Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History

British Isles

Edited by Donald Q. Cannon

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THE GATHERING TO ZION--ITS NATURE AND IMPLICATIONS

James R. Christianson

A little girl in Sweden plays a game, rocking back and forth in the family rocker: she calls it "going to America." A Danish shoemaker toasts his friends on New Year's Eve: "May the next year find us together in Zion." A Norwegian, released from his labors as a missionary, rejoices in his return to Zion: "My absence has been to me an exile," he wrote. It was all one and the same manifestation: it was the spirit of gathering. The phrase abounds in literature, personal and official, the theme of countless songs and sermons and endless expositions. It describes a universal yearning among the proselytes, an experience private yet common to which they loved to bear witness after their arrival in Zion, spellbinding the young with tales of the Lord's wonder-working providence on their behalf. After baptism by immersion, they said, and the laying on of hands at confirmation, come the baptism of desire, a strange and irresistible longing which ravished them and filled them with a nostalgia for Zion, their common home. 1

Nineteenth century Mormonism contained a unique and exciting message that captivated the minds of many "seekers of truth." The various doctrines taught, whether virtually new or simply more lucid and authoritative restatements of teachings long proclaimed, were, in one way or another, instrumental in the conversion process experienced by thousands of individuals. For many, it was the restoration; for some, the priesthood and a prophet; while still others were drawn to the gospel by the solid evidence of the Book of Mormon as a second witness for Christ. For most, however, the single most compelling doctrine of the Restoration during the first five or six decades of Mormon history was the gathering.²

Although everything that was taught concerning the Latter-day significance had considerable importance, it was the concept of coming out of Babylon and joining together at a specific location prior to the second coming of Christ that captured the imagination and won the allegiance of peoples throughout North America and the countries of Western Europe. From New York, to Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake--the call to gather, with the sacrifice it required, instilled a vision that eventually rooted the Kingdom solidly and successfully in the soil of Zion. It was the gathering, as long as it lasted, that fueled the Mormon colonizing effort.

The concept of gathering was a well-established idea in the body of the LDS doctrine by the early 1830s. Kirtland, Ohio; Independence (Jackson County) and Far West, Missouri; and Nauvoo, Illinois were all designated as places of refuge and centers to which the faithful were to gravitate. However, it was not until the Church was forced to abandon the civilized East and remove to the arid valleys of the great interior basin of the Far West that the real story of the Latter-day gathering began to unfold.

THE MISSIONS

The proselyting success in Great Britain from 1837 to 1850 resulted in the gathering of 5784 individuals, who represented about one-sixth of those who joined the Church during that thirteen year period. Most who came settled in or near Nauvoo, Illinois. During the half century that followed 111,330 conversions were recorded, and 43,000 persons, or thirty-nine percent, made their way to (and became an indispensable part of) the deeply troubled, and yet surprisingly vigorous Zion in the American West.³

Mormon missionary accomplishments in Great Britain were paralleled, but not equalled, a few years later in continental Europe. Beginning in 1850, missionaries

declared their message in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Germany and in parts of Italy, France, Gibraltar, Malta and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, as with Great Britain only in those countries that were influenced by the Protestant Reformation, and where political stability and religious freedom existed, were people receptive to the seeds of truth cast abroad by a handful of courageous elders.

Allowing for the thousands who left the Church or who were excommunicated, nearly 29,000 of the more than 45,000 who joined the Church in Scandinavia during the years 1850 to 1900, emigrated to Zion. Although the figures for German-speaking Europe and Holland are less precise, it is clear that the admonition to gather was usually obeyed.

Between 1850 and 1900, nearly 80,000 Latter-day Saints gathered out of Great Britain and Western Europe, the area that was literally the marketplace for the Gathering. Except for the deep South, where missionaries continued to labor and find nominal success, the once fruitful missions of the United States and Canada were mostly abandoned during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Following the tragic events in Nauvoo and the resettlement of the Church in the West--out of the way of the thoroughly hostile and unsympathetic American public-the arrival of thousands of eager, able converts from across the Atlantic had an impact on the Church like a transfusion to a needy patient. Moved by the spirit of gathering, these converts came to build the Kingdom. Arriving first in Salt Lake City, they gradually populated areas at increasing distances from the headquarters of the Church. In quiet, established communities and in rustic frontier settlements they performed their great service. There, in near isolation, the restored Gospel found expression, and colonists' lives took on a soundness and depth that helped prepare them and their posterity for the time when the world of the twentieth century would seek them out.

