History of William Joseph Smith*, 35, MS 17577, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[15]. Ronald W. Walker, "Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1987): 25–36.

[16]. Hartley, "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852–55," 200. He also notes that they were likely to emigrate. To replace them and to train and supervise their successors presented a formidable challenge.

in the Durham Conference (1856–1883); of those engaged in missionary work, only 19% can be positively identified as American nationals, with 78% British natives. While the nativity of 3% could not be accounted for, if they were British—which is highly likely—that would mean that 81% of those who engaged in active proselytizing in the Durham Conference were of British, rather than American nativity.

MEMBER INVOLVEMENT

In addition to those called up from the ranks of new converts to serve as full–time missionaries, there is abundant historical evidence that full-time travelling elders mobilized the efforts of the local membership.[17] For example, Elder William R. Webb reported to President Albert Carrington that proselytizing efforts were "energetically carried on by the travelling elders and local priesthood,"[18] and full–time missionaries at a district conference mentioned that "in their outdoor preaching [we] were cheerfully assisted by the local priesthood."[19] Historians James B. Allen and Malcolm Thorp note that, as a result, "the number of missionaries was greatly expanded and most new baptisms were performed by these local missionaries."[20] This was definitely the case during the period of 1856 to 1883 when County Durham had its own conference; extant records indicate that 78% of convert baptisms were performed by English converts. It is evident from journals that many new members perceived that sharing the gospel was part of their divinely appointed duty. Poll asserts that because of this, "most con-

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[17]. Richard D. Poll, "The British Mission during the Utah War, 1857–1858," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 228.

[18]. William R. Webb, "Correspondence: Interesting Report from Newcastle: A letter Written on January 20, 1881, from William R. Webb to President Albert Carrington," *Millennial Star*, January 31, 1881, 73–75.

[19]. William R. Webb, "Minutes of Newcastle and Durham Conference, October 5, 1879, Temperance Hall Tenant Street Stockton on Tees," *Millennial Star*, October 13, 1879, 652–656.

[20]. James B. Allen and Malcolm Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Class," *BYU Studies* 15, no. 4 (1975): 15.

versions occurred among the relatives and friends of active members."[21]

Historical Development of the LDS Church in County Durham

Facts relative to the historical development of the LDS Church in County Durham confirm this pattern. What follows is the fascinating story of how the LDS Church began and developed in five separate geographical areas, in chronological order of incidence, within historic County Durham. Important details are included with regard to key individuals involved in the beginning stages of that development, whose names and contributions have heretofore remained almost entirely anonymous.

The LDS Church began in Historic County Durham when the Sunderland Branch was organized on August 13, 1843, at Hylton Ferry, in South Hylton, at the home of William Knox.[22] This branch was unique in two important ways: first, the Church in Sunderland has remained intact from 1843 to the present. This is despite the fact that Church membership in Great Britain grew dramatically through 1850, but then experienced a steady decline in growth due to persecution, emigration, or the general apathy of the British people, which in most cases led to the eventual termination of the branch. Second, while the boundaries and name–titles of various administrative units in the British Mission were under constant revision during the Victorian Era[23] (including those in historic County Durham), the Sunderland unit also appears to be unique in that it has retained its original geographic designation throughout its 168–year existence. This distinction can be partially explained by the efforts of new converts–turned–local missionaries like William Knox and his companion Ebenezer Gillies. Following his baptism and the organization of the Sunderland Branch at his home on August 13, 1843, Knox served as a local missionary in the area from February 1846 to February 1849,

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[21]. Poll, "The British Mission during the Utah War," 228.
[22]. Sheila Laverick Hughes, *Sunderland Ward History*, 2005, 3 vols., MS 19667, Church History Library, 1:7.
[23]. Poll, "The British Mission during the Utah War, 1857–1858," 225.

proselytizing 82 converts into the branch.[24] He also served as the branch president from January 10, 1847 to March 8, 1849, until he emigrated to the U.S. with his family.[25] His companion, Ebenezer Gillies, performed over 45 baptisms and confirmations, one of which was Isaac Burnhope,[26] who was later instrumental in the growth and development of the branch at South Shields.[27]

The contributions of these two local missionaries are representative of the service provided by countless local and foreign missionaries, whose tireless efforts established and perpetuated the Sunderland Branch throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, despite formidable opposition, such as the Sunderland anti–Mormon riots of 1913, which ended in the tragic death of Elder Ralph H. Hendricks.[28] In addition, other local factors also contributed to the sustained growth of the Church in this area. For example, the area comprising Sunderland, Monkwearmouth and Bishopswearmouth grew from a population of 24,000 in 1801 to over 150,000 by 1913,[29] because of the need for labour in the limestone quarries, in the Wearmouth and other collieries, and in the steadily growing shipbuilding industry.

The next incidence of the Church in County Durham involved thirteen different branches in a relatively small geographic area—all within an eight–kilometre radius. Unlike the Sunderland Branch, which maintained its single autonomous state from its inception; between the years 1848 to 1871 each of these thirteen branches intermittently combined with each other until they finally became a single branch at Castle Eden, which eventually died out. The history and development of the Church in this area is representative of how

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[24]. *Sunderland Branch Record*, film no. 87035, Items 15–24, Record of members, 1943–1904, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[25]. Hughes, *Sunderland Ward History*, 2005, 1:8–9.

[26]. *Sunderland Branch Record*, Record of members, 1943–1904, Family History Library.

[27]. *South Shields Branch Record*, film no. 87033, Items 1–8, Record of members, 1848–1948, Family History Library.

[28.] Hughes, *Sunderland Ward History*, 2005, 2:49–50.

[29]. Norris and Pocock, *A History of County Durham*, 64–65.

membership growth typically occurred and was managed in historic County Durham during the Victorian Era.

The origins of the eventual Castle Eden Branch began in Thornley, located in its geographic centre, where a successful colliery opened in 1835—only the third in the Easington district. This led to a population increase from 50 inhabitants in 1831 to 3,306 by 1861. [30] A branch of the Church was organized here on June 18, 1848 as part of the Carlisle Conference, and John Carmichael, a travelling elder from Scotland, was given charge over it.[31] This branch continued until July 4, 1856, when the Trimdon Branch absorbed it.[32]

Several months later, a branch was organized at Kelloe in the spring of 1849. John Caffrey, a local elder who proselytized more than half of its membership, was appointed as president.[33] While the population of the small village of Kelloe was not impacted dramatically by the Industrial Revolution, population in the surrounding area grew from 663 in 1831 to 12,867 in 1861, primarily due to the opening and extending of coalmines. It appears from extant historical data that most of this growth occurred in the neighbouring colliery town of East Hetton.[34]

Emerging at about the same time was the Coxhoe Branch, which was organized on April 6, 1851, and then after a short lapse, reorganized on January 13, 1853.[35] The coal pit at Coxhoe was sunk in 1827 and the colliery opened in 1843; as a result, from 1801 to 1841 the population experienced a similar increase, growing from 117 resi-

