



2014-11-13

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Original Publication Citation

J. Michael Hunter, "Mormonism in Europe: A Bibliographic Essay" (unpublished manuscript, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, April 2010), 1-45.

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Hunter, J. Michael, "Mormonism in Europe: A Bibliographic Essay" (2014). *All Faculty Publications*. 1389.
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/1389>

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MORMONISM IN EUROPE: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

BY

J. MICHAEL HUNTER

This essay surveys studies useful to serious students and researchers interested in Mormonism in Europe. It focuses on scholarly books, articles, theses, and dissertations, and, out of necessity, is selective. Works of a more popular nature are included only when they contain information valuable to researchers not found in other publications. The studies listed herein are generally categorized by region and country and fall in a somewhat chronological order by topic within those geographic regions.

EUROPE

The worldwide growth of Mormonism has spurred several attempts at single-volume surveys of international Mormonism, including James R. Moss et al., *The International Church* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Publications, 1982) and Donald Q. Cannon et al., *Unto Every Nation: Gospel Light Reaches Every Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003). The broad scope of these publications results in sketchy treatments of Mormonism in Europe. Bruce A. Van Orden attempted to provide the first book-length, comprehensive survey focused exclusively on Europe with his *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996). Designed as a one-volume popular survey, this much maligned publication was selective on details, general in treatment, and heavily dependent on secondary sources. Yet, its value to students and researchers in providing background information and a quick overview should not be underestimated. Several other popular surveys of Mormonism in European regions and countries are listed in this essay for this same reason. Anthologies about Mormonism in Europe are dissected in appropriate sections below.

For very brief overviews of Mormonism in individual European countries, refer to the *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2000); and the *2010 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret

News, 2010). Sketches in the latter are based mainly on *Church News* articles. Andrew Jenson provides informative sketches of European ecclesiastical units, including missions, wards, and branches in his *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941). Jenson compiled his mini histories from larger unit histories in the Church Historian's Office. Countries not receiving an individual entry in this essay will likely have a sketch in one of these three reference works.

Looking first at works related to Europe in general and beginning with 19th-century missionary work, James R. Christianson discusses the broad concept of "gathering" and its relationship to missionary work and migration from Europe in "The Gathering to Zion—Its Nature and Implications" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: British Isles*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990), 115-131. Richard L. Jensen looks at the administration of European missionary efforts in "Without Purse or Scrip? Financing Latter-day Saint Missionary Work in Europe in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 3-14; and David J. Whittaker focuses on missionary publications in "John Taylor and Mormon Imprints in Europe, 1840-54" in *Champion of Liberty: John Taylor*, ed. Mary Jane Woodger (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2009), 110-142.

Publications looking generally at Mormon European migration include John Alden Olsen, "Proselytism, Immigration and Settlement of Foreign Converts to the Mormon Culture in Zion," *Journal of the West* 6 (April 1967): 189-204; and Davis Bitton and Gordon Irving, "The Continental Inheritance" in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 221-250.

Looking to the early 20th century, Heber J. Grant's assignment as European Mission president is the topic of Ronald W. Walker's "Heber J. Grant's European Mission, 1903-1906," *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 16-33; and Thomas G. Alexander looks at the struggle of European missions in the early 20th century in "Die Europäische Missionen, 1900-1930: Die Schwierigkeiten des Evangelium im Fruhen 20. Jahrhundert zu Verbreiten," *HLT Forum* 3 (Spring 1987): 45-51.

The American Latter-day Saint soldier's encounter with Europe is the main focus of Robert C. Freeman and Dennis A. Wright's *Saints at War: Experiences of Latter-day Saints in World War II* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2001); and Paul H. Kelly and Lin H. Johnson's *Courage in a Season of War: Latter-day Saints Experience World War II* (N.p.: P. Kelly and L. Johnson, 2002); although both contain a few experiences of European Latter-day Saints. David F. Boone focuses on American Latter-day Saint missionaries in Europe in "The Evacuation of Missionaries at the Outbreak of World War II" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo: Department of Church history and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 65-88. Gary James Bergera looks at the relief effort following World War II in "Ezra Taft Benson's 1946 Mission to Europe," *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (Spring 2008): 73-112. Benson's mission is also the topic of numerous popular treatments.

The international growth of Mormonism in the latter part of the 20th century and the resulting collision of cultures with its inherent tensions and problems is discussed in Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978); and F. LaMond Tullis et al., eds., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978). Related to this are the numerous studies that look at the struggle to obtain and retain Church members in Europe, including Wilfred Decoo, "Feeding the Fleeing Flock: Reflections on the Struggle to Retain Church Members in Europe," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 97-118; Gary C. Lobb, "Mormon Membership Trends in Europe among People of Color: Present and Future Studies," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33 (Winter 2000): 55-68; Rodney Stark, "Modernization, Secularization, and Mormon Success" in *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*, ed. Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 201-218; Armand L. Mauss, "Seeking a "Second Harvest": Controlling the Costs of LDS Membership in Europe," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 41 (Winter 2008):1-54; and Armand L. Mauss, "Can There Be a Second Harvest?: Controlling the Costs of Latter-day Saint Membership in Europe," *International Journal of*

Mormon Studies 1: 1 (2008): 1-59. This concept is also looked at broadly in some of the essays in Reid L. Neilson, ed., *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2008).

BRITISH ISLES

Richard L. Evans relied heavily on content from the *Millennial Star* when he wrote his 20-part series, “British Mission History,” which appeared in the *Millennial Star* from May to December 1928. The series was later compiled into the first single-volume survey of Mormonism in the British Isles entitled *A Century of ‘Mormonism’ in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1937). Evans’s work was superseded by Ben V. Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail* (Solihull, England: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), which was published as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the Church’s introduction into the British Isles and has limited use due to its lack bibliographical references.

Papers resulting from “Church history study tours” by faculty in Brigham Young University’s Department of Church History and Doctrine have been compiled into two anthologies: Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990); and Cynthia Doxey et al., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007). These publications cover a wide range of topics, including missionary work, migration, persecution, publications, media image, World War II, and historic sites. Other such anthologies are analyzed below.

The early apostolic missions to Britain are the topics of a book-length treatment by James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker entitled *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). This work provides rich coverage of its four-year focus. Numerous other studies exam this early period, including Sam Hamerman, “The Mormon Missionaries in England, 1837-1852” (M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1938); James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, “The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-

41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes,” *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 499-526; Eugene England, “A Modern Acts of the Apostles, 1840: Mormon Literature in the Making,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 79-95; Ronald W. Walker, “Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 25-36; Thomas E. Lyon, “In Praise of Babylon: Church Leadership at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London,” *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 48-61; Paul H. Peterson, “The 1857 Reformation in Britain” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 211-223; Garth N. Jones, “Who Came in Second?” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 149-154; Ronald K. Esplin, “The 1840-41 Mission to England and the Development of the Quorum of the Twelve,” and Richard D. Poll, “The British Mission during the Utah War, 1857-58” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 70-91, 224-242; Andrew H. Hedges, “Shaping the Stones: Lorenzo Snow’s Letters to Priesthood Leaders of the London Conference, November 1842,” *BYU Studies* 38:4 (1999): 6-25; Peter J. Vousden, “London Missionaries and the Great Exhibition of 1851,” *BYU Studies* 44:2 (2005): 77-98, 122-135; and Ronald G. Watt and Kenneth W. Godfrey, “‘Old 42’: The British and European Mission Headquarters in Liverpool, England, 1855-1904,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 10 (Spring 2009): 87-100.

Publications that focus on individual British missionary experiences in the 19th century include Lawrence R. Flake, “George Q. Cannon: His Missionary Years” (D.R.E. diss., Brigham Young University, 1970); Ronald W. Walker, ed. “The Willard Richards and Brigham Young 5 September 1840 Letter from England to Nauvoo,” *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 466-75; Donald Q. Cannon, “George Q. Cannon and the British Mission,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 96-112; Kenneth W. Godfrey, “Charles W. Penrose: The English Mission Years,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 113-25; Richard W. Sadler, “Franklin D. Richards and the British Mission,” *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 80-95; D. L. Davies, “From a Seion of Lands to the Land of Zion: The Life of David Bevan Jones” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 118-141; Donald R. Shaffer, “A Forgotten Missionary: Hiram Clark, Mormon Itinerant,

British Emigrant Organizer, and First President of the L.D.S. Hawaiian Mission, 1795-1853” (M.A. Thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1990); Lawrence R. Flake, *George Q. Cannon: His Missionary Years* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998); Ronald O. Barney, “Letters of a Missionary Apostle to His Wife: Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell Young, 1839-1841,” *BYU Studies* 38:2 (1999):156-201; and Robin Scott Jensen looks at Martin Harris’s work for the Strangites in “A Witness in England: Martin Harris and the Strangite Mission,” *BYU Studies* 44 (2005): 77-99. Space limitations prevent the listing in this essay of all published life writings, including missionary diaries, but students and researchers should be aware of the value of these publications in providing details of individual missionary, migration, and life experiences.

Malcolm R. Thorp discusses the background and motives of British converts in “The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52,” *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 51-66; and “Social and Religious Origins of Early English Mormons” in *World Conference on Records: Preserving Our Heritage, August 12-15*, vol. 6, series 444 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1980), 1-14. Other such works are Susan L. Fales, “The Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era: A Study in Social Composition” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984); Robert D. Hales, “The British Contribution to the Restored Gospel,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 13-24; and Grant Underwood, “The Religious Milieu of English Mormonism” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 31-48. Millenarianism among early British converts is discussed in Robert L. Lively Jr., “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” (PhD diss., Mansfield College, Oxford, England, 1977); Grant Underwood, “The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1988); and Malcom R. Thorp, “Popular Mormon Millennialism in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Journal of Mormon History* 31: 2 (Summer 2005): 89-11.

Other studies looking at 19th-century British Mormons are Leonard J. Arrington, “Mormon Women in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 67-83; and Malcom R. Thorp,

“Childhood in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain Reflected in Some LDS Sources” in *Mormon Identities in Transition*, ed. Douglas J. Davies (London and New York: Cassell, 1996).

More publications have been produced on the topic of migration of British converts than perhaps any other topic related to Mormonism in the British Isles. Studies on the topic include M. Hamlin Cannon, “Migration of English Mormons to America,” *American Historical Review* 52 (April 1947): 436-455; M. Hamlin Cannon, “The ‘Gathering’ of the British Mormons to Western America: A Study in Religious Migration” (PhD Dissertation, American University, 1950); Phillip A.M. Taylor, “Mormon Emigration from Great Britain to the United States, 1840-1870” (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1950); M. Hamlin Cannon, “English Mormons in America,” *American Historical Review* 57 (July 1952): 893-908; Wilbur S. Shepperson, “The Place of Mormons in the Religious Emigration of Britain, 1840-1860,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (July 1952): 207-218; Philip A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliver & Boyd, 1965); A.M. Taylor, “Why did British Mormons Emigrate?” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (July 1954): 249-270; Bruce A. Van Orden, “The Decline in Convert Baptisms and Member Emigration from the British Mission after 1870,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 97-105; Ray Jay Davis, “Law and the Nineteenth-Century British Mormon Migration” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 243-257; and Lily Pritchard, “Across the Waves: Mormon Emigration of British Saints, 1840-1870” (PhD diss., University of Bradford, 1989).

