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.


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.

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.


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.


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,


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);


England

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);


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


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 America, 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


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

WALES


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


**SCANDINAVIA**


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.


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.


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,”


**Finland**


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
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: Mormonisiiirtolaisuus Utahiin 1800-luvulla,” *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 34 (2007): 12-19.


Kaija 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,
“Mormonikääntyminen ja mormonismin 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 mikrofilmaukseen: Suomalainen kirkonkirjojen jäljennystö 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 “Mormonikääntymys Suomessa” (Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Jyväskylä, 1987).


Jessica Björkman surveyed Mormon missionaries in Finland in early 2000 for her thesis “Jesu Kristi Kyrka av Sista Dagars 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.


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 : Universitas 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


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.


Finally, a few useful resources for the study of Mormonism in Sweden include the LDS Church’s Swedish periodicals Nordstjernan (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


FRANCE


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).


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).

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 at 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).

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...


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


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


**ITALY**

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 Wadensian 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 Efisio 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.


NETHERLANDS


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


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.


ALBANIA, AUSTRIA, BELARUS, AND BULGARIA


CZECH REPUBLIC (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)


ESTONIA, HUNGARY AND ROMANIA


**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.


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 Nazyvaemoi 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 *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


**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 were 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.