[30].“Thornley,”http://www.durhamrecordsonline.com/literature/thornley.php.
[31]. William Speakman and Ebenezer Gillies, “Conference Minutes,” *Millennial Star*, September 15, 1848, 278–279.
[32]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, Microfilm LR 1140-2, Reel 6, “Trimdon Branch,” Church History Library.
[33]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, “Kelloe Branch,” Church History Library.
[34]. For more information regarding Kelloe at that time period, See John Marius Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=4214.
[35]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, “Coxhoe Branch,” Church History Library.

dents to 3,904.[36] It appears that the Kelloe and Coxhoe Branches, about two kilometres apart, were inextricably interconnected. On January 8, 1857, they were combined under the name of the Kelloe Branch, and the Coxhoe Branch president, local elder William Nichols, was released.[37] Interestingly, by 1862 the combined unit was renamed the Coxhoe Branch,[38] and in 1865 its name was changed to the New Durham Branch. Like all the other branches in this area, it was eventually absorbed into the Castle Eden Branch in 1871.[39]

Just one month after the creation of the Kelloe and Coxhoe Branches, another branch was organized on May 14, 1851, at nearby Trimdon Grange, just over two kilometres away.[40] On September 11, 1852, it was renamed the Five Houses Branch,[41] after a mine pit in Trimdon Grange that had opened in 1845.[42] Joseph Foster Doxford, who was baptized in Chilton Grange and became an elder while on the roster of the Five Houses Branch, served as the first and only branch president of the Trimdon Grange Branch.[43] This branch was absorbed, along with five others, by the Trimdon Branch on July 4,

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[36]. For information regarding Coxhoe at that time period, See http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=2747 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coxhoe.

[37]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Coxhoe Branch," Church History Library.

[38]. *Members of Durham Conference 1862*, film no 86995, Item 23, Record of members, 1817–1871, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[39]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch," Church History Library.

[40]. *Trimdon Grange Branch Record*, film no. 86995, Items 21, Record of members, 1817–1871, Family History Library.

[41]. *Five Houses Branch Record*, film no. 86998, Item 15, Record of members, 1852–1856, Family History Library.

[42]. See: http://searches2.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/ENG–DURHAM/2007–01/1169642960.

[43]. All of this information was acquired from the family of his descendent and namesake, Joseph Doxford. Copies of all the biographical and family history documents are in the possession of the author.

1856,[44] and eventually became part of the Castle Eden Branch in 1871.[45]

Eleven days after the inception of the Trimdon Grange Branch, the Shincliffe Branch was organized on May 25, 1851.[46] A coalmine shaft was sunk here in 1837, and the Shincliffe colliery opened two years later in 1839.[47] Like the other villages in this area that had organized branches of the Church, Shincliffe was inhabited chiefly by colliers,[48] and incident to the sinking of coal pits and the subsequent establishment of a colliery, the population grew from 367 in 1821 to 2,123 in 1871.[49] Local missionaries John Routledge and Josh Nesham were responsible for proselytizing almost the entire membership of this branch.[50] On April 4, 1854, this branch was re-

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[44]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Trimdon Branch," Church History Library.

[45]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch" Church History Library.

[46]. Or Dec. 16, 1851—there is a discrepancy in the histories. Elder John Higbee visited the saints in Shincliffe on 24 June 1851, and held a council meeting, which suggests the May date may be correct. Grant Allan Anderson, official communication from the LDS Church Historical Department (letter written to Mr. K.R. Gilderoy), 21 February 1986.

[47]. For Information regarding the sinking of the coal mine shaft see http://www.dmm.org.uk/colliery/s027.htm; information regarding the colliery see http://www.dmm.org.uk/colliery/index_s.htm.

[48]. For period information regarding Shincliffe, see Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=4281.

[49]. See Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/DurhamStOswald/Shincliffe.html; obviously population growth between 1821 and 1831 due to collieries.

[50]. In addition, on 18 July 1852, four members who were originally in the Thrislington Branch were transferred to this branch, meaning they either moved from Thrislington (modern day Comforth) to Shincliffe, or their records were transferred when the Thrislington branch was dissolved. Although a Thrislington Branch obvious existed at one point, no further historical information regarding this branch has surfaced. Thrislington is in Durham, but no longer a village today. See Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, http:// visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=2417 and "Thrislington," http:// dmm.org .uk/colliery/t003.htm. Shincliffe Branch Record, film no. 87032, Item 4–5, Record of members, 1851–1853, Family History Library.

named the Durham Branch, since Shincliffe was an extension of the larger county town. After it became the Durham Branch, Alexander Black served as president from 1856 to 1863.[51] During that time he also laboured as a local missionary, proselytizing over 60 converts.[52] This branch was renamed the New Durham Branch in 1866, and finally became part of the Castle Eden Branch in 1871.[53]

Three months after the establishment of the Shincliffe Branch, the Wingate Branch was organized on August 31, 1851, continuing through April 6, 1854, after which its members also became part of the Trimdon Branch in 1856. However, when the Trimdon Branch proved to be short-lived, the Wingate Branch re-opened in 1857.[54] Like all the other villages in this area, Wingate was a colliery town. It was only inhabited by 30 farmers before the arrival of the coal industry; the 1835 population being only 115, but growing to 2, 456 by 1841.[55] Elder John Carmichael, from Scotland, previously mentioned as the first branch president of the Thornley Colliery Branch, was instrumental in proselytizing most of the membership of this branch.[56] He laboured vigorously as a travelling elder in this area, proselytizing 35 new converts in the Sunderland, Hartlepool, Wingate, and Five Houses Branches.[57]

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[51]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch," Church History Library.

[52]. *Durham Branch Record*, film no.86995, Item 20, Record of members 1850–1877, Family History Library.

[53]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch," Church History Library.

[54]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Trimdon Branch, Wingate Branch," Church History Library.

[55]. For information regarding Wingate, see http://durhamrecordsonline.com/literature/wingate_grange.php.

[56]. *Wingate Branch Record*, film no. 87037, Item 39–40, Record of Members 1848–1853, Family History Library.

[57]. *Five Houses Branch Record*, film no. 86998, Item 15, Record of Members 1852–1856, Family History Library. Sunderland Branch Record, film no. 87035, Item 15–24, Record of Members 1943–1904, Family History Library. *Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no. 87038, Item 11–12, Record of Members 1864–1948, Family History Library. *Wingate Branch Record*, film no. 87038, Item 39–40, Record of Members 1848–1853, Family History Library.

On December 5, 1852, at a meeting held in a school room, the Easington Lane Branch was organized.[58] Easington Lane is not the same as Easington Village or Colliery; it was a small village then and remains one today.[59] Apparently men working in the colliery lived here with their families. Robert Gillies, who joined the Church in his home country of Scotland in 1842,[60] served as branch president. Like John Carmichael, he worked tirelessly as a local missionary to establish the Church in this area. He had previously served as the president of the North Shields Branch,[61] and as a local missionary proselytizing new converts in the Durham and South Shields Branches.[62] While serving as the president of the Easington Lane Branch, he also laboured as a local missionary until he emigrated in 1856.[63] He was responsible for

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[58]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Easington Lane Branch." Church History Library.