The earliest British immigrants arrived in Nauvoo while Joseph Smith was still alive, and publications that deal with this time period include James B. Allen, ed., “To the Saints in England: Impressions of a Mormon Immigrant (the 10 December 1840 William Clayton Letter from Nauvoo to Manchester),” *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 475-480; Richard L. Jensen, “Transplanted to Zion: The Impact of British Latter-day Saint Immigration upon Nauvoo,” *BYU Studies* 31 (Winter 1991): 76-87; and Fred E. Woods, “The Gathering of the British Saints” in *Joseph: Exploring the Life and Ministry of the Prophet*, ed. Susan Easton Black and Andrew C. Skinner (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 331-339.

Several writings look specifically at the voyage conditions and experiences of British Mormons on their way to America, including Richard L. Jensen and Gordon Irving, “The Voyage of the Amazon: A Close View of One Immigrant Company,” *Ensign* 10 (March 1980): 16-19; Fred E. Woods, “Stories of America and the Sea: ‘On Board the “International,” All Joyful and Lighthearted,’” *Log of Mystic Seaport* 51 (Summer 1999): 23-25; and Paul B. Pixton, “The Tyrian and Its Mormon Passengers,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 5 (Spring 2004): 29-52. William H. Brugger discusses British Mormon migration poetry about sea voyages in “Mormon Maritime Migration in Meter” (PhD diss., Drew University 2007). Publications that look at the British Isles as a portal for European immigrants include W.H.G. Armytage, “Liverpool, Gateway to Zion,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 48 (April 1957): 39-44; Scott Alan Carson, “Indentured Migration in America’s Great Basin: An Observation in Strategic Behavior in Cooperative Exchanges,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 157 (2001): 157; Scott Alan Carson, “Indentured Migration in America’s Great Basin: Occupational Targeting and Adverse Selection,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (Winter 2002): 387-404; Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans “Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852-1894,” *BYU Studies* 41:4 (2002): 75-102; and Fred E. Woods “The Tide of Mormon Migration Flowing through the Port of Liverpool England,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 1: 1 (2008): 60-86.

The vast majority of British immigrants made their way to Utah, and this period of migration history is discussed in Frederick S. Buchanan, “Imperial Zion: The British Occupation of Utah” in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 61-113; Vida Leigh, “A Mormon Melting Pot: Ethnic Acculturation in Cedar City, Utah, 1880-1915” (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1990); Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, “The Martin Handcart Disaster: The London Participants,” *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Fall 1995): 171-200; Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995); Scott Alan Carson, “European Immigration to America’s Great Basin, 1850-1870,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34: 4 (2004): 569-594; and David L. Wood, “‘The Dearest Laborers’: Pilgrims on the Lightning Road to Zion,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (Winter 2007): 44-62. Works that look specifically at

Mormon immigrants who became Church leaders include Dennis Rowley, "Fishing on the Kennet: The Victorian Boyhood of James E. Talmage, 1862-1876," *BYU Studies* 33:3 (1993): 480-520; and Lawrence R. Flake, "Twelve Sons of Britain: General Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Who Were Born in England" (Springville, Utah: CFI, 2008).

Studies that look at the Mormon image in the British Isles during the 19th Century include; Leonard J. Arrington, "Charles Mackay and His 'True and Impartial History' of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968): 25-40; Richard J. Dunn, "Dickens and the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 8 (Spring 1968): 325-334; Fawn M. Brodie, "Sir Richard F. Burton: Exceptional Observer of the Mormon Scene," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Fall 1970): 295-311; Laura Foster Wilson, "Richard Burton Visits the City of the Saints," *American West* 12 (January 1975): 4-9; Thomas R. Burton, "Through the Glass Darkly: Early British Perceptions of Mormonism," *Mormon Letters Annual* 1984, 1985 (1985): 141-49; Edwina Jo Snow, "British Travelers View the Saints, 1847-1877," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 63-81; M. Guy Bishop, "The Saints and the Captain: The Mormons Meet Richard F. Burton," *Journal of the West* 33 (October 1994): 28-35; Craig S. Smith, "The Curious Meet the Mormons: Images from Travel Narratives, 1850s and 1860s," *Journal of Mormon History* 24 (Fall 1998): 155-181; and Paul E. Kerry, "Thomas Carlyle's Draft Essay on the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 25: 1-2 (2006): 261-288.

Craig L. Foster has looked more specifically at anti-Mormon propaganda in the British Isle in his publications: "Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860" (M.A. thesis., Brigham Young University, 1989); "Victorian Pornographic Imagery in Anti-Mormon Literature," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 115-132; "Henry Caswall: Anti-Mormon Extraordinaire," *BYU Studies* 35:4 (1995-96): 144-159; and *Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002). Polygamy was a major focus of anti-Mormon literature and Kenneth L. Cannon II takes a legal look at it in "A Strange Encounter: The English Courts and Mormon Polygamy," *BYU Studies* 22 (Winter 1982): 73-83, while Constance L. Lieber provides a very personal profile of a polygamous wife's self-imposed exile to the

British Isles in “‘The Goose Hangs High’: Excerpts from the Letters of Martha Hughes Cannon,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 37-48.

Special topics related to 19th century British Mormons are discussed in Richard H. Cracroft, “Liverpool, 1856: Nathaniel Hawthorne Meets Orson Pratt,” *BYU Studies* 8 (Spring 1968): 270-272; Thomas E. Lyon, “Publishing a Book of Mormon Poetry: The Harp of Zion,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 84-95; Gordon K. Thomas, “The Book of Mormon in the English Literary Context of 1837,” *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 37-45; John F.C. Harrison, “The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution,” *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 3-15; and Cynthia Doxey, “The Church in Britain and the 1851 Religious Census,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 4 (Spring 2003): 106-138.

Malcolm R. Thorp looks at Mormonism’s clash with 19th-century sectarianism in “Sectarian Violence in Early Victorian Britain: The Mormon Experience, 1837-1860,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 70 (Autumn 1988): 135-47; and “Early Mormon Confrontations with Sectarianism, 1830-40” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 49-69. Richard L. Jensen looks at the administrative function of councils in 19th Century Britain in “Church Councils and Governance” and William G. Hartley discusses the creation of an ecclesiastical office unique to Britain in “LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852-55,” both in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 179-193, 194-210. Brief historical overviews of Church auxiliaries in late 19th-century and early 20th-century Britain can be found in Josephine B. Lund, “The Relief Society in Great Britain,” *Millennial Star* 92 (12 March 1931): 163-167, 169; Nettie L. Woodbury, “Primary Association of the British Mission,” *Millennial Star* 95 (24 August 1933): 547-550; and Robert E. Riggs, “The Origin and Development of Sunday Schools in the British Mission,” *Instructor* 84 (September 1949): 434-437.

Popular-media sensationalism of Mormonism in Britain in the early part of the 20th century is the topic of numerous studies, including Richard Alan Nelson, “A History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals in the Anti-Mormon Film Era, 1905-1936” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975);

Malcolm R. Thorp, “‘The Mormon Peril’: The Crusade against the Saints in Britain, 1910-1914,” *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 69-88; Malcolm R. Thorp, “Winifred Graham and the Mormon Image in England,” *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 107-121; Richard Alan Nelson, “Commercial Propaganda in the Silent Film: A Case Study of A Mormon Maid (1917),” *Film History: An International Journal* 1 (1987): 147-62; Peter J. Vousden, “The English Editor and the ‘Mormon Scare’ of 1911,” *BYU Studies* 41:1 (2002): 65-75; and Brian Q. Cannon, “‘Scandalous Film’: The Campaign to Suppress Anti-Mormon Motion Pictures, 1911-12,” *Journal of Mormon History* 29: 2 (Fall 2003): 42-76.

Malcolm R. Thorp looks at 20th-century government policies regarding Mormon missionaries in “The British Government and the Mormon Question, 1910-1922,” *Journal of Church and State* 21 (1979): 305-23. Other works that focus on missionary work in the British Isles during the 20th century include Mary Brown Firmage, “Dear Sister Zina...Dear Brother Hugh...,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 29-50; Richard L. Bushman, “The Crisis in Europe and Hugh B. Brown’s First Mission Presidency,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 51-59; D. Michael Quinn, “I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon ‘Baseball Baptism’ Era,” *Sunstone* 16 (December 1993): 30-44; Richard Mavin, “The Woodbury Years: An Insider’s Look at Baseball Baptisms in Britain,” *Sunstone* 19 (March 1996): 56-60; Cliff Bagley, *Mormon Missionaries Who Played Sports in England*, (N.p. : C. Bagley, 2006); and Gary James Bergera, “Ezra Taft Benson’s 1921-23 Mission to England,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Fall 2009): 85-111.

Sociological studies of Mormonism in the British Isles include Bryan R. Wilson, “Migrating Sects: Review Article,” *British Journal of Sociology* 18 (September 1967): 303-317; Eric Clifford Butler, “Exodus to Community: The Growth and Confirmation of Group Consciousness among British Mormons (Honors Thesis, Harvard University, 1969); Robert L. Lively Jr., “Some Sociological Reflections on the Nineteenth-Century British Mission” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 16-30; and Joy A. O’Bannion, “The Convert as Social Type: A Critical Assessment of the Snow-Machalek Conversion Typology as Applied to British Mormon Converts” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998).

Researchers looking for demographic resources should consult Robert Buckle, "Mormons in Britain: A Survey" in *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, vol. 4, ed. Michael Hill (London: SCM Press, 1971), 160-179; Tim B. Heaton, Randal J. Johnson, and Stan L. Albrecht, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 119-35; and Evva Courtney Benson, "And know the place for the first time": The 1851 Ecclesiastical Census of England and Wales and Early LDS Branch Records" (Honors Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2000). Derek A. Cuthbert provides a demographic survey of the latter half of the 20th century in *The Second Century: Latter-day Saints in Great Britain, Volume 1, 1937-1987* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and "Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937-1987," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 13-26.

David J. Whittaker has compiled several bibliographic aids to assist researchers, including "Mormonism in Great Britain, 1837-1987," *Mormon History Association Newsletter* 3 (July 1987): 1-4; "Mormonism in Victorian Britain: A Bibliographic Essay" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 258-271; *Mormon Americana: A Bibliographic Guide to Printed Material in the British Library Relating to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (London: Eccles Center for American Studies, The British Library, 1994); and *Mormonism in Victorian England: Selected Readings* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1998). Other bibliographic resources include Noel R. Barton, "Latter-day Saints Sources for Tracing Early British Mormons" in *World Conference on Records: Preserving Our Heritage, August 12-15, 1980*, vol. 6, series 424 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1980); Peter Crawley, *Mormon Imprints in Great Britain and the Empire 1836-1857* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1987); and Robert L. Lively Jr., "Bodleian Sources for the Study of Two Nineteenth-Century Millenarian Movements in Britain," *Bodleian Library Record* 13 (April 1991): 491-500.