THE MESSAGE

With no guidelines or prescribed text to follow, the message preached by those who labored in Great Britain and Europe was simple and direct. They declared and defended the restoration, detailed the events of the last days, required baptism, and encouraged, urged, and remonstrated the Saints concerning the gathering.⁵

Tracts appeared during the period that were as basic as the teachings of the elders, defending the familiar themes of plural marriage, the restoration, the last days, the role and teachings of the Prophet Joseph, the first principles, priesthood authority, Zion, and church organization. The Book of Mormon was available in most lands during the 1850s.

The missionaries soon learned that some of what they taught was, as in America, already very much "in the air." The doctrines dealing with the last days, the millennium, the second coming, healings, baptism, apostasy, prophecy, and even authority were often anticipated in the teachings of various reformers, mystics and sectarians who passed through Protestant Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was especially true in Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia and Great Britain, where the efforts of these men--the advocates of the reformation-enhanced the spiritual receptiveness of many early converts. Even the doctrine of the gathering had been voiced from time to time.

What made the message of this new American sect exciting and original was that its representatives testified not only of past prophets, but also of living prophets; not of a future restoration, but a present one; and not of a forthcoming kingdom, but of one in place and growing. They spoke of a gathering already in motion: people needed only to step forward in order to join it and prepare to gather to holy places; and the God of Heaven would protect, direct and prepare them for the trying times ahead and for the coming of His Son.

This was a living gospel, not one based solely on theory or hope, but on fact. It was a gospel to rescue the believer from Babylon and lead him safely to the promised land. Its teachings would stand against ridicule, tear one from the warmth of home and hearth and fatherland, and justify long years of saving and sacrifice, even begging and borrowing if need be, in order to realize one's destiny in a distant but beckoning Zion.

To those who would listen and those seeking the truth, Mormonism was a revolutionary doctrine and not, as many attempted to point out, a haven for the foolhardy or a morsel for those with fools' appetites. To accept it required of the individual the forsaking of spiritual and physical roots and a willingness to sacrifice all: family, friends, and possibly one's life or that of a loved one.

THE MEMBERS

Mormon proselytes were uniquely and wonderfully prepared for the time when the call to gather would be sounded. They did not respond simply because they were baptized or were told to do so. There was a feeling associated with the gathering that motivated people to envision the goal or ultimate result without being overwhelmed by the generally negative depiction of Mormonism by religious and secular leaders and the press, or by the uncertainties associated with establishing a new home in the midst of the "Great American Desert." These uncertainties included the dangers and hardship involved in a trans-Atlantic and trans-continental voyage under trying and often inhuman conditions which taxed the resources of most families to the utmost.

This great latter-day gathering was more than economics, it was more than an escape from squalor, disease and debilitating poverty, it was more than emigration. For most of the seekers, it was an innate part of them. The combined message of a restoration, a living prophet and a gathering to a named place, triggered a desire, a

longing they could not resist. Few could rationally explain or defend their decision to go. As John Taylor, successor to Brigham Young, noted,

Under the teachings of Joseph Smith and President Young, the Elders of the Church have preached the gathering, and this is a gathering dispensation. There is something else to be done . . . there is a kingdom to be established. We have gathered from the east and the west, from the north and the south, for a spirit rested upon the people to gather together, and no man could prevent them. All of you know how this feeling operated upon you just as much as when it operated upon you by baptism--when you had the spirit of God upon you, you could not resist it.... Hence from the time the people in the nations began to obey the Gospel to the present there has been a feeling in their hearts to gather up to Zion. The saints here have desired that they should come, and this is why we have sent as many as five-hundred teams in a year to fetch our brethren from the Missouri river who were unable to come without assistance. . . . Some people may say it is a grand emigration scheme; but we say it is a scheme of the Lord to build up his kingdom and to gather the people together, according to the saying of the old prophets. The Church has gathered us together, the Spirit of God has operated on our minds, and we are here an integral part of the United States of America, and we cannot help ourselves.

A very small percentage of the thousands who came were well educated. A few, such as Karl G. Maeser and Jacob Spori, were educators; others were trained in medicine, the fine arts, or music. Over one half of all Mormon hymns were written or composed by British immigrants. Some were fairly wealthy, and even more possessed the skills that eventually brought them affluence. Most, however, were just what the territory needed: capable, motivated individuals who were experienced in a wide variety of crafts. These were men and women who could construct a temple or tabernacle in a wilderness, design an organ, perfect an irrigation system, and from one day to the next work at establishing a functioning community.