[59]. For information on Easington Village and Easington Colliery, which later combined and became a town called "Easington," see http://durhamrecords online.com/literature/easington_colliery_village.php and http://en.wikipedia .org/wiki/Easington, County Durham. For the distinction between Easington Lane and Easington Village, Colliery, and town see http://g.co/maps/mpmu3 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Easington_Lane.

[60]. *Easington Lane Branch Record*, film no. 86996, Item 1 , Record of Members 1842–1855, Family History Library.

[61]. Speakman and Gillies, "Conference Minutes," *Millennial Star*, September 15, 1848, 55. On December 12, 1847 he was appointed president of the North Shields Branch.

[62]. For an account of his missionary labours and baptisms and confirmations performed, see *Durham Branch Records* and *South Shields Branch Records*. *South Shields Branch Record*, film no. 87033, Item 1-4, Record of Members 1848–1948, Family History Library. Durham Branch Record, film no. 86995, Item 20, Record of Members 1850–1877, Family History Library.

[63]. On April 19, 1856 he emigrated to the U.S. where he eventually settled in Beaver Utah and died in Farmington Utah, October 6, 1866. http://www.familyorigins.com/users/l/o/v/Marilyn-G-Loveridge/FAMO1-0001/d23.htm#P11990. Of interest but of no importance to this history, is the fact that after arriving in Utah his daughter Annie married Maximilian Parker, and their first son was Robert LeRoy Parker, who became known as the infamous out-law of the Western United States, "Butch Cassidy." See BMR, 91–119 (FHL #025,691) http://lib.byu.edu/mormonmigration/voyage.php?id= 327&q=robert%20gillies.

the baptism and confirmation of 56 members of the Easington Lane Branch, which continued through 27 December 1857.[64]

On March 24, 1855, the Castle Eden Branch was first mentioned in the LDS Church records.[65] The branch membership remained relatively constant until the Trimdon Branch absorbed it on July 4, 1856.[66] Significantly, this branch re-emerged in 1871 as an amalgamation of all branches in this area.[67] Similar to the Easington Lane Branch, the Castle Eden village never had a direct connection with coal mining. It has always been an agricultural village with very ancient roots. Castle Eden Colliery (about 1840–1893) was actually about two kilometres away and situated in the sub-district of Monk Hesleden and not Castle Eden. Castle Eden village did occasionally take in overspills of miners, but the census numbers indicate there were only 491 inhabitants in 1851, which only increased to 693 by 1871 and 880 by 1881. However, in Monk Hesleden, the nearby colliery village, the population grew from 490 in 1841 to 1,495 in 1851, most likely supplying many of the membership of this branch. In 1871 when all the branches in this area were combined under the name of Castle Eden, the population of Monk Hesleden was 1,636 and grew to 2,421 by 1881 and 3,819 by 1891.[68]

As has been mentioned, the Trimdon Branch was organized July 4, 1856, from the Five Houses, Thornley, Castle Eden, Wingate, and Trimdon Grange branches, with Joseph Doxford as president.[69] The population of this village exploded incident to the coal industry, reporting only 382 inhabitants in 1841, but increasingly dramatically

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[64]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Easington Lane Branch," Church History Library.

[65]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Castle Eden Branch," Church History Library.

[66]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Trimdon Branch," Church History Library.

[67]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch," Church History Library.

[68]. For information regarding Castle Eden see (http://www.durhamrecordsonline.com/literature/castle_eden.ph) and (http://durhamrecordsonline.com/literature/castle_eden_colliery.php).

[69]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Trimdon Branch," Church History Library.

to 1,598 in 1851, 2,975 in 1861, and 3,266 by 1871.[70] A significant
event in the short history of this branch occurred when the members
reported a tremendous Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit including
the gift of tongues and angelic visitations on September 14, 1856.
Despite this, the Trimdon Branch was reported "nearly broken up" by
October 4, 1857.[71] This undoubtedly led to the reorganization of the
Wingate Branch that same year,[72] and the eventual reorganization of
the Coxhoe branch in 1863.[73] However, by 1871 they were all com-
bined again under the name of the New Durham Branch.[74]

The Haswell Branch was first mentioned in the historical rec-
ord on June 1, 1870.[75] Like other colliery towns, Haswell grew from
263 inhabitants in 1831 to 5,763 by 1871.[76] While it is not known
how early this branch was organized, it combined with all others in
this area as the Castle Eden Branch on July 16, 1871.[77] From the time

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[70]. For more information see Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of
Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894.
http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/Trimdon/index.html
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[71]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Trim-
don Branch," Church History Library.

[72]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Wingate
Branch History," Church History Library.

[73]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Coxhoe
Branch History," Church History Library.

[74]. In addition, the 1862 list of branches in Durham includes a "Brandon
Branch" with four members. Inasmuch as there is no other historical docu-
mentation regarding the branch in this location, and because it is in the
vicinity of these other 13 branches, it is believed it also eventually became part
of the New Durham Branch. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical
Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliffe Branch History," Church History Library.

[75]. On June 1, 1870, George Peterson made a list of each of the branches in the
Newcastle District. Haswell was listed with 33 members on this date. *Haswell
Branch Record*, film no. 86995, Item 23 , Record of Members 1847–1900, Fam-
ily History Library.

[76]. For more information on South Hetton/Haswell See http://
durhamrecordsonline.com/literature /haswell .php.

[77]. On July 16, 1871, the Haswell and New Durham (Coxhoe) branches were
combined and called the Castle Eden Branch (I am assuming with the Castle
Eden branch as well). Apparently after the break–up of Trimdon Branch, the
Saints first gravitate to Wingate and then finally to Castle Eden (with the saint

the Trimdon Branch was organized by combining five separate branches in 1856, the rate of convert baptisms and membership numbers decreased dramatically, at least partially due to emigration. I have not been able to locate any extant historical documents regarding any of these thirteen branches or their members after 1871. The historical account from this area, if not the Church itself, abruptly disappears.

The first mention of the Church in the South Shields area was at a District Conference held on June 18, 1848, although a branch had not yet been organized there.[78] While the Church in South Shields did not enjoy the longevity of the Sunderland Branch, the branch record still spans an entire century: from 1848 to 1948.[79] This can at least partially be explained by the sizeable population in this area. Unlike the small colliery towns mentioned above, the population of South Shields was already 12,000 in 1801, and grew to over 80,000 by the turn of the century.[80] Although the coal industry was strong here, South Shields was not entirely dependent on coal, having several maritime industries, including shipbuilding, which helped sustain the population and the Church membership.

Like most of the branches in historic County Durham, the initial growth of this branch can be primarily attributed to the efforts of local missionaries. One of the first and by far the most prolific was Isaac Burnhope, who was baptized on June 5, 1847 by Ebenezer Gillies of the Sunderland Branch.[81] This pattern was common, as new con-

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from the Haswell/New Durham areas). When it re-emerges, most of the people who had been members of these other branches are on the branch record. The latest date on the branch record is 1855. No one on this record is baptized after 1855, and I can find no further mention of the Church in this area after 1871. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Shincliff Branch History," Church History Library.

[78].“Conference Minutes,” *Millennial Star*, September 15, 1848, 279.