ENGLAND

England is remarkable among European localities for the number of publications about its local congregations. Studies focusing on Mormons in the local English setting, include Douglas J. Davies, "The Mormons of Merthyr-Tydfil" (B.Lit. thesis, Oxford University, 1972); Andrew Phillips, "Mormons in Essex 1850-1870," *Essex Journal* 18 (Winter 1983/84): 57-65; John B. Cotterill, "Midland Saints: The Mormon Mission in the West Midlands, 1837-77" (PhD diss., University of Keele, 1985); John B. Cotterill, "The British Mission of the Mormon Church with Particular Reference to the West Midlands of England, 1837-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of Keele, 1978); Jan G. Harris, "Mormons in Victorian England"[Manchester] (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987); Jan G. Harris, "Mormons in Victorian Manchester," *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 46-56; Parley P. Pratt and David H. Pratt, ed., "Oh! Brother Joseph," *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 127-31 [urban Manchester England]; Madison H. Thomas, "The Influence of Traditional British Social Patterns on LDS Church Growth in Southwest Britain," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 107-17; Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "The First London Mormons: 1840-1845: 'What Am I and My Brethren Here For?'" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988); Paul F. Smart's "The History of the Early Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Preston, Lancashire, England" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989); John B. Cotterill, "The Rise and Decline of the Church in the West Midlands," Andrew Phillips, "The Essex Conference," and Susan L. Fales, "Artisans, Millhands, and Laborers: The Mormons and Leeds and Their Nonconformist Neighbors," all in Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp, *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 92-103, 142-155, 156-178; David M. W. Pickup, *'The Pick and Flower of England': The Story of the Mormons in Victorian Lancashire* (Burnley, Lancashire, England: Living Legend, 1991); David A. Beale, "The Persecution of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Within the Bristol, England Stake of Zion, 1840-1900" (Degree diss., University of West England, 1993); Paul F. Smart, "The History of the Early Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Preston, Lancashire, England" (M.A.

thesis., Brigham Young University, 1989); Stephen G. Arrowsmith, "The 'Unidentified Pioneers': An Analysis of Staffordshire Mormons, 1837 to 1870" (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003); Peter J. Vousden, "Mormons in Plymouth 1922-1963," *Devon Historian* 75 (Autumn 2007): 28-31; Stephen J. Fleming, "The Religious Heritage of the British Northwest and the Rise of Mormonism," *Church History* 77 (March 2008): 73-104; Ronald E. Bartholomew, "The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire, England," *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, 1: 1 (2008): 99-136; Ronald E. Bartholomew, "Babylon and Zion: Buckinghamshire and the Mormons in the Nineteenth Century," *Records of Buckingham* 48 (Spring 2008): 231-254; Ronald E. Bartholomew, "The Patterns of Missionary Work and Emigration in Early Victorian Buckinghamshire, England, 1849-1878," *BYU Studies* 48:1 (2009): 123-160; and Ronald E. Bartholomew, "19th-Century Missiology of the LDS Bedfordshire Conference and its Interrelationship with Other Christian Denominations," *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 2009): 108-127.

Recent publications about English historic sites include Carol Wilkinson, "Mormon Baptismal Site in Chatburn, England," *Mormon Historical Studies* 7: 1-2 (Spring/Fall 2006): 83-88; and Ronan Head, "Creating a Mormon Mecca in England: The Gadfield Elm Chapel," *Mormon Historical Studies* 7: 1-2 (Spring/Fall 2006): 89-101.

Sociological studies focusing on 20th-century Mormonism include John D. Gay, "Some Aspects of the Social Geography of Religion in England: The Roman Catholics and the Mormons" in *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, vol. 1, ed. Michael Hill (London: SCM Press, 1968), 47-76; and Ronan James Head, "The Experience of Mormon Children in English School-Based Religious Education and Collective Worship," *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 2009): 196 – 205.

Bibliographic sources useful to researchers include Stanley B. Kimball's "Early Records in England," *Improvement Era* 58 (February 1955): 96; and "Early Church Documents in England," *Millennial Star* 120 (March 1958): 72-75, as well as the bibliographic resources suggested in the general British Isles portion of this essay.

ISLE OF MAN AND CHANNEL ISLAND

John Taylor discusses his early missionary work on the Isle of Man in a series of letters found in *Millennial Star* 1 (March 1841): 276-80; *Times and Seasons* 2 (May 1, 1841): 400-402; *Millennial Star* 2 (May 1841): 12-16; *Times and Seasons* 2 (July 15, 1841):483-85. Early missionary work in the Channel Islands is discussed by Edward L. Hart in "John Hyde, Junior-An Earlier View," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 305-12

IRELAND

Currently, the most complete survey is Brent A. Barlow's "History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Ireland since 1840" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994). The focus here is on missionary work and immigration with the appendices providing lists of missionaries and immigrants. The few other publications related to Mormonism in Ireland focus on Mormon Irish immigrants in American, including Robert J. Dwyer, "the Irish in the Building of the Intermountain West," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (July 1957): 221-235; Craig L. Foster, "William Butler: Irish Convert and Builder of the Kingdom," *Nauvoo Journal* 7 (Spring 1995): 56-61; and Dwight W. Radford, "Irish Immigrants among Three American Minority Religions," *The Irish at Home and Abroad* 5 (2nd Quarter 1998): 77-83. More studies are needed like Claudia W. Harris's discussion of Mormons in the socially and religiously divided Ireland of the 20th century entitled "Mormons on the Warfront: The Protestant Mormons and Catholic Mormons of Northern Ireland," *BYU Studies* 30 (Fall 1990): 7-19.

SCOTLAND

Missionary work in Scotland in the 19th century is the topic of Andrew Jenson's "The Scotch Mission: Or the Introduction of the Fulness of the Gospel into Scotland," *Historical Record* 6 (December 1887): 348-352; Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840-1900" *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 27-52; Bernard Aspinwall, "A Fertile Field: Scotland in the Days of the Early Missions" in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, ed. Richard L. Jensen and Malcom R. Thorp

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 104-117; Frederick S. Buchanan, "From the Missouri to the Clyde: Samuel W. Richards in Scotland, 1846-1848," *Nauvoo Journal* 7 (Fall 1995): 24-38; Polly Aird, "Why Did the Scots Convert?" *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 91-122; David J. Whittaker, "Orson' Pratt's [An] Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions: A Seminal Scottish Imprint in Early Mormon History," *Mormon Historical Studies* 5 (Fall 2004): 79-100; and Polly Aird, "Without Purse or Scrip in Scotland," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 39 (Summer 2006): 46-69. Matthew O. Richardson provides interesting background on Scotland's Albany Crescent stone which so influenced David O. McKay in "What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part: John Allan's Albany Crescent Stone," *Journal of Mormon History* 33 (Fall 2007): 31-61.

Frederick S. Buchanan has written numerous items about 19th-century migration of Scottish Mormons to the United States, including "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849-1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1961); "Scots among the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Fall 1968): 328-352; "Scottish Immigrants and the Muse: Verses from the Dust," *Mormon Letters Annual* (1984, 1985): 36-58; "A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland" (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988); and "Robert Lang Campbell: 'A Wise Scribe in Israel' and Schoolman to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 29 (Summer 1989): 5-27. Other writings on the topic are Fred E. Woods, "Conveyance and Contribution: Mormon Scots Gather to an American Zion," *History Scotland* 5 (July-August / September 2005): 48-54, 37-42; Kenneth W. Merrell, *Scottish Shepherd: The Life and Times of John Murray Murdoch, Utah Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006); Polly Aird, *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West, 1848-1861* (Norman, Oklahoma: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2009). Thomas E. Lyon's articles about Scottish Mormon John Lyon are "Feud and Fun: Humor in the Poetry of John Lyon," *Mormon Letters Annual* (1984, 1985): 56-76; "John Lyon: Poet of the Lord" in *Supporting Saints*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 213-33; and *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: Religion Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989). Peter D. Cameron edited a history of a Scottish local unit in *Paisley and the Mormons, 1840-1980: A Brief History*

of How the Church has Developed in Paisley, Scotland (Paisley, Scotland: Scottish Mission, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981).

WALES

A contemporary survey can be found in “Mormonism in Wales,” *Littell’s Living Age* 78 (July-September 1863): 124-127. Douglas J. Davies surveys one Welsh locality in “The Mormons of Merthyr-Tydfil” (B.Lit. thesis, Oxford University, 1972). The first scholarly study of Mormonism in Wales was T.H. Lewis, *Y Mormoniaid Yng Nghymru* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1956).

Mormon immigrants to the United States from Wales is the topic of numerous studies, including John R. Gibbs, “My Experience with the Church in Wales,” *Journal of History* 10 (July 1917): 315-325; John Johnson Davies, “Historical Sketch of My Life,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (July/October 1941): 155-167; Leslie E. Rees, “A Collection and Analysis of Folk Songs from Wales, Sanpete County, Utah” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966); Ronald D. Dennis, *The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Emigration* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1987); Douglas J. Davies, *Mormon Spirituality: Latter-day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham, England: University of Nottingham, 1987); Ronald D. Dennis, “The Welsh Mormon Exodus,” *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist* (February/March 1989): 39-45; and Roscoe Howells, *From Amroth to Utah* (Llandysul, Ceredigion, Wales: Gomer, 2001).

An account by a Welshman who wrote of his visit to Welsh immigrants in Utah is the topic of William D. Davies, ed. and Phillips G. Davies, trans., “William D. Davies Visits the Welsh in Utah in 1891,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Fall 1981): 374-387. June R. Rowley looks at a 19th-century Welsh immigrant searching for the Welsh influence among Native Americans in *Llewellyn Harris, Child of Destiny, and His Search for the White Indians* (St. George, Utah: P. and R. Anderton, 2003).

Ronald D. Dennis has spent many decades studying 19th-century Welsh Mormon writings. He identified these early Welsh publications in his *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844-1862: A Historical Bibliography* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988). He translated

many of these publications into English, including *Prophet of the Jubilee: A Facsimile-like Edition in English of Volume I, Number 1, of Prophwyd y Jubili, the First Welsh Mormon Periodical* (Provo, Utah: R.D. Dennis, 1981); *A Facsimile and a Translated Facsimile of Ugdorn Seion (Zion's Trumpet)* (Provo, Utah: R.D. Dennis, 1989); *Prophet of the Jubilee* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997); *Ugdorn Seion: Zion's Trumpet: 1849 Welsh Mormon Periodical* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2001); and *Defending the Faith: Early Welsh Missionary Publications* (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003). Dennis looks at 19th-century anti-Mormon writings in "The Reverend W.R. Davies vs. Captain Dan Jones, *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 53-65.