The aesthetic or cultural impact of the Gathering is difficult to measure. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that the coming together, and mixing of many nations of the earth in the unique community we call Mormonism, produced a kind of hybrid vigor which accounts for at least some of those traits that characterize and distinguish Latter-day Saints of the twentieth century.

From the time they arrived in Europe until the present, LDS missionaries have achieved most of their success among the lower and lower-middle classes. Exceptions to this generalization during the nineteenth century were rare, and during the twentieth they have been, at best, infrequent. The few members with middle or upper-middle class backgrounds who remained faithful often exercised a profound influence on the Church and in the lives of their fellow proselytes.

The bulk of those baptized during the era of the gathering were poor, at times destitute, laborers, as well as farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen. As the years passed, those who joined the Church were often the relatives of individuals who had previously accepted the Gospel. In many cases, the word was passed directly within a household from member to member, usually encompassing the extended family unit. In time, it was those who had emigrated who returned as missionaries to teach their own relatives and friends as well as the siblings of others who were happily settled in Zion.

There was magic in the message of one who could declare, "I have been there! It exists! Zion flourishes!!" At every stage, it was their witness that the gathering was a viable reality which encouraged strength and commitment in place of indecision and even apostasy, the fruits of the poverty, tradition and persecution that often accompanied the proselyte as he stepped from the waters of baptism.

Though the Elders' reports were at times exaggerated and tended to color the arid wastelands of the Great Basin a verdant green, the commitment and determination to gather those recruited to the faith was usually fortified by the words, "I have been there."

THE MISSIONARIES

Unlike Great Britain, the history of proselyting on the continent does not reveal exceptional or even marginal success by members of the Quorum of the Twelve. They were among the first on the scene, but their contribution was mostly administrative, while the actual preaching and baptizing was generally the work of first or second generation European Latter-day Saints whose deeds were often astounding, but whose names received bare mention or went unrecorded in the chronicling of Mormon history.

Among the first, and surely some of the best, missionaries to serve in Europe were those called to teach and preach while the testimony of their own missionary teachers still rang in their ears, and their baptisms were as recent as yesterday. They recorded high numbers of conversions in Scandinavia and Switzerland and were responsible for much of the success experienced between 1850 and 1870. Among such people were the Englishmen Samuel Francis and Jabez Woodward, who went to Italy; William Budge and Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, who went to Switzerland; Serge Louis Ballif, the Hug boys, John and Heinrich, and the Bommilis, Daniel and George, who labored in their Swiss homeland; Mischa Markow from Hungary to Belgium; and Louis Bertrand in France. Before they emigrated, some of these men became mission presidents or held other positions of significance, and were responsible for the baptism and emigration of hundreds of converts.

Beginning in the late sixties, increasing numbers of European converts returned to their native lands as missionaries. Still adept in the use of their mother tongue, they spoke and wrote with a power and conviction that brought many of their landsmen into the Church. This was a period when, because of the polygamy crisis and the Civil War, proselyting efforts in North America had ground virtually to a halt, while in Europe, despite the wrath of the opposition, the work of gathering went ahead.

THE MIGRANTS AND THE MIGRATION

Even though all were encouraged to gather, some European Saints were financially more able than others. And it was not uncommon for the wealthy to help fellow members pay their passage. The Englishman John Benbow and his wife Jane are known to have shared much of their fortune in this manner, as did Anders Eliason of Ennerkulen, Sweden, who helped more than one hundred of his fellow Swedes. Even some nonmembers viewed the loan of funds to Zion-bound Mormons as a proper investment.

Passenger lists for the many ships involved in the Mormon emigrations reveal some interesting facts concerning the average company enroute to the new world. Surprisingly, they demonstrate an almost even number of men and women undertaking the voyage. Of those gathering from England between 1841 and 1868, there were only half a percent more women than men. Among the Scandinavian emigrants, the women outnumbered the men by seven percent.

Most of those gathering to Zion came in family units. Some who started the voyage single, married before arriving at their destination. A sampling of ships' lists from 1841 to 1868 identify 15,112 of 18,791 converts as

being part of some kind of family group.