[79]. *South Shields Branch Record*, film no. 87033, Item 1-4, Record of Members 1848–1948, Family History Library.

[80]. For more information on South Shields, see http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/History_of_South_ Shields and Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894 at http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/SShields/. It was also famous for its maritime industries including shipbuilding.

[81]. *Sunderland Branch Record*, film no. 86995, Item 23, Record of Members 1847–1900, Family History Library.

verts who had been ordained to the priesthood would engage in prose-
lytizing activities in the neighbouring towns on nights and weekends,
bringing in new converts, who themselves would begin preaching as
soon as they were ordained. After proselytizing 31 people in the South
Shields Branch[82] while labouring as a local missionary for 21 years,
Isaac finally emigrated to Utah.[83]

The next three branches to emerge in this area either originat-
ed or were perpetuated through the efforts of a single local missionary:
Joseph Foster Doxford. He organized the Marley Hill Branch at Marley
Hill Colliery in February 1854, proselytizing more than half of the
membership himself. Despite his efforts, the branch only remained
until September 8, 1855.[84]

The next branch he worked in was the Jarrow Branch, which
was actually a reorganization of the Wallsend Branch that occurred on
June 22, 1856.[85] Jarrow, situated on the south side of the Tyne River
directly across from Wallsend, Northumberland, was greatly impacted
by the Industrial Revolution. Although it had a colliery, its primary
industry was shipbuilding. Established in 1852, Palmers Shipyard em-
ployed 80% of the population until 1934. Despite having a relatively
large population of 3,835 in 1851, it nearly doubled to 6,494 by 1861,

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[82]. *South Shields Branch Record*, film no. 87033, Item 1–4, Record of Members
1848–1948, Family History Library.

[83]. According to the Mormon Migration Index, he left for Utah on June 4,
1868 from Liverpool and arrived in Utah August 19, 1868. See
http://lib.byu.edu/mormonmigration/results.php?q=isaac+burnhope and see
http://www.findagrave.com/cgi–bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=41943284. Unfor-
tunately, he died February 15, 1869, and his obituary reads: "Died: At the
residence of Thomas Wallace, his son–in–law, in this City, of erysipelas, Elder
Isaac Burnhope, aged 60 years and 3 months. Deceased was lately from South
Shields, England, and has been sick since his arrival on the 19th of last August.
Mill. Star, please copy." *Deseret News Weekly*, 17 Feb 1869, 20.

[84]. *Marley Hill Branch Records*, film no. 87018, Item 12–13, *Record of Members
1854–1855*, Family History Library. See Wilson, *History, Topography and Direc-
tory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894. For more information about Marley
Hill, see http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner
/genuki/DUR/Whickham/.

[85]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Jarrow
Branch History," Church History Library.

and quadrupled to 24,361 by 1871.[86] Notwithstanding this population growth, because of the emigration of many members, the Jarrow Branch was combined with the South Shields Branch in 1859, [87] was reorganized in 1868,[88] combined again with South Shields and Murton on January 11, 1891, returned to Wallsend in 1904, and was finally reorganized again in 1905, remaining until 1911.[89]

After labouring in the Jarrow Branch, Elder Doxford organized the Usworth Branch on 26 November 1858.[90] Geographically, it was very close to Jarrow, and he brought all 21 members of this branch into the Church. Usworth was a colliery town; in fact, there was not a village there prior to the opening of the Usworth Colliery in 1845.[91]

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[86]. For more information about Jarrow, see Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894, http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/JarrowTown/ and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarrow.

[87]. Jarrow becomes part of the South Shields branch March 13, 1859. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Jarrow Branch History," Church History Library.

[88]. Jarrow is reorganized on March 13, 1868, *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Jarrow Branch History," Church History Library.

[89]. Jarrow returned to Wallsend 1903–1904, but returns to Jarrow in 1905 (see below) and stays there through 1917. On Sunday, February 8, 1904 indicates that the decision was made to change the name of the Hebburn branch to the Hebburn–Wallsend branch. I also have a 1904 branch record of the Hebburn–Wallsend branch. Hebburn was in historic County Durham, and Wallsend was in historic Northumberland County. On July 23, 1905 the decision was made to change their meeting location to Jarrow (DCBH-2), or effectively combine with the Jarrow Branch. On March 5, 1907, the *Hebburn Branch History* indicates the travelling elders were removed from the Jarrow branch on account of no tracting (the area having been so thoroughly tracted out.) Hebburn branch history continues through January 2, 1910. The Jarrow branch record continues through 1917. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Jarrow Branch History," "Hebburn Branch History," Church History Library.

[90]. *Usworth Branch Record*, Film no. 87037, Items 5-6, Record of Members, 1858–1859, Family History Library.

[91]. For more information regarding Usworth, see John Marius Wilson, Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales (1870-72) at   http://visionofbritain.org.uk /place/place page.jsp?p_id=3440.

Later this branch was dissolved, and the members became part of the Spennymoor, Newcastle, Jarrow or Wallsend Branches.[92]

The next branch to emerge in this area was at Seaham.[93] Little is known about the origin of this branch because the only extant historical evidence of its existence is a November 1862 list of branches in the Durham Conference.[94] Seaham as a town has a rich history, extending back for centuries, but prior to the Londonderry family's personal and business exploits, this small hamlet had a population that numbered as few as 153 residents up through 1841. However, after the establishment of the Seaham and Seaton collieries, the population grew to 2591 by 1861. A careful analysis of the historical record reveals that it likely grew into what later became the Murton Branch, which was organized May 25, 1879.[95] Like Seaham, Murton had been a sleepy village until the onset of the Industrial Revolution, growing from 98 residents in 1831 to 4710 in 1881.[96] Even with this population increase, the Murton and Seaham branches merged with the Jarrow and South Shields Branch on January 11, 1891, and continued as such through 1894.[97]

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[92]. *Spennymoor Branch Record*, film no.87033, item 15, Record of Members 1880–1895, Family History Library. *Newcastle Branch Record*, film no.87021, item 1–7, Record of Members 1836–1922, Family History Library. *Jarrow Branch Record*, film no. 87006, item 13, Record of Members 1849–1917, Family History Library. *Wallsend Branch Record*, film no. 87037, item 11, Record of Members 1858–1859, Family History Library.

[93]. For more information regarding Seaham, see http://visionofbritain. org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=788. Population changes in the 19th century, see http://durhamrecordsonline.com /literature/old_seaham.php.

[94]. Members of Durham Conference 1862, film no 86995, Item 23, *Record of members, 1817–1871,* Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[95]. Murton Branch Record, film no. 87020, Item 7, Record of members, 1878–1882, Family History Library.

[96]. For more information on Murton, see http://www.durhamrecordsonline .com / literature/murton.php.

[97]. Murton Branch Record and branch record entitled "Jarrow and South Shields Branch" Library British Film 87006 Item 16 Murton Branch Record, film no. 87020, Item 7, Record of members, 1878–1882, Family History Library. Jarrow and South Shields Branch Record, film no. 87006, Item 16, Record of members 1878–1882, Family History Library.