Publications that focus on the life and missions of Welshman Dan Jones include Rex LeRoy Christensen, "The Life and Contributions of Captain Dan Jones" (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1977); Ronald D. Dennis, "Dan Jones," *Abergele Field Club and Historical Society Review* 7 (1988): 2-5; Ivan J. Barrett, *Dan Jones* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1989); and Ronald D. Dennis, "Captain Dan Jones and the Blind Man," *BYU Studies* 37:4 (1997-1998): 143-172.

SCANDINAVIA

For an account of Mormon missionary efforts in Scandinavia from 1850 to 1926 consult Andrew Jensen's *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927). In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the introduction of the LDS Church in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, a commemorative history and photographic directory of former missionaries was published in Anthon H. Lund et al., *Scandinavian Jubilee Album, 1850-1900* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1900). Accounts of some of the earliest missionary efforts in Scandinavia include Erastus Snow, *One Year in Scandinavia . . .* (Liverpool, England: F.D. Richards, 1851); Joseph William Olson, "Life of Erastus Snow" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1935); Preston Nibley, "Experiences of Erastus Snow" in *Missionary Experiences* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1942), 119-124; Albert L. Zobell, Jr., *Under the Midnight Sun: Centennial History of Scandinavian Missions* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1950); and Andrew

Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971). Missionary work in the latter part of the 19th century is the focus of Susan Easton Black et al., *Legacy of Sacrifice: Missionaries to Scandinavia, 1872-1894* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007).

In 1923, Reed Smoot and John A. Widtsoe traveled as ambassadors for the Church to Scandinavia in an effort to ease restrictions on missionaries. An account of this is found in John C. Thomas, "Apostolic Diplomacy: The 1923 European Mission of Senator Reed Smoot and Professor John A. Widtsoe," *Journal of Mormon History* 28 (Spring 2002): 130-65.

William Mulder provides a rare glimpse at the influence of Mormonism on Scandinavia in "Image of Zion: Mormonism as an American Influence in Scandinavia," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (June 1956): 18-38. In relation to the Mormon influence on Scandinavia, Andrew Jenson reviewed Mormon publications in Scandinavia with his "Scandinavian Latter-day Saint Literature," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 13 (October 1922): 181-91.

Migration of Mormon converts from Scandinavia to the United States is the topic of numerous studies by William Mulder, including "Utah's Nordic-Language Press: Aspect and Instrument of Immigrant Culture" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1947); "Through Immigrant Eyes: Utah History at the Grass Roots," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (January 1954): 41-55; "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (August 1954): 227-46; "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1905: The Story of a Religious Migration" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1955); "Utah's Ugly Duckling: A Profile of the Scandinavian Immigrant," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1955): 233-59; *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1957; reprinted with same title by University of Minnesota Press, 2000); "Scandinavian Saga" in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 141-185; and "A Sense of Humus: Scandinavian Mormon Immigrant Humor" in *Western Windows: Studies on the American West*, ed. Peter H. DeLaFosse (Salt Lake City: Utah Westerners, 2006), 59-81. Studies on the same topic are Ernest L. Olson, "Otto Rydman, Satirist: An

Immigrant's Editor's Views of the Scandinavian Scene in Utah" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1949); Kenneth O. Bjork, "Mormon Missionaries and Minnesota Scandinavians," *Minnesota History* 36 (December 1959): 285-93; Kenneth O. Bjork, "A Covenant Folk, with Scandinavian Colorings," *Norwegian-American Studies* 21 (1962): 212-51; Jorgen Dahlie, "A Social History of Scandinavian Immigration, Wasington State, 1895-1910" (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1967); Alfred Christiansen, "Scandinavians and the New Zion in the West," *American Scandinavian Review* 60 (1972): 263-71; Cynthia Rice, "A Geographical Appraisal of the Acculturation Process of Scandinavians in the Sanpete Valley, Utah, 1850-1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973); William A. Wilson, "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 148-66; Helge Seljaas, "Scandinavian Mormons and Their Zion," *Scandinavian Studies* 60 (Autumn 1988): 445-52; Shauna Christine Anderson et al., *Passport to Paradise: the Copenhagen "Mormon" Passenger Lists* (West Jordan, Utah: Genealogical Services, 2000); Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans, "Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852-1894," *BYU Studies* 41:4 (2002): 75-102; and Lynn Henrichsen et al., "Building Community by Respecting Linguistic Diversity: Scandinavian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78 (Winter 2010): 4-22.

DENMARK

Marius A. Christensen provides a survey of missionary work in "History of the Danish Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1850-1964 (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966). Although it relies heavily on a single manuscript source—the mission histories in the Church History Department—this thesis provides some useful background information, including information on missionary work in Iceland and the Faeroe Islands.

Works that discuss Mormonism in 19th-century Denmark include Donald K. Watkins, "Notes on the Early Mormon Mission in Denmark," *The Bridge: Journal of Danish American Heritage Society* 3 (August 1980): 1-5; Val G. Hemming, "A Voice from the Land of Zion: Elder Erastus Snow in Denmark, 1850 to 1852," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35 (Spring 2002): 131-43; and Julie K. Allen

and David L. Paulsen, “The Reverend Dr. Peter Christian Kierkegaard’s ‘About and Against Mormonism’ (1855),” *BYU Studies* 46:3 (2007): 100-156.

Numerous works have been published on the 19th-century migration of Danish Converts to Utah, including William Mulder, “‘Man Kalder Mig Digter’: C.C.A. Christensen, Poet of the Scandinavian Scene in Early Utah,” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (January 1947): 8-17; Gwendolyn Jacobson, ed., *Memories of ‘Little Denmark’: History of Elsinore and Brooklyn, Utah* (Richfield, Utah: Elsinore Literary Club, 1962); Jrgen W. Schmidt, *Oh, Du Zion I Vest: Den Danske Mormon-Emigration* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1965); H. N. Hansen, “An Account of a Mormon Family’s Conversion to the Religion of the Latter-day Saints and Their Trip from Denmark to Utah: Parts I and II,” *Annals of Iowa* 41 (Summer, Fall 1971): 709-728, 765-779; Jens P. Wilde, “Bleeding Feet, Humble Hearts: Danish Mormon Migration, 1850-1860,” *The Bridge Journal of Danish American Heritage Society* 3 (August 1980): 6-10; George R. Nielsen, “Danish Mormons” in *The Danish-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), 59-69; Jrgen W. Schmidt, *C.C.A. Christensen: Dansk-Americansk Maler, Samfundsrevser og Missionaer, 1831-1912* (Lyngbe, Denmark: Forlaget Moroni, 1984); Bruce A. Van Orden, “Anthon H. Lund: Gentle Danish Apostle” in *Pioneers in Every Land*, ed. Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 163-82; Shauna Christine Anderson, Ruth Ellen Maness, and Susan Easton Black, *Passport to Paradise: the Copenhagen “Mormon” Passenger Lists* (West Jordan, Utah: Genealogical Services, 2000); Margit Egdal, *Mads Nielsen, David og Marie i Guds eget land: en slgtskrnike: fra Nordfyn til Elsinore i Utah* (Norway: Landbohistorisk Selskab, 2000); Lyndia Carter, “Story of Heartbreak and Separation Moving West with the Mormons,” *Crossroads* 12 (Dec 2001): 5-8; and Jennifer L. Lund, “Out of the Swan’s Nest: The Ministry of Anthon H. Lund, Scandinavian Apostle,” *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 77-105. Local newspapers published for Danish immigrants in Salt Lake City include: *Bikuben* (1876-1935), *Utah Posten* (1873-1874), and *Utah Skandinav* (1874-1877).

Histories of local congregations of Latter-day Saints in Denmark include Hans Frederik Peterson, “Journal Excerpt from Aalborg (1851),” *Morgenstjernen* 3 (1884): 268-271; Andrew Jenson, “Arnager,”

Historical Record 5 (1886): 30; Andrew Jenson, "Scandinavian Reminiscences III: First Branch in Denmark," *Contributor* 16 (January 1895): 153-160; Andrew Jenson, "Scandinavian Reminiscences IV: The Branch at Aalborg," *Contributor* 16 (February 1895): 246-253; Margit Egdal, *Miraklet på Fyn: de Sidste Dages Hellige på Fyn og Langeland* (Otterup: Otterup Lokalhistoriske Arkiv og Forening, 2002); Dennis and Sonja Hacking, trans., *Odense Ward, Aarhus Denmark Stake* (Odense, Denmark: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2007).

Source material on Danish-Mormon materials is described in Jrgen W. Schmidt, *Mormon Bibliografi 1837-1984: En Dansk* (Lyngø, Denmark: Forlaget Moroni, 1983); and William Mulder, "Denmark and the Mormons: The Jrgen W. Schmidt Collection," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 52 (Spring 1991): 331-57. Danish publications of the Scandinavian Mission are also important sources for the study of Mormonism in Denmark, including *Skandinaviens Stjerne* (1851-1957), *Danske Stjerne* (1957-1985), *Sjernen* (1985-1967), *Ungdommens Raadgiver* (1880-1887), and *Morgenstjernen* (1882-1885).

FINLAND

A survey of Mormonism in Finland from 1856 to the 1980s can be found in Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: historiikki Myohempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juutumisesta taän maahan* (Turku: A. Rinne, 1986). Rinne's work also contains short histories of various LDS congregations in Finland. In addition to this survey, a starting point in the study of Mormonism in Finland is found in Kim B. Östman's bibliographic review of information about the Church in Finland (available in English and Finnish): "Mormonism Tutkimus Suomessa: Kirjallisuutta, Tutkimusideoita ja Lahteita," *Uskonnontukija-Religionforskare* 2 (2006); and "The Scholarly Study of Mormonism in Finland: An Overview of Literature, Research, Ideas and Sources," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 41 (Summer 2008): 32-56.

Long before the LDS Church sent missionaries there, newspapers in Finland were publishing information about Mormons, and Kim B. Östman takes a look at the 1840s Finnish newspaper coverage

of Mormons in his “Early Mormonism in Finnish Newspapers,” *BCC Papers* 1 (2006): available online at <http://bycommonconsent.com/2006/07/31/bcc-papers-1-1-ostman/>.

In 1875, Carl and John Sundstrom were the first LDS missionaries to serve in Finland, and temporary branches were soon established in several Finnish towns where a majority of Finns belonged to the Lutheran Church. The encounter of Mormonism and Lutheranism in the 1870s and 80s is discussed in Kim B. Östman, “Reaction of Lutheran Clergy to Mormon Proselytizing in Finland, 1875-1889,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (2009): 128-141. Östman investigates the minor part that emigration played in the lives of Mormon Finns in the 19th century in his “Suomesta Siioniin: Mormonisiirtolaisuus Utahiin 1800-luvulla,” *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 34 (2007): 12-19.

In his master’s thesis and related article, Zachary R. Jones discusses missionary work in 19th-century Russian-ruled Finland: “Conflict and Conversion: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860-1914” (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2008); and “Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861-1914,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Summer 2009): 1-41.

In 1947 the Finnish Mission was formally organized with Henry A. Matis as president. A collection of biographies and remembrances of missionaries who served under Matis from 1947 to 1954 can be found in Alvin S. Anderson, Udell E. Poulsen, and Phileon B. Robinson, *Suomi Calls* (Salt Lake City: Finnish Mission Society, 1957); and *Suomi Calls Update* (Salt Lake City: Bruce A. Matis Family Society, 1986). The Finnish Mission published the periodical *Valkeus* from 1950 to 1967. On the 50th anniversary of the Finnish Mission, a book of remembrances from those who served in Finland was published under the title *Muistamme, 1947-1997: puolivuosisataa uskoa joka askeleella suomessa* (Salt Lake City: Henry A. Matis Family Society, 1997). This work also includes a directory of former missionaries who served in the Finnish mission and the Finland Helsinki mission, 1947-1997.

Kajja Hannele Penley surveys missionary work in Finland from the Matis period to 1969 in “Leadership of Mormon Missionary Efforts in Finland and Its Influence on Conversion Rates in the Finnish Mission, 1947-1969” (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1994). The public image of the LDS Church in Finland during this same period (1946 to 1968) is covered in Risto Kurra,

“Mormonikäätyminen ja mormonismien kuva Suomessa” (M.A. thesis, University of Turku, 1970). The main focus of Kurra’s thesis, however, is the conversion and orthodoxy of Mormon Finns based on surveys conducted around the 1970 period. Related to the public image of the LDS Church in Finland after World War II is the Lutheran Church’s attitude toward the microfilming of Finnish parish registers by the Genealogical Society of Utah, which is discussed in Maria Ollila, “Käsin kopioinnista mormonien rahoittamaan mikrofilmukseen: Suomalaisten kirkonkirjojen jäljennystyö 1924-1955” (Thesis, Department of Theology, University of Helsinki, 2003).

Kim B. Östman surveys attitudes of the political left toward Mormons in the 1980s in “The Mormon Espionage Scare and Its Coverage in Finland, 1982-84,” *Journal of Mormon History* 33 (Winter 2008): 82-117; and Sinikka Saarela studies the conversion and orthodoxy of Mormon Finns in the 1980s in “Mormonikäätymys Suomessa” (Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Jyväskylä, 1987).

In the 1990s, Eija Taskinen researched the socialization process of Mormon converts in “Oulun pyhät: Oulun Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon piirissä tapahtuvan sosialisatioprosessin tarkastelua” (M.A. thesis, University of Oulu, 1994). The conversions stories of 42 Finnish members was gathered in the late 1990s and published in Sirkka Piri, *Käätymykseni: kertomuksia elämäni kääntökohdista* (Oulu, Finland: FINE Publishing, 1998).

Jessica Björkman surveyed Mormon missionaries in Finland in early 2000 for her thesis “Jesu Kristi Kyrka av Sista Dagens Heliga och missionstjänsten i Finland” (M.A. Thesis, Åbo Akademi University, 2000). She looks at what Mormon missionaries thought the Finns’ impressions of them were as well as how much the missionaries thought the Finn’s knew about Mormonism.

After the dedication of the Helsinki Finland Temple in 2006, Kim B. Östman published several articles related to the temple: “Nykyajan kristillistä esoteriaa: Katsaus mormonismien temppelitradiitioon,” *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 111 (2006): 430-40; “‘The Other’ in the Limelight: One Perspective on the Publicity Surrounding the New LDS Temple in Finland,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 40 (Winter 2007): 71-106; “A Finnish Mormon Temple or ‘America in Karakallio?’: The Activation of a Stereotype at an Encounter of Cultures,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 1 (2008): 137-153; and

“Esotericism Made Exoteric? Insider and Outsider Perspectives on the 2006 Mormon Temple Public Open House in Espoo, Finland” in Tore Ahlbäck, ed., *Western Esotericism* (Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History, 2008), p. 124-138.

ICELAND

Currently, the most comprehensive survey of Mormonism in Iceland is Fred E. Woods’ *Fire on Ice: The Story of the Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005). It was translated into Icelandic by Friðrik Rafn Guðmundsson and published as *Eldur á ís : Saga hinna íslensku Síðari daga heilögu heima og að heiman* (Reykjavík : Universitاس Islandiae ; Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007).

The life of one of the first Icelandic converts, Gudmundur Gudmundsson is discussed in Lavon Brunt Eyring, *The Life History of Gudmundur Gudmundsson: Icelandic and Danish Missionary for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (n.p.: L. Eyring, 1984); Fred E. Woods, “Fire on Ice: The Conversion and Life of Gumundar Gumundsson,” *BYU Studies* 39 (2000): 56-72; and Fred E. Woods, “Icelandic Conversion and Emigration: A Sesquicentennial” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003). This latter work also discusses the immigration of Icelandic Latter-day Saints to the United States.

In 1911, Andrew Jenson, president of the Danish-Norwegian mission, traveled to Iceland. His journal entries and photographs of the trip are provided in Fred E. Woods, “Andrew Jenson’s Illustrated Journey to Iceland, the Land of Fire and Ice, August 1911,” *BYU Studies* 47 (2008): 101-116.

NORWAY

There are several excellent surveys about Mormon missionary work in Norway, including Robert Brookman Cushman’s brief coverage in “American Religious Societies in Norway” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1942), 42-77; and the more comprehensive coverage provided by Curtis B. Hunsaker, “History of the Norwegian Mission from 1851 to 1960” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young

University, 1965); Gerald M. Haslam, “The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842-1920 [Ph. D. diss., Brigham Young University 1981; republished as *Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842-1920* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984)]; and Johnnie Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851-1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2006). Marianne Bodin Aanderbakk focuses on northern Norway in her “Jesu Kristi Kirke Av Siste Dagers Hellige I Nord-Norge” (M.A. thesis, University of Tromso, 2006).

Andrew Jenson discusses the early years of Mormonism in Norway in his “Scandinavian Reminiscences V: First Missionaries in Norway,” *Contributor* 16 (March 1895): 297-305; “Scandinavian Reminiscences VI: Elders Imprisoned in Norway,” *Contributor* 16 (April 1895): 335-342; and “Scandinavian Reminiscences VII: Final Success in Norway,” *Contributor* 16 (May 1895): 417-421. Hans Frederik Peterson, the first Latter-day Saint missionary to Norway discusses his experiences in “Journal Excerpt (1851),” *Morgenstjernen* 3 (1884): 268-271.

Focusing on Norwegian emigrant experiences is Arlow William Andersen, “The Norwegian-Danish Methodist Mission in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (April 1957): 153-61. Helge Seljaas produced several works on the Norwegian emigrant experience, including “The Mormon Migration from Norway” (M.A. thesis University of Utah, 1972); “Norwegians in Zion Teach Themselves English,” *Norwegian-American Studies* 26 (1974): 220-28; “Polygamy among the Norwegian Mormons,” *Norwegian-American Studies* 27 (1977): 151-62; and “Norwegians in Zion Teach Themselves English,” *Norwegian-American Studies* 26 (1974): 220-228.

Norwegian Mission publications include *Morgenstjernen* (1922-1925) and *Lys Over Norge* (1937-1967). Dianna Gundersen discusses missionaries in Norway in her “With Scriptures in Their Backpack: American LDS Women Missionaries in Norway” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2001).

SWEDEN

A. Dean Wengreen surveys the latter half of the 19th century in “A History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850-1905” (PhD Diss., Brigham Young University, 1968).

Wengreen supplements the usual reliance on Church mission records with several missionary diaries.

Publications that focus on 19th and early 20th-century Swedish Mormon immigrants to the United States include William Mulder, "Mother Tongue, 'Skandinavisme,' and 'The Swedish Insurrection' in Utah," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 7 (January 1956): 11-20; Hilda Erickson, "Fantastic Hilda: Pioneer History Personified," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 15 (April 1964): 63-76; Sheryl Richard Benson, "The Emigration of Swedish Mormons to Utah, 1905-1955" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1965); Louise Thalmann Hasler, "Autobiography of Louise Thalmann Hasler," *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter* 23 (November 1987): 4-21; D. Michol Polson, "The Swedes in Grantsville, Utah, 1860-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Summer 1988): 208-21; Jennifer Eastman Attebery, "Being Swedish-American in the Intermountain West: The Experience of Immigrants to Idaho and Utah," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 49 (July 1998): 234-44; Leslie Albrecht Huber, "Background of an Emigrant: A Peasant Family in Malmohuslan, Sweden," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 55:2 (2004): 68-83; and Leslie Albrecht Huber, "Kerstina Nilsson: A Story of the Swedish Saints," *Journal of Mormon History* 32 (Fall 2005): 241-263. Helpful in a study of Swedish Mormon immigration to the United States is Robert D. Bingham, "Swedish-Americans in Utah: A Bibliography," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 30 (July 1979): 205-9. Local Swedish immigrants in Salt Lake City published two newspapers: *Svenska Hardden* (1885-1892) and *Utah-Posten* (1900-1935).

For Mormonism in Sweden in the 20th century, Carl-Erik Johansson provides a seventy-year mission survey with his "History of the Swedish Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1905-1973" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973). The Stockholm Sweden Temple is the topic of Stig A. Stromberg, *A Temple on the Hill* (West Jordan, Utah: Scandia Publications, 2007); and John C. Thomas, "A Gathering Place: Russian Week at the Stockholm Sweden Temple," *BYU Studies* 39:1 (2000): 67-89.

Finally, a few useful resources for the study of Mormonism in Sweden include the LDS Church's Swedish periodicals *Nordstjernen* (1877-1894) and *Nordstjärnan* (1894-1967).

WESTERN EUROPE

Although there were a few early attempts at missionary work in continental Europe as early as 1840, efforts didn't begin in earnest until 1850. Publications mentioned at the beginning of this essay regarding Europe contain information about Mormonism in Western Europe as well as other regions, including sketches of countries that may not be listed separately here. Ralph L. Cottrell, Jr. discusses early missionary work in Gibraltar, Italy, Malta, and Switzerland in "A History of the Discontinued Mediterranean Missions of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963); and Jean Lemble provides an overview of Mormonism in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium in *Dieu et les Francais: Les Saints des Derniers Jours Francophones* (Paris, France: Liahona, 1986).