Two other branches that existed in this area, but for which there is limited historical documentation, were the Consett and Leadgate branches. According to the Sunderland Branch History, an Elder W. B. Preston organized a branch in Consett on Sunday, December 1, 1867.[98] Consett was a centre for the iron and steel industries during this time period.[99] While there is no historical evidence for this branch besides this single entry in Elder Preston's journal, there was a coking coal pit sunk here that for a time was name the "Saints Pit" or "Latter-day Saints Pit" because, it is noted, all 123 pitmen were members of the Consett or Leadgate Branches.[100]

The last two branches in this area emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century. On July 23, 1893, the Hebburn Branch was organized by President Anthon H. Lund, who at that time was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the European Mission president.[101] Interestingly, Hebburn was not a colliery town in 1893; most of the inhabitants of this town were employed in chemical works and shipbuilding.[102] About the time the Hebburn Branch was closed (January 25, 1911), a robust branch emerged in nearby Gateshead, comprised of 429 members, with the first baptisms occurring in 1909

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[98]. See Hughes, *Sunderland Ward History*, vol. 1 (1843–1900), 44, MS 19667, Church History Library.

[99]. For more information on Consett, See http://www.keystothepast.info/durhamcc/K2P.nsf/K2PDetail?readform&PRN=D6768.

[100]. Sheila Laverick Hughes, the author of the *Sunderland Ward History* referred to several times in this document, has done extensive research into the "Latter-day Saint Pit" at Consett. Copies of personal correspondence between her and the LDS Church Historical Department establishing a branch in Leadgate, as well as her other published and unpublished notes verifying the Latter-day Saint Pit in Consett, are in the possession of this author.

[101]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hebburn Branch," Church History Library.

[102]. However, the Hebburn Branch History mentions that missionaries opened a "new field of labour" in Hebburn Colliery on June 18, 1904 "and had good success." For information on Hebburn, see http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=905. This would explain the lateness of the branch—most of the population was employed in shipbuilding and chemical works, not coal. Other local histories agree—see http://tvwiki.tv/wiki/ Hebburn. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hebburn Branch," Church History Library.

and continuing through the early 1940s.[103] It would appear from historical patterns and extant data that Gateshead likely became the new gathering place for all Latter–day saints in this area (with the exception of South Shields) after 1917.[104]

Moving south and east down the coast, the next area of Church growth was at Hartlepool, where a branch was organized in 1849.[105] Hartlepool was originally a shipping and fishing town, with large iron and brass works, but it was drawn headlong into the Industrial Revolution when it became part of an important coal exporting centre, with population increasing from 1,330 in 1831 to 9,503 in 1851.[106] The first local missionary in this area was Robert Blackett, a shipwright. He was baptized while living in London on August 30, 1841, and his wife Eleanor followed him one week later. Robert was active as a local missionary in London, proselytizing many there. Eventually the couple moved to Hartlepool where he could practice his trade, and Robert and Eleanor became the first two residents of County Durham who had been baptized into the LDS Church.[107] Beginning April 15, 1849 he served as a local missionary and the first president

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[103]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hebburn Branch," Church History Library. Gateshead Branch Record See http://www.londonfhc.org/content/catalogue?p=England,England,Durham, Gateshead&f=1.

[104]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Jarrow Branch," Church History Library.

[105]. On 14 Jan 1849, it was moved that Thomas Campsey, living at Hartlepool be ordained a priest. There are conflicting records, one stating that this branch was organized on 15 April 1849 with Robert Blackett as president. A second record states this branch was organized on 15 of June 1849. All of this information comes from the *Hartlepool Branch History, British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hartlepool Branch," Church History Library.

[106]. For more information regarding Hartlepool, see the 1887 edition of John Bartholomew's Gazetteer of the British Isles at http://www.visionofbritain. org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=946. See also, Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894, http://joinermarriage index.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki /DUR/HartlepoolTown/index.html. There was no mining activity in the Hartlepool area.

[107]. Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, The First London Mormons: 1840–1845: "What am I and my Brethren here for?", Thesis (M.A.), Brigham Young University, Department of History, 1988, pages 53, 113, 144, 161, 162, 193, 196.

of the Hartlepool Branch, where he brought 48 people into the Church[108] before he emigrated in 1856.[109] The success he and others experienced during that time period led to two other branches "growing out of" the Hartlepool Branch: both the Stockton and Feasby Branches.[110] However, it appears that Robert and Eleanor must have been successful in persuading most of the members Robert had proselytized to emigrate with them, because the branch record indicates that the Hartlepool Branch was dissolved in 1856 "due to a lack of members."[111]

This branch re-emerged in 1876 and records show its continued activity through 1910.[112] John Jackson was the local missionary responsible for much of this resurgence and growth, proselytizing 26

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[108]. *Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no. 87001, Items 31–33, Record of Members, 1842–1904 Family History Library.

[109]. On May 4, 1856 he emigrated to the U.S. from Liverpool. See Mormon Migration Index: http://lib.byu.edu/mormonmigration/person.php?id=9627 &q=robert%20blackett. After crossing the plains by handcart (see: http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/1,15791,4018-1-50904,00.html), he and Eleanor settled in Nephi, Utah, where he lived until his death on December 19, 1878, at 71 years of age. See http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=66062252.

[110]. *Hartlepool Branch History*, entry for Saturday December 10, 1853. The Stockton-On-Tees Branch will be discussed later in this paper, but no other information regarding the Feasby Branch is extant in any historical document extant—no branch record, branch history, or other mention of it. What is more, there is no extant evidence of a location by that place name in the historic county of Durham. However, there is mention of a "Faceby Branch," which, like the rest of these branches, was part of the Newcastle Conference. See http://jakesbarn.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&_id= 30&Itemid=1.

[111]. *Hartlepool Branch History* indicates that the branch became disorganized in 1856 due to lack of members. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hartlepool Branch," Church History Library.

[112]. The *Hartlepool Branch History* contains *Millennial Star* entries regarding this branch from Thursday, May 18, 1876 through 1910. It also includes this statement: "The genealogical record of this branch showed that 37 members registered for baptism between 14 February 1849 and May 28, 1903." The last entry showing five persons were baptized on August 25, 1910. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hartlepool Branch," Church History Library.

people into the Church.[113] Like his predecessor Robert Blackett, he also served as the branch president.[114] However, unlike Robert, John never was able to emigrate, but continued to serve faithfully here for 40 years.[115]

Like Hartlepool, Stockton had no collieries, being beyond the most southerly reaches of the Durham coalfield. However, it had always been a large port town on the Tees River, with a population of over 4,000 as early as 1801. In consequence of the formation of the railways to the coalfields and the progress of trade in the port, Stockton's population grew to 5,006 by 1831, and to 10,172 by 1851.[116] Perhaps because of this phenomenal growth, on December 7, 1851, at a session of the Newcastle–upon–Tyne Conference, it was resolved that the five scattered members of the Hartlepool Branch[117] at Stockton–On–Tees be organized into a branch, and Benjamin Robinson was ordained an elder and appointed to preside.[118] However, two months later President Robinson emigrated,[119] and the small branch

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[113]. *Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no. 87001, Items 31–33, Record of Members 1842–1904, Family History Library.