BELGIUM

The beginnings of the Church in Belgium in the 19th century is discussed in An Burvenich, "Het ontstaan van de Kerk van Jezus Christus van de Heiligen der Laatste Dagen in Belgie, 1861-1914 (M.A. thesis, State University of Ghent, 1999). Wilfried Decco looks at the social psychology of Mormon converts in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium in "Mormonism in a European Catholic Region: A Contribution to the Social Psychology of LDS Converts," *BYU Studies* 24 (Winter 1984): 61-77.

FRANCE

Surveys can be found in Gary Ray Chard, "A History of the French Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1965); and Marc Appel, *L'Eglise de Jesus-Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours: Les Mormons en France, 1850-1981* (France: M. Appel, 1981).

In July 1849, William Howell of Wales was sent by the presidency of the British Mission to open missionary work in France. This LDS foray into France is covered in Ronald D. Dennis, "William Howells: First Missionary to France" in *Supporting Saints*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 43-81. Also in 1849, Howell

made his way over to the Channel Islands, where he met Philip de la Mare, a Frenchman and recent convert to the LDS Church. De la Mare later immigrated to Utah where he became successful entrepreneur. His life is covered in Nicholas G. Morgan, “The Life of Philip De La Mare,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 21 (January, April 1930): 5-11, 86-89; and Leon R. Hartshorn, “Philip De La Mare, Pioneer Industrialist (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

The French Mission officially opened in June 1850 when Elder John Taylor and Curtis E. Bolton arrived in France. Richard D. McClellan discusses one of the early French converts baptized by Taylor in “Not Your Average French Communist Mormon: A Short History of Louis A. Bertrand,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (Fall 2000): 3-24. French translations of Church literature were among the first materials published by the LDS Church in a language other than English. The *Etoile du Deseret* was published monthly for one year beginning in May 1851. A history of this publishing endeavor is found in Douglas J. Geilman, “Etoile du Deseret, Publications of the French Mission, 1851-52” in *Champion of Liberty: John Taylor*, ed. Mary Jane Woodger (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2009), 143-169.

Due to its lack of success, the French Mission closed in 1864. The closure is covered in Richard D. McClellan, “President Louis Bertrand and the Closure of the French Mission, 1859-64” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 23-46.

In 1890, the LDS Church sent several artists to France to study at the Académie Julian with the expectation that they would return to Utah and paint murals for the Salt Lake Temple which was nearing completion. Known as the Paris Art Mission, this venture is covered in Martha Sonntag Bradley, “John Hafen and the Art Missionaries,” *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 91-105; William C. Seifrit, “Letters from Paris,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Spring 1986): 179-202; and Jeffrey D. Andersen, “Portrait of the 1890-1892 LDS Paris Art Mission: An Andragogical Perspective” (PhD diss., University of Idaho, 2000).

A look at how the French viewed the Mormons in the 19th Century is found in Wilfried Decoo, “The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part I,” *BYU Studies* 14 (Winter 1974): 157-75; and Claude Fohlen, “Les Mormons Vus par les Francaises,” *Revue Francaise d’Etudes Americaines* 6 (October 1981): 223-34.

The French Mission reopened in 1912 only to close again with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. It reopened in 1924, and the mission began publishing a magazine in Switzerland called *L’Etoile* in 1928 (name changed to *La Nouvelle e Etoile* in 1963, but back to *L’Etoile* in 1967 when it became unified with all other international magazines). One work that explores the French view of Mormonism from 1900 to 1930 is Wilfried Decoo, “The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part II,” *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 265-76. Lawrence S. Jeppson looked a media coverage of the LDS Church in France from 1947 to 1953 in his study “Information and Misinformation: An Analysis of the Press Relations of the French Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (M.A. thesis, Boston University, 1955).

Very little has been published about the post-World War II period of the LDS Church in France. A day-by-day account of the French Mission from 1946 to 1950 is found in Winnifred Bowers and Norma Gibbs Olsen, *The French Mission: 1946-1950* (N.p.: W. Bowers and N.B. Olsen, 1998). One article that describes events in 1958 that led to the excommunication of nine missionaries in the French Mission is Kahlile B. Mehr, “The Trial of the French Mission,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Fall 1988): 27-45. A sociological study of the cultural orientation and assumptions of French Latter-day Saint leaders in the 1980s can be found in C. Brooklyn Derr, “Messages from Two Cultures: Mormon Leaders in France, 1985,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 98-111. Other works that look at Mormonism in France in the 20th Century include two by John C. Jarvis: “Mormonism in France: A Study of Cultural Exchange and Institutional Adaptation” (PhD Diss., Washington State University, 1991) and *Mormonism in France: The Family as a Universal Value in a Globalizing Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

GERMANY

Gilbert W. Scharffs surveys Mormonism in Germany in “History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany between 1840 and 1968” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1969); *Mormonism in Germany: A History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany between 1840 and 1970* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970); and *A History of the Church in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1972). The latter publications are based on the former PhD dissertation which relied heavily on manuscript histories of the German missions.

From 1851 to 1852, the Swiss Mission published a German publication in Hamburg entitled *Zion's Panier*. Latter-day Saint missionaries opened the first German mission in Hamburg in 1852. Orson Spencer's report to Brigham Young on Spencer's short-lived 1853 mission to Germany was published as *The Prussian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool: S.W. Richards, 1853). In 1854 the mission closed when most converts migrated to Utah. A German periodical entitled *Der Darsteller der Heiligen der Letzten Tage* was published in Geneva and Zurich, Switzerland from 1855 to 1861, and another entitled *Die Reform der Heiligen der Letzten Tage* was published in Geneva, Switzerland from 1862 to 1863. The image of Mormonism in Germany in the 19th century is the topic of D. L. Ashliman, “The Image of Utah and the Mormons in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Summer 1967): 209-27; and David H. Miller, “The Ives Expedition Revisited: A Prussian's Impressions,” *Journal of Arizona History* 13 (Spring 1972): 1-25.

In the same year that the mission closed in Hamburg, Karl G. Maeser, a German educator in Dresden, read about the LDS Church in an anti-Mormon pamphlet. He eventually joined the Church and immigrated to Utah. In 1868, Brigham Young called him to return to Germany and preside over the Swiss-German Mission. Missionary work proceeded slowly in the decades that followed. This early period of missionary work in Germany is covered in Michael Mitchell, “The Mormons in Wilhelmine Germany, 1870-1914: Making a Place for an Unwanted American Religion in a Changing German

Society” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994); and A. LeGrand Richards, “Moritz Bush’s Die Mormonen and the Conversion of Karl G Maeser,” *BYU Studies* 45: 4 (2006): 46-67.

The Emigration of German Saints from Germany is discussed in William Mulder, “Utah’s Nordic-language Press: Aspect and Instrument of Immigrant Culture” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1947); Thomas L. Broadbent, “The Salt Lake City Beobachter: Mirror of an Immigration,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1958): 329-50; Douglas D. Alder, “The German-Speaking Migration to Utah, 1850-1950” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1959); Ronald K. Dewsnup, “German-speaking Immigrants and the State of Utah: A Brief History” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1983); Allan Kent Powell, “The German-Speaking Immigrant Experience in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Fall 1984): 304-46; Douglas D. Alder, “Die Auswanderung,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Fall 1984): 370-88; Stephen Cameron McCracken, “German-Speaking Immigrants Living in Cache Valley: An Oral History” (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1986); and Mark L. Grover, “The Mormon Church and German Immigrants in Southern Brazil: Religion and Language,” *Jahrbuch fr Geschichte Von Staat Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 26 (1989): 295-308.

When World War I began, missionaries were evacuated, leaving about 60 branches in Germany and Switzerland. Studies related to this period of history include Allan Kent Powell, “Our Cradles Were in Germany: Utah’s German American Community and World War I,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Fall 1990): 371-87; and Jeffrey L. Anderson, “Brothers across Enemy Lines: A Mission President and a German Soldier Correspond during World War I,” *BYU Studies* 41: 1 (2002): 127-39. The period following World War I is the subject of Jeffery L. Anderson, “Mormons and Germany, 1914-1933: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany and its Relationship with the German Governments from World War I to the Rise of Hitler” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1991).

From 1933 to 1945, the Third Reich, recognized only three churches—Lutheran, Catholic, and the LDS Church. Numerous studies about this period have been published, including Joseph M. Dixon, “Mormons in the Third Reich: 1933-1945,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972):

70-78; Christine E. King, "Strategies for Survival: An Examination of the History of Five Christian Sects in Germany, 1933-45," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (1979): 211-34; Alan F. Keele, "The Fuhrer's New Clothes: Helmuth Hbener and the Mormons in the Third Reich," *Sunstone* 5 (November/December 1980): 20-29; Christine E. King, "Some Lesser-Known Victims of Totalitarian Persecution," *Patterns of Prejudice* 16 (1982): 15-26; Christine E. King, "The Conjunction of World Views: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" in *The Nazi State and the New Religions: Five Case Studies in Non-Conformity* 4 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), 59-87; Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, Douglas F. Tobler, and Alan F. Keele, *The Price: The True Story of Mormon Who Defied Hitler* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984); Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, *Jugendliche gegen Hitler: Die Helmut Hbener Gruppe in Hamburg 1941/42* (Berg am See, Germany: Berg Publishing, 1991); Rudi Wobbe and Jerry Borrowman, *Three Against Hitler* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 1992); Blair R. Holmes and Alan F. Keele, *When Truth was Treason: German Youth against Hitler: The Story of the Helmut Huebener Group Based on the Narrative of Karl-Heinz Schnibbe* (Urbana: University Press, 1995); Klaus J. Hansen, "Growing up in Hitler's Germany," *Queens' Quarterly [Canada]* 103: 1 (1996): 73-85; Klaus J. Hansen, "Under Kaiser and Fhrer: The Story of a Mormon Family," *The Third Eye* 1 (1996): 14-30; Richard Lloyd Dewey, *Huebener vs Hitler: A Biography of Helmut Hubener, Mormon Teenage Resistance Leader* (Provo: Academic Research Foundation, 2003); Jessie L. Embry, "Deliverer or Oppressor: Missionaries' Views of Hitler during the 1930's" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald W. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 47-63; and Steven E. Carter, "The Mormons and the Third Reich, 1933-1946" (PhD diss., University of Arkansas, 2003). During this period President Heber J. Grant visited Germany, and this visit is the topic of Richard Holzapfel and Marc Alain Bohn, "A Long Awaited Visit: President Heber J. Grant in Switzerland and Germany, 1937," *BYU Studies* 42: 3-4 (2003): 4-20. Donald Q. Cannon provides a unique perspective from the life of one German Saint from the World War I period to the post-war period and beyond in "New Dimensions of Devotion: Walter Krause," *Journal of Mormon History* 29: 2 (Spring 2003): 135-149.

When Nazi Germany invaded Poland in 1939, World War II began and lasted until 1945.

Mormonism in World War II Germany is the topic of Terry Bohle Montague, *Mine Angels Round About: Mormon Missionary Evacuation from Western Germany 1939* (Orem, Utah: Granite Publishing, 2000); Colleen Whitley, "Prisoners of War: Minutes of Meetings of Latter-day Saint Servicemen Held in Stalag Luft 1, Barth, Germany," *BYU Studies* 37: 1 (1997-98): 206-17; Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, "Friends Again: Canadian Grain and the German Saints," *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (1997): 46-76; Marianne Muthreich Southworth, "One Fold, One Shepherd," ed. Jorg Dittberner (Springville, Utah: Bonneville Books, 1999); David F. Boone, "The Evacuation of the Czechoslovak and German Missionaries at the Outbreak of WWII," *BYU Studies* 40: 3 (2001): 122-54; Robert C. Freeman, "When the Wicked Rule the People Mourn: The Experiences of German Saints During World War II" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald W. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 89-107; Robert C. Freeman and Jon A. Felt, *German Saints at War* (Springville: CFI, 2008); Roger P. Minert, "The Fate of the LDS East German Mission Home in World War II," *Mormon Historical Studies* 10: 1 (Spring 2009): 101-111; and Roger P. Minert, *In Harm's Way: East German Latter-day Saints in World War II* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2009).

In 1949, the USSR established the German Democratic Republic in the Soviet zone of occupied Germany and in the East Berlin portion of the Allied-occupied capital city. Raymond Kuehne uses a wide variety of documents in his survey entitled *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State: A Documentary History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945-1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009). Other studies of East Germany include Wallace G. Bennett, "The Sunday Schools of Europe, Eastern: East German Mission," *Instructor* 84 (October 1949): 493-496; Marita Haibach Walter, "Mormonen im Raum Frankfurt: Untersuchungen zur Situation Einer Amerikanischen Kirche" (M.A. thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1981); Douglas F. Tobler, "Before the Wall Fell: Mormons in the German Democratic Republic, 1945-89," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Winter 1992): 11-30; Jeff Cole, "Religion in Eastern Germany: Spiritual Force or

Anachronism” (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1994); Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, “Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints in Germany, East, 1945-1989,” *BYU Studies* 35: 1 (1995): 47-78; Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, *Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints in Germany, East, 1945-1989* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996); Thomas S. Monson, *Faith Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to the East German Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret book, 1996); Wolfgang Zander’s “In God’s Hands in Divided Germany” in *Pioneers in Every Land*, ed. Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 148-62; Bruce W. Hall, “Gemeindesgeschichte als vergleichende Geschichte: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945-1989” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1998); Bruce W. Hall, “And the Last Shall Be First: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Former East Germany,” *Journal of Church and State* 42 (Summer 2000): 484-505; Bruce W. Hall, “Render Unto Caesar: State, Identity and Minority Churches in the German Democratic Republic” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2003); Raymond M. Kuehne, “How Missionaries Entered East Germany: The 1988 Monson-Honecker Meeting,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 39: 4 (2006): 107-137; and Raymond M. Kuehne, *Mormonen und Staatsbürger eine dokumentierte Geschichte der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligender Letzten Tage in der DDR* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007).

In 1985, the Freiberg Germany Temple was dedicated in the German Democratic Republic and numerous articles have been written about the temple, including David F. Boone and Richard O. Cowan, “The Freiberg Germany Temple: A Latter-day Miracle” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald W. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 147-168; and Raymond M. Kuehne, “The Freiberg Temple: An Unexpected Legacy of a Communist State and a Faithful People,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 37: 2 (Summer 2004): 95-131.

Mormonism in Germany in the late 20th century is discussed in Stephen Van Orden, “Spit-Shined Shoes, Clear Decisions, and West German Mission Horror Stories” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young

University, 1996). Lynn K. Packer writes of his 1963-65 missionary experiences in the Central German Mission in *A Missionary Experience* (New York: Carlton Press, 1969).

There have been numerous histories of local German units written including Wolfgang Zander and Ulrich Ruckauer, *Die Mormonen im Sudwesten Deutschlands: Auf den Spuren Ihres Lebens und Ihrer Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Pfahl Stuttgart, 1986); Berlin [Germany] Stake, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *25 Jahre Pfahl Berlin, Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzen Tage* (Berlin, Germany: Berlin Stake, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1986); Peter Wllauer, "Geschichte der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzen Tage im Raum Regensburg" in *Bericht vom Orson Hyde Symposium. Universit~t Regensburg 4. – 5 Oktober* (1991); Hermann Mssner, "Mormon Pioneers in Southland Germany" in *Pioneers in Every Land*, ed. Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 148-62; and Jorg Dittberner, "One Hundred Eighteen Years of Attitude: The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Free and Hanseatic City of Bremen," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36: 1 (2003): 51-69.

Finally, a useful aid in studying Mormonism in Germany is D. L. Ashliman's listing of German publication on Mormonism entitled "Mormonism and the Germans: An Annotated Bibliography, 1848-1966," *BYU Studies* 8 (Autumn 1967): 73-94.

ITALY

The earliest beginnings of Mormonism in Italy in the mid-19th century, including Lorenzo Snow's involvement, is discussed in Lorenzo Snow, *The Italian Mission* (London: W. Aubrey, 1851; reprint Dallas, Texas: S.K. Taylor Publishing Company, 1973); Michael W. Homer, "The Italian Mission, 1850-1867," *Sunstone* 7 (May/June 1982): 16-21; Michael W. Homer, "'Like the Rose in the Wilderness'": The Mormon Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia," *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (Fall 2000): 25-62; and James A. Toronto, "A Continual War, Not of Arguments, but of Bread and Cheese": Opening the First LDS Mission in Italy, 1849-1867," *Journal of Mormon History* 31 (Summer 2005): 188-232.

In 1850, Lorenzo Snow decided to begin missionary work in Italy among the Waldensians, a small Protestant community in the Piedmont region. Several works discuss this encounter, including Hugh T. Law, “Another Italy? The Families of the Piedmont” in *World Conference on Records: Preserving Our Heritage*, vol. 7, series 529 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1980); Diane Stokoe, “The Mormon Waldensians” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985); Jared M. Halverson, “‘To Make a People Prepared for the Lord’: Italy’s Waldensian Saints as a Case Study on Conversion” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2005); Michael W. Homer, “The Waldensian Valleys: Seeking ‘Primitive Christianity’ in Italy,” *Journal of Mormon History* 31 (Summer 2005): 134-187; and Michael W. Homer, “Seeking Primitive Christianity in the Waldensian Valleys: Protestant, Mormons, Adventists, and Jehovah’s Witnesses in Italy,” *Nova Religio* 9 (May 2006).

Other publications related to Mormonism and Italy in the 19th century include Lorenzo and Eliza R. Snow’s visit to Italy in 1872, which is discussed in George A. Smith et al., *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists: Comprising a Series of Letters* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1875), 100-69. Missionary work in Italy in the 1890s is discussed in Michael W. Homer, ed., *James Bertoch: Missionary Journal and Letters to His Family: June 22, 1892 to March 25, 1893* (Salt Lake City: Prairie Dog Press, 2004). Nineteenth-century immigration of Mormon converts is the topic of James A. Toronto, “Giuseppe Efsio Taranto: Odyssey from Sicily to Salt Lake City” in *Pioneers in Every Land*, ed. Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 125-147; Michael W. Homer, “An Immigrant Story: Three Orphaned Italians in Early Utah Territory,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Summer 2002): 196-214. Michael W. Homer looks at the image of the LDS Church in Italy from the 19th century to the early 20th century in “The Church’s Image in Italy from the 1840s to 1946: A Bibliographic Essay,” *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 83-114.

The experiences of 20th century immigrants is discussed in Philip E. Notarianni, “The Italian Immigrant in Utah—Nativism (1900-1925)” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1972); and Louise Degn, “Susanna Goudine Cardon: An Italian Convert to Mormonism” in *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 119-36. Finally, Mormonism in Italy in the 21st century is the topic of

Michael W. Homer, "LDS Prospects in Italy for the Twenty-first Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 139-58; and Massimo Introvigne, "The Mormon Factor in the Romney Presidential Campaign: European Perspectives," *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 2009): 98-107.

NETHERLANDS

The most detailed history of Mormonism in the Netherlands is Douglas F. Tobler, Barton W. Marcois, and J.L. W. van Langendijk's five-part series entitled "Geschiedenis van de Mormoonse kerk in Nederland en Vlaanderen," *Horizon* 1-2 (March 1982- September 1983). Keith C. Warner provides a good survey of missionary work in his "History of the Netherlands Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1861-1966 (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967). Jacob Van Hinte discusses Mormon emigration from the Netherlands in the 19th century in *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1985), 590-94. *De Utah Nederlander* (1914-1935) was a local newspaper published in Salt Lake City for Dutch immigrants.

Looking to the 20th century, Sylvester Q. Cannon's two terms as president of the Netherlands-Belgium Mission (1900-02 and 1907-09) is discussed in Winfield Q. Cannon, *Sylvester Quayle Cannon: Tall in Character and Stature* (Provo, Utah: Winfield Cannon and Wanda Cannon Trust, 1998). Cannon is also profiled in "Sylvester Q. Cannon, de leider der Mormonen in Nederland," *De Hollandische Revue* 14 (February 25, 1909), 117-130. The Netherlands Mission produced several periodicals in the 20th century, including *De Ster* (1896-1967), *De Pionier* (1929), *Op Klompen* (1959-67), and *His Marvelous Work* (1968). Walter E.A. Van Beek discusses Mormonism in the 21st century in "Ethnization and Accommodation: Dutch Mormons in Twenty-first Century Europe," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 119-38.

PORTUGAL

Very little has been published about Mormonism in this southwest European nation where members of the U.S. armed forces stationed there in the early 1970s were the first members of the Church in the area. Mark L. Grover discusses the role migration from Brazil and Africa played in the growth of Mormonism in Portugal in “Migration, Social Change, and Mormonism in Portugal,” *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Spring 1995):65-79.

SWITZERLAND

Latter-day Saint missionaries began proselyting in Switzerland in 1850, and early missionary work in Switzerland is covered in William Budge, “My Swiss Mission” in *Labors in the Vineyard* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1884); and Paul-Anthon Nielson, “‘Sending the Gospel to the Swiss’: Die Ersten Zehn Jahre Des Mormonentums in Der Schweiz, 1850-60:” (PhD diss., University of Bern, Switzerland, 1989). In 1853, the Swiss Mission published a French-language periodical entitled *Le Reflecteur*. James R. Christianson looks at the life of one 19th century Swiss convert in “Jacob Spori: Nineteenth-Century Swiss Missionary, Educator, and Kingdom Builder” in *Supporting Saints*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 343-368. Information regarding missionary work in Switzerland in the early 20th century is found in Richard Schmutz, “The Mundane and the Transcendent: Excerpts from Letters of Johannes and Clorinda Schmutz, 1900-1902,” *Swiss-American Historical Society Review* 34:1 (1998): 49-66. Mormonism in Switzerland in the 20th century is discussed in Richard Hozapfel and Marc Alain Bohn “A Long Awaited Visit: President Heber J. Grant in Switzerland and Germany, 1937,” *BYU Studies* 42:3-4 (2003): 4-20

EASTERN EUROPE

The most comprehensive survey of Mormonism in Eastern Europe is Kahlile B. Mehr’s *Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe* (Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University Press and Deseret Book Co., 2002). This work covers the topic from the 19th century through the fall of communism during the

last two decades of the 20th century when Mormon missionaries entered numerous countries throughout the former eastern bloc. This carefully documented survey is based on hundreds of interviews as well as other documentary sources. Mehr also provides researchers with a list of sources in his “Selected Bibliography: Historiography of the Church in Eastern Europe” in *Telling the Story of Mormon History: Proceedings of the 2002 Symposium of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University*, ed. William G. Hartley (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2004), 119-120.