[114]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Hartlepool Branch," Church History Library.

[115]. The *Sunderland Branch History* mentioned John Jackson as an elderly man who had served faithfully for 40 years, taken from an excerpt in Elder Frederick A. Mitchell's mission journal, Sunderland, Thursday 14th Dec. 1899: "Then we called on bro. John Jackson, an elderly man. He is an Elder, and with his wife, now old and feeble. Have been in the Church some 40 years. The old lady is confined to her bed the greater part of the time. At her request we administered to her. Elder Haslem administered the oil, and I sealed the anointing. These are good people." See Hughes, *Sunderland Ward History*, 2005, vol. 1 (1843–1900), 74.

[116]. For information regarding Stockton, see *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894 at http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner /genuki/DUR/Stockton/index.html and http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk /place/place_page.jsp?p_id=867 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stockton- on-Tees.

[117]. Mention is made of the existence of the Stockton and Feasby branches, "having grown out of the Hartlepool branch" See *Hartlepool Branch History*.

[118]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Stockton–On–Tees Branch History," Church History Library.

[119]. See Mormon Migration index: http://lib.byu.edu/mormonmigration /results.php?q=benjamin+robinson access July 28, 2011.

was dissolved. It was later reorganized on Oct. 9, 1853[120], with William Littlefair as branch president, and he served faithfully until his death on September 26, 1877.[121] Brother Littlefair also served as a local missionary in both this and the Hartlepool Branch. He laboured fearlessly, despite the intense opposition that prevailed at that time. On Sept. 2, 1875, travelling Elder Andrew Galloway reported that "Brother Littlefair and the brethren from Stockton have been very diligent this summer, preaching in the market place every Sunday evening to large meetings, but have met with a great deal of opposition. About three weeks ago brother Littlefair was very much abused at the close of the meeting by certain parties who formed a mob.... Sunday evening the 29th... brother Littlefair spoke for an hour and a quarter to about one thousand persons. It was the most unruly meeting I have attended in years."[122] Upon Brother Littlefair's death, Thomas Mitchell, another local elder, became branch president and served for many years, and, like the Hartlepool Branch, the Stockton Branch continued robust until 1910.[123]

The Hartlepool and Stockton Branches remained the only LDS Church units in south County Durham for almost 50 years. On May 15, 1900, the Darlington Branch was organized, and it continued with a sizeable membership through 1925.[124] At the beginning of the

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[120]. Stockton–On–Tees Branch History contains a detailed twenty–two–page record of this branch from 1851 through 1913. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Stockton–On–Tees Branch History," Church History Library.

[121]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Stockton–On–Tees Branch History," Church History Library.

[122]. Andrew Galloway, "Correspondence," Millennial Star, October 11, 1875, 654. Elder William Littlefair also published a broadside advertising his lectures, entitled, "The inhabitants of Hartlepool and surrounding neighbourhood are respectfully informed, that a course of six lectures will be delivered, in Mr. Bell's school room, Darlington Street, by the following elders of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter–day Saints. [1854]; See http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/MormonBib/id/2729.

[123]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Stockton–On–Tees Branch History," Church History Library.

[124]. The *Darlington Branch Record* also includes the very small "Skelton" branch membership. Incidentally, on the first page, the name "Darlington" is scratched

nineteenth century Darlington was just a small market town, but due to the development of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, Darlington became the centre of the industrial district in South Durham and is regarded as the birthplace of the modern railroad.[125] Just five months after the organizing of this branch, the West Hartlepool Branch was also organized, on October 29, 1900. It appears that this branch was formed from a collection of members who had been baptized previously in other locations. Baptisms here continued through August of 1930.[126] Like the other towns in this southern region, West Hartlepool was an outgrowth of the railway and shipping interests of the coal industry, and this dock and the town that became associated with it were actually created in 1839 by a railway entrepreneur who was frustrated with the situation at Hartlepool. By 1881 West Hartlepool had grown to 28,000 residents, more than twice the size of Hartlepool, and it continued to expand in population until it exceeded 63,000 by 1900, the year this branch was organized.[127] Although both of the original branches at Hartlepool and Stockton vanished after 1910, the branches at Darlington and West Hartlepool continued to thrive through 1925 and 1930 respectively, presumably incident to the port and railway industries, with their expanding populations.[128]

The final area that experienced the organization of branches of the Church during this period was geographically situated in the southwest corner of the Durham coalfield in or around Bishop Auck-

out and replaced by "Skelton," but this must have been done after 1925. *Darlington Branch Record*, film no.86994, Item 3, Record of Members 1900–1929.

[125]. For more information on Darlington, see http:// visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.p_id=785andhttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Darlington. jsp?

[126]. *West Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no.87038, Items 11–12, Record of Members 1864–1948, Family History Library.

[127]. For more information regarding Old Hartlepool and West Hartlepool, see http://www.englandsnortheast.co.uk/Hartlepool.html, and http://visionof britain .org.uk /place/place_page.jsp?p_id=273.

[128]. *Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no. 87001, Items 31–33, Record of Members 1842–1904, Family History Library. Stockton Branch Record, film no. 87034, Items 12–15, Record of Members 1845–1913 Family History Library. Darlington Branch Record, film no. 86994, Item 3, Record of Members 1900–1929, Family History Library. West *Hartlepool Branch Record*, film no. 87038, Items 11–12, Record of Members 1864–1948, Family History Library.

land. The first branch in that area was organized at Crook sometime in 1853, with Joseph Doxford as president.[129] Crook was a tiny agricultural hamlet until coal was discovered there in 1844. It was very close to the surface and was therefore easier to mine, and at one time there were 26 operating pits in and around the vicinity. Of course this created a population explosion, and the number of inhabitants increased from 538 in 1841 to 3,946 in 1851.[130] The saints in Tottingham, Spennymoor and B'yers Green were included in the Crook Branch until October 1, 1854, when the branch was divided, and the original Crook Branch's name was changed to the Witton–le-Wear Branch.[131] A likely reason for this was the labours of a local missionary named David Richards. David was from Wales and relocated to Witton Park because of the iron works there. He was a puddler, or one who turns pig iron into wrought iron through a process called puddling, which was a highly skilled art. He was baptized on March 8, 1857, and began serving as a local missionary shortly thereafter. Beginning in April 1857, he baptized most of the people on the Witton–le-Wear Branch record (13).[132]

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[129]. Crook Branch Record, film no.87038, items 43-44, Record of Members 1852–1860, Family History Library.

[130]. There were over fifty collieries in this area! See http://www.dur.ac.uk/4schools/Localhistory/history.htm.

[131]. According to the Crook Branch History, at a council meeting held Oct. 1, 1854, the name of the branch was changed from Crook to Witton le-wear. However, according to the Witton–le-Wear Branch History, a the meeting was actually held on September 30, 1854: "At a session of the Newcastle Conference held on September 30, 1854 the Crook Branch was divided, and the Whitton–le-Wear Branch was organized, with W. Jones as president." It is likely both histories are accurate, in that it was a two-day conference. The Witton–Le-Wear branch record continues through December 27, 1857, with 9 members, including 2 elders. Citation: Crook and Witton–le-Wear Branch Histories. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971,* "Crook Branch History, Witton–le-Wear Branch History," Church History Library.