Looking at the pre-1990 period, Arthur Gaeth, a former mission president in Czechoslovakia, writes about early missionary efforts in the Balkan countries of Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and how these missionary efforts were slowed by World War I in “Children of Adversity,” *Improvement Era* 41 (June 1938): 338-39, 375-76. Anson D. Shupe and John Heinerman discuss Mormon efforts to penetrate the Iron Curtain beginning in the 1970s in “State-within-a-State Diplomacy: Mormon Missionary Efforts in Communist and Islamic Countries” in *The Politics of Religion and Social Change*, vol. 2, ed. Anson D. Shupe and Jeffrey K. Hadden (New York: Paragon House, 1988), 67-83. Kahlile B. Mehr looks at the unique role senior missionary couples played in paving the way for Mormon proselytizing missionaries in Eastern Europe in “Missionary Couples in Communist Europe,” *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Spring 2003): 179-199.

ALBANIA, AUSTRIA, BELARUS, AND BULGARIA

Nathan Pali discusses the beginnings of Mormonism in Albania in “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints enters Albania, 1992-1999 (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2008). Stanley B. Kimball covers Mormonism in Austria from the time Orson Hyde traveled through on his way to the Holy Land in 1841 to the early 20th century in “The Mormons in the Hapsburg Lands, 1841-1914,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 9-10 (1973-1974): 143-169. Wallace G. Bennett looks at how Sunday schools in Austria fared during World War II in “The Sunday Schools of Europe, Eastern: Austria,” *Instructor* 84 (December 1949): 643-544. Howard L. Biddulph provides significant information about Belarus in *The*

Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in the Former Soviet Union (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1996). Kahlile B. Mehr discusses how Mormon English teachers and humanitarian missionaries were instrumental in opening Bulgaria to Mormon missionaries in “Keeping Promises: The LDS Church Enters Bulgaria, 1990-1994,” *BYU Studies* 36:4 (1996-97): 69-105.

CZECH REPUBLIC (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

A brief survey can be found in Kahlile B. Mehr, “Enduring Believers: Czechoslovakia and the LDS Church, 1884-1990,” *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 111-154. For information on the LDS Church in Czechoslovakia during the 20th century before the communist rule, see David F. Boone, “The Evacuation of the Czechoslovak and German Missions at the Outbreak of WWII,” *BYU Studies* 40:3 (2001): 122-154. Articles that discuss Mormons in Czechoslovakia during communist rule, include Olga Kovarova Campora, *Saint Behind Enemy Lines* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997); and Daniel Reeves, “Saints in Communist Czechoslovakia: Trial by Fire” in *Religious Education Student Symposium* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2004), 159-174. Wallace G. Bennett looks at how Sunday schools in Czechoslovakia fared during World War II in “The Sunday Schools of Europe, Eastern: Czechoslovakian Mission,” *Instructor* 84 (November 1949): 567, 569.

ESTONIA, HUNGARY AND ROMANIA

Arnold K. Garr looks at early members in the late 20th century in “Mormon Pioneers in Communist Estonia, 1998-90” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Top L. Brent (Provo, Utah: Department of Church history and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2003), 169-183. Kahlile B. Mehr tracks missionaries in Hungary from the first in 1888 to 1989 in “The Eastern Edge: LDS Missionary Work in Hungarian Lands,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Summer 1991): 27-45. Numerous articles, including Mehr’s above, discuss Mischa Markow, the first Hungarian Mormon, including Richard O. Cowan, “Mischa Markow: Mormon Missionary to the Balkans,” *BYU Studies* 11 (1970): 92-99; Matthew K. Heiss, “‘My Duty Was to Preach Every Where’: The Missionary Reminiscences of Mischa Markow and the Church’s Entry into Central

and Eastern Europe” and “Life and History of Mischa Markow” in Kahlile B. Mehr’s *Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe* (Salt Lake City and Provo: Deseret Book and Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 341-349, 350-384. Colleen Whitley edited the diary of Dean Byrd who describes his experiences while doing humanitarian work amongst the Kosovars in “Mourn with Those That Mourn . . . Comfort Those That Stand in Need of Comfort: Dean Byrd’s Diary of the Kosovar Refugee Camps,” *BYU Studies* 39:2 (2000): 6-55. Carmin Clifton focuses on post-1990 conversion experiences in *Come Lord, Come: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Romania* (Lincoln, Nebr.: Writers Club Press, 2002).

RUSSIA

Following the fall of communism, the first Soviet Union mission which included Russia and Estonia was organized in July 1990 with Gary L. Browning as mission president. Browning’s book about his experiences is entitled *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), a fairly balanced account looking at successes and failures. Other publications by Browning include “Out of Obscurity: The Emergence of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in ‘That Vast Empire’ of Russia,” *BYU Studies* 33:4 (1993): 674-688; and “Russia and the Restoration” in *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 63-75.

Other mission presidents and missionaries wrote of their experiences in Russia. Thomas K. Rogers, president of the St. Petersburg Mission from 1993 to 1996 provided excerpts from his mission journal in several publications, including “On the Importance of Doing Certain Mundane Things,” *Sunstone* 21 (December 1998): 48-58; *A Call to Russia: Glimpses of Missionary Life* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1999); and “Vignettes of Temple-Bound Russians,” *BYU Studies* 39:1 (2000): 90-105. Howard L. Biddulph, who served as president of the Ukraine Kiev Mission, wrote *The Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in the Former Soviet Union* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), which is a faith-promoting account based on first-person conversion stories. Ruth Knight Bailey and Cherie K. Woodworth edited the missionary journal of Erika Knight who served in the Russia Rostove-on-the-Don

Mission in 1996 and 1997 in “The Mission Journal of Cectpa Haut (Sestra Nait),” *Dialogue: The Journal of Mormon Thought* 33 (Spring 2000): 135-156.

Several publications also look at Mormonism in Russia before 1990. Francis M. Lyman dedicated Russia for the preaching of the restored gospel in 1903, an event discussed in Kahlile B. Mehr’s “The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986/87): 110-123. Leland Fetzer looks at the public image of Mormonism in Russia in the 19th century in “Russian Writers Look at Mormon Manners, 1857-72,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Spring 1980): 74-84. Russian familiarity with Mormons led to the use of the term “Mormon” as an epithet for indigenous Russian religious groups who practiced polygamy, and when missionary work began in Russia after the fall of Communism, missionaries encountered rumors about pre-1990 Mormons existing in Russia, which were apparently linked to these indigenous groups. Several studies investigate these rumors, including Tania R. Lyon, “The Discovery of Native ‘Mormon Communities in Russia,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33 (Spring 2000): 1-24; Eric A. Eliason and Gary L. Browning, “Crypto-Mormons or Pseudo-Mormons? Latter-day Saints and Russia’s Indigenous New Religious Movements,” *Western Folklore* 61 (Summer 2002): 173-207; and Eric A. Eliason and Gary L. Browning, “Russia’s Other ‘Mormons’: Their Origins and Relationship to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” *BYU Studies* 40:1 (2001): 6-34. An early Russian publication that discusses this native Russian religion with the nickname “Mormon” is S.M.M., *Besiedy o tak Nazzyvaemoi Mormonskoi Bierie* [Discussions about the Named Mormon Faith] (Samara, Russia: A.I. Matrosova, 1904). Finally, Sergei Antonenko provides one of the most recent publications about Mormonism in Russia in his *Mormony v Rossii Put Dlinoi V Stoletie* [Mormons in Russia: A Century-Long Way] (Moska: Rodina, 2007).

TURKEY AND UKRAINE

In 1884, Jacob Spori opened the Turkish Mission, and an account of his labors there are found in James R. Christianson, “Jacob Spori: Nineteenth-Century Swiss Missionary, Educator, and Kingdom Builder” in *Supporting Saints*, ed. David J. Whittaker and Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah: Religious

Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 343-368. Rao H. Lindsay provides a survey of nearly fifty years of missionary activity in Turkey in "A History of Missionary Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Near East, 1884-1929 (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958). LaMar C. Berrett and Blair G. Van Dyke provide an excellent survey of missionary work in Turkey in *Holy Lands: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Near East* (American Fork: Covenant Communications, 2005).

Accounts of other missionaries and missionary activities in Turkey include: Joseph W. Booth, *Turkish Mission Diary of Joseph W. Booth* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Library, 1947); Rao H. Lindsay, "The Dream of a Mormon Colony in the Near East," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1(Winter 1966): 50-67; Daniel J. Pingree, "'And Your Name Will Be Remembered . . .': The History of John Alexander Clark's Turkish Mission," *Thetean* 24 (1995): 30-50; Secil Karal Akgun, "Mormon Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire," *Turcica* 28 (1996): 347-357; James A. Toronto, "Early Missions to Ottoman Turkey, Syria, and Palestine" in *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 339-362; and David P. Charles, "The Day the 'Brave Sons of Mohamed' Saved a Group of Mormons," *BYU Studies* 40:4 (2001): 237-254. Tania Rands, a missionary in the Ukraine from 1992 to 1993 tells of her experiences in "Mormonism in a Post-Soviet Society: Notes from Ukraine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30 (Spring 1997): 71-96.

CONCLUSION

The overall coverage of Mormonism in Europe in the secondary literature is uneven. Most publications are in English and focused on American Latter-day Saint encounters with Europe (i.e. American Church leaders and American missionaries) or European Latter-Saint encounters with America (i.e. immigrants). More publications by far focus on the British Isles and Scandinavia, regions where Mormonism penetrated early and with greater success than in other European areas. Secondary sources listed herein tend to rely heavily on English-language primary sources located in repositories in the western part of the United States. Much of the scholarship and publishing efforts related to this topic are

centered in Utah and particularly at Brigham Young University. Yet, there is a growing trend in the secondary literature of the 21st century wherein European scholars are writing about Mormonism in Europe from a European perspective using European sources and publishing in languages other than English. Hopefully this essay has provided students and researchers with a broad bibliographic background to the study of Mormonism in Europe and will aid them in their research as they produce further studies that stretch the current boundaries of the field.