[132]. See Witton–le-Wear Branch Record. He immigrated with his wife Margaret and their children on March 30, 1860, and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley August 27 of the same year. He lived until April 22, 1902. See http://lib.byu.edu/mormonmigration/person.php?id=91784&q=david%20richards and http://lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/1,15791,4018-1-22767,00.html . All of the family members listed in these immigration and

Witton–le–Wear was also a coal town that eventually had 22 collieries, the first pit sunk in 1796. However, the coal industry did not have a dramatic impact on the population at the time of this branch, being only 918 in 1851 and 1,366 in 1861.[133] Perhaps this is one reason the historical record of the Witton–le–Wear Branch indicates that: "The Witton–le–wear Branch was called the Crook Branch until 1 Oct. 1854 [and] it became part of the Evenwood Branch 18 Mar. 1860."[134] However, the Evenwood Branch closed the very next year in 1861 and became part of the Tottingham Branch.[135]

The saints in Tottingham were organized into their own branch on 1 October 1854, the day the Crook Branch was divided into this branch and the Witton–le–Wear Branch.[136] The village of Tottingham was located southeast of where Coundon is today. The population of this area in 1801 was only 163, but doubled every 10 years in the 1820s and 1830s, and then slowed by 1851. In 1856 it was said that the village was chiefly occupied by the colliers employed in the neighbouring mines.[137] The Tottingham Branch history continued

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overland trail records are on the Witton–le–wear branch record, confirming this is him and his family. Witton–le–Wear Branch Record, film no.87038, items 43-44, Record of Members 1852–1860, Family History Library.

[133]. For more information regarding Witton–le–Wear, see Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whelan, London, 1894, http://joiner marriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner /genuki/DUR/WittonleWear/index.html.

[134]. See Witton–le–Wear Branch Record. For information regarding Evenwood, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evenwood. Witton–le–Wear Branch Record, film no.87038, items 43-44, Record of Members 1852–1860, Family History Library.

[135]. *Evenwood Branch Record*. All members listed on the Evenwood branch record were transferred to this branch from the Witton–le–wear branch. There are no records after 1861. I believe this branch eventually combined with the Tottingham Branch which continued much longer—until 1874. Tottingham Branch Record, film no. 0086995, Item 22, Record of members, 1864-1874. Evenwood Branch Record, film no. 86997, Item 10, Record of Members 1853–1861, Family History Library.

[136]. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Tottingham Branch," Church History Library.

[137]. It is impossible to find a community by the name of "Tottingham" in any contemporary records, but see http://trunkcallsblog.blogspot.com/2008/09 /tottenham–and–coundon–county–durham.html, and http://keystothepast.info

for almost 20 years, through March 1, 1874, having taken in the saints from the former Crook, Witton–le–Wear, and Evenwood branches. [138] Perhaps one of the main reasons for the success of the Tottingham Branch over the others was the labour of local missionary William Coulthard, who served in 1860 in both the Tottingham and Evenwood Branches. He later served as the branch president of the Tottingham Branch from 1866 through 1874,[139] and then after its dissolution in 1877 he became the president of the South Church Branch in 1877. In all, he proselytized over 60 converts in these three branches, most of them in Tottingham. One of his converts was Abraham Smurthwaite, who became an important local missionary in the South Church Branch.[140]

The next emerging branch in this area was at Spennymoor, which was first mentioned in the November 1862 list of branches in the Durham Conference.[141] According to the branch record, it was re–organized on Oct 31, 1880, although there were upwards of 50 members baptized before that reorganization date.[142] Spennymoor was built on coal mining, but in 1853 the Weardale Iron and Coal Company opened its great ironworks at Tudhoe. As a result, many hundred emigrants came from the Midlands, and with the opening of the mine at Page Bank and with the sinking of a new pit at Tudhoe in the 1880s;

/miner/projects.nsf/02cf2b6f291f16de80256dd7002f1598/2b8ec7c37d021e9 080256e86003371ae?OpenDocument. See also

http://lastrp.com/?page_id=3610.

[138]. See *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971,* "Tottingham Branch," Church History Library. Tottingham Branch Record, film no. 0086995, Item 22, Record of members, 1864–1874.

[139]. Tottingham Branch Record, film no. 0086995, Item 22, Record of members, 1864–1874.

[140]. South Church Branch Record, film no. 86995, item 22, Record of Members 1875–1883, Family History Library.

[141]. Members of Durham Conference 1862, film no 86995, Item 23, Record of members, 1817–1871, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter–day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[142]. Spennymore Branch Record, film no. 87033, item 15, Record of Members 1880–1895, Family History Library.

more workers came from Wales and Lancashire. [143] As a result, this branch continued to add members until about 1890.[144]

Interestingly, May 23, 1875 is the date of the first baptism on the South Church Branch records, which is just shortly after the Tottingham Branch record ends. Because of this, and the fact that William Coulthard moved his branch presidency from Tottingham to South Church, it appears that the branch formerly known as the Tottingham Branch became the South Church Branch.[145] South Church grew from 296 inhabitants in 1831 to 1,274 in 1881, primarily due to the coal and limestone works.[146] This branch continued for only eight years, from 1875 to 1883, but in that time they added nearly 200 new converts, primarily due to the diligence of two local missionaries, Abraham Smurthwaite and Thomas J. Parmley. As already mentioned, William Coulthard baptized Abraham Smurthwaite on July 28, 1870 in the Tottingham Branch.[147] Beginning in 1875, he served as a local missionary in South Church, where he proselytized 51 converts before he emigrated in 1881. Of note, one of those converts was Thomas Parmley, who was baptized on July 23, 1876. Thomas also served as a local missionary, bringing 21 converts into the South Church

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[143]. See: http://parishes.durham.gov.uk/spennymoor/Pages/HistoryofSpenny moor.aspx.

[144]. Spennymore Branch Record, film no. 87033, item 15, Record of Members 1880–1895, Family History Library.

[145]. Tottingham and South Church Branch Records. See also "Tottingham Branch History." Notice that the Church leaders of the Tottingham Branch History are the same men who are performing the majority of the ordinances and have their names recorded in the South Church Branch Record. South Church Branch Record, film no. 86995, item 22, Record of Members 1875–1883, Family History Library. Tottingham Branch Record, film no. 0086995, Item 22, Record of members, 1864–1874.

[146]. See Wilson, *History, Topography and Directory of Durham*, Whellan, London, 1894, http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/AucklandSt Andrew/index.html. There were eleven collieries, the first one being sunk in the 1830s. In 1870–72, John Marius Wilson's Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales described Auckland St Andrew like this: "Coal and limestone are extensively worked." See http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/descriptions/ entry_page.jsp?text_id=879580.

[147]. Tottingham Branch Record, film no. 0086995, Item 22, Record of members, 1864–1874. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Tottingham Branch," Church History Library.

Branch.[148] In 1879 he was made the president of the branch,[149] a position he occupied until he also emigrated in 1881.[150]

Coinciding with the dissolution of the branch at South Church was the organization of a branch at Pelton, which occurred on April 15, 1883, with many people being baptized in 1909 and 1910. The branch continued through 1912, and then it merged with the Shildon Branch, which was organized on July 13, 1913, and continued through 1928.[151] During the time when the Church organization seems to have shifted to Pelton, there are records of six people being ordained at Witton Park,[152] and the Crook Branch was reorganized in 1889 and again "temporarily" in 1891.[153] Still, the Church organization was only able to maintain stability in Pelton. It is difficult to ascertain exactly why the Pelton Branch is tied to the South Church and Shildon Branches, because Pelton is 35 kilometres away, and South Church and Shildon are only a distance of 3.5 kilometres apart.

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[148]. South Church Branch Record, film no. 86995, item 22, Record of Members 1875–1883, Family History Library.

[149]. Record of him representing the South Church Branch as its president at district conferences was noted twice in the Millennial Star. See John Irvine, "Minutes of a Conference," Millennial Star, April 14, 1879, 225; and C.L. French, "Minutes of Newcastle and Durham Conference," Millennial Star, October 13, 1879, 652.

[150]. On June 7, 1888 he was ordained a high priest and made the Bishop of the Pleasant Valley Ward in Carbon County, Utah, by Heber J. Grant. See Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 4 vols., (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1936), 4:438.

[151]. Shildon Branch Record, film no. 87032, item 2, Record of Members 1904–1931, Family History Library.

[152]. For more information regarding Witton Park, see http://www.durham.anglican.org/userfiles/file/Durham%20Website/News%20and%20Events/Vacancies/Parish-profile-witton%20park.pdf.

[153]. According to the Crook Branch History, On February 10, 1889 the Crook branch was organized again. The branch was represented by Elder Orson Merrill at a Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference 1–2 Nov. 1890. At a subsequent meeting on 22 Feb 1891, the branch was given a "temporary organization" with Thomas Naylor as the temporary president. On 26 March 1891 Elder George A. Rimington wrote in the MS (53:228) that there were no organized branches in the district of Spennymoor. But on 4 Nov 1900, it is referred to as the Crook District. *British Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1841–1971*, "Crook Branch," Church History Library.

Despite this, the Pelton Branch grew out of the South Church Branch in 1883, and was absorbed by the Shildon Branch in 1913.[154] Perhaps this is an indication of just how spread out Church membership in this area became at the turn of the century, incident to both emigration and the increasing unpopularity of the Church. Pelton, of course, was a colliery town,[155] and Shildon was drawn into the Industrial Revolution because of its involvement in the railway industry.[156]

THE EFFECTS OF GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the history and development of the Church in historic County Durham during the seventy–year period of 1843–1913 was the increase in the rate of convert baptisms in successive decades. County Durham experienced a reverse trend from the rest of the British Mission: 71% of convert baptisms that occurred in the entire British Mission during the seventy–year period of 1843 to 1913 occurred during the first 22–year period of 1843 to 1865. In contrast, only 21% of the overall baptisms occurred in County Durham during that same period. Conversely, only 16% of baptisms that took place in the entire British Mission during the 70–year period of 1843 to 1913 occurred during the last 30–year period of 1884 to 1913, compared to 63% of convert baptisms occurring in County Durham during the same time period. See Table 1 below:

British Mission Total Convert Baptisms, 1843–	County Durham Total Convert Baptisms, 1843–1913: 2,756

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[154]. Shildon Branch Record, film no. 87032, item 2, Record of Members 1904–1931, Family History Library. South Church Branch Record, film no. 86995, item 22, Record of Members 1875–1883, Family History Library.

[155]. For more information regarding Pelton, see http://visionofbritain.org.uk/place /place_page.jsp?p_id=3173.

[156]. For more information regarding the important town of Shildon, see" Wilson, Topography and Directory of Durham, Whellan, London, 1894, at http://joinermarriageindex.co.uk/pjoiner/genuki/DUR/AucklandStAndrew/index.html, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shildon, and http://www.keystothepast.info/durhamcc/K2P.nsf/K2PDetail? readform&PRN=D6881. Shildon It also had 10 collieries nearby.

1913: 105,092 (100%)	(2.62% of Mission Baptisms)
1843–1855: 55,397 (53%)	1843–1855: 525 (19%)
1856–1865: 18,613 (18%)	1856–1865: 134 (5%)
1866–1875: 8,677 (8%)	1866–1875: 106 (4%)
1876–1883: 6,280 (6%)	1876–1883: 243 (9%)
1884–1893: 3,807 (4%)	1884–1893: 421 (15%)
1894–1903: 5,074 (5%)	1894–1903: 610 (22%)
1904–1913: 7,244 (7%)	1904–1913: 717 (26%)

Table 1: Comparison of Baptismal Rates by Conference and Mission

How can we account for the dramatic increase in convert baptisms in County Durham during the thirty-year period of 1884 to 1913, especially considering the fact that overall, the rate of convert baptisms was declining elsewhere in the British Mission? I believe this can best be explained by local factors: Coal production reached its zenith in 1913, and mining and associated industries in this county required an ever-increasing workforce throughout this seventy-year period. This in turn led to a sustained population explosion. Interestingly, according to the British census returns, the population increase during the thirty-year period that most closely coincides with the time period in which convert baptisms were increasing in County Durham (while decreasing elsewhere), was the most dramatic population increase in the history of County Durham—going from 329,385 in 1881 to 492,503 in 1911—a 50% increase in total population. It is likely that this had an effect on the increased rate of convert baptisms.

CONCLUSION

The Durham Conferences was situated in the context of the Industrial Revolution in Victorian England. The most unique aspect of the Church during the first seventy years of its existence in County Durham was the accelerated rate of convert baptisms occurring during the final 30 years—coinciding with the apex of coal production in that county. While every other conference in the British Mission was experiencing a reduction in convert baptisms and total membership,

caused by several factors, including the declining public perception of the Church as well as its emigration policy, the Church in County Durham experienced a significant increase in convert baptisms. This can be partially explained by the population explosion experienced in County Durham, incident to the demand for labour in the expanding coal and related industries.

In addition, the significant contribution made by converts who laboured as local or full-time travelling missionaries led to the establishment of 34 branches and 2,756 convert baptisms during this seventy-year period. The majority of those engaged in proselytizing activities were local converts, and as a result, the majority of convert baptisms resulted from their efforts.

Many of these branches had their beginnings in the relatively small colliery villages that dotted the countryside, eventually fading away by the turn of the century, due to emigration and migration to other areas. On the other hand, areas where Church growth continued during the final three decades were the larger urban centres like Sunderland, South Shields, Jarrow, Hebburn, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Stockton, Darlington, and West Hartlepool. These larger towns had one thing in common: None of them were colliery towns, and while they were involved in different aspects of the coal industry, their sustainable growth seems to be attributed to the fact that they were engaged in a diversity of industries, including metallurgy, shipbuilding, chemicals, and the railroad. Therefore, while the continued growth of the Church and the county population is directly and indirectly attributed to the coal industry, during this seventy-year period sustainable Church growth required more than a colliery town—it required a diversity of industries in a larger urban centre.