After the first few years, the primary agent for transporting all member emigrants, as well as a few non-members, was the Perpetual Emigration Fund. The establishing of this agency in 1849 and its extension to Europe several years later led to what has been referred to as a "shepherded migration." Converts were transplanted from the "Nursery of Eden," as the European missions were called, to Zion, the Garden of Eden itself, where the proselyte, after additional growth and development, might become instrumental in the blossoming of the Kingdom of God. ¹⁰

In the year 1853, 2,312 fund-assisted persons arrived in Salt Lake Valley, and by 1855, some 10,000 had received help for the journey. Between 1853 and 1870, 38,000 British emigrants and 13,000 other European Saints were aided. Although those assisted agreed to return to the fund goods equal in value to that received, an audit at Brigham Young's death showed that they still owed more than \$1,000,000 to the fund. Early in his administration President Taylor published a list of 19,000 debtors, but then forgave half the debt during the jubilee year of 1880.

The donations of members, the contributions of the immigrants, their relatives, and their friends on both continents, and an undetermined amount of tithing receipts generated about \$8,000,000 during the fund's thirty-eight year history. This money, added to private resources in indeterminable amounts, made possible an organization that was unmatched during the 19th-century emigration of tens of millions of Europeans to North American shores.

The order, certainty, and security which characterized the movements of a Mormon from his appointed departure site (Copenhagen, Basel, Hamburg, or Liverpool) to Salt Lake City, or some other settlement, are impressive. He was cared for, directed, supervised, and protected. Traveling with someone he either knew or who knew his language, he was able to avoid the usual pitfalls and problems experienced by the average emigrant. The company to which he belonged was organized from point of departure until time of arrival. Routes of travel, hotels, trains, boats, ship connections, and means of conveyance beyond the frontier were all worked out and secured ahead of time. Questions concerning health, money, baggage, passports, and visas were either answered in advance by means of missionwide publications (The Star in German speaking and Scandinavian counties and The Millennial Star in Great Britain) which served as first-rate guides to emigration, or the matters were resolved by Church representatives along the way.

Those who were called to aid the emigrants, whether in their home villages, enroute to Liverpool or New York, or across the plains to Salt Lake Valley, viewed their tasks as sacred. As a result, orderliness, cleanliness, cooperation, prayer, and general worship were not only stressed, but came to distinguish this Mormon enterprise.

The gathering epoch was, of course, not without its darker and more depressing aspects. During the sailing ship years of the 1850s and early 1860s, a voyage lasted from six to nine weeks. The journey from the continent to Liverpool was sufficient to deplete the strength of the old and very young. On the Atlantic, the long weeks in cramped, unsanitary conditions with little or no provision for private needs resulted in the deaths of many and the further weakening of others. Often, what damage the sea voyage did not accomplish, the journey from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers did. In 1854, one group lost 30 percent of its numbers, mostly to cholera, dysentery, and measles. Since this route was so unhealthy and because more convenient rail connections were becoming available from the ports of New York and Boston to Iowa City, the southern route through New Orleans, though less expensive, was virtually abandoned.

The completion of the railroad in 1869, coupled with the use of steampowered vessels in 1867, eliminated most of the dangers associated with the gathering. Though some difficulties persisted, they involved people and not procedures: officers were occasionally dishonest, and a small number of members were disheartened by the voyage, or embittered by both real and imagined experiences in Utah. Angry and frustrated, they either remained in America or returned to their homelands, and with pen and voice attempted to dissuade the eager convert or tarnish the image of the Church.

In addition, government agencies on both sides of the Atlantic passed laws and employed practices that regularly resulted in discrimination, delays, and occasional heartbreak. Groups leaving Copenhagen, Basel, and

Liverpool were taunted and abused by onlookers and sometimes detained by government officials. Emigration officers in Switzerland interfered with group departures throughout the nineteenth century.

As early as 1857, arrivals in Utah were harassed in their wish to become naturalized citizens; and this continued over the years, especially after the Anti-Polygamy law of 1862. As the polygamy controversy heated up, officials detained passengers of emigrant ships arriving in New York and Boston on grounds of pauperism. However, except for a few who were forced to return to Europe all were allowed to continue as higher-ranking government officials acknowledged the illegal nature of the charges.

Over the years, the number of new arrivals fluctuated annually, depending on a variety of economic, political, and religious factors. During those periods when both contributions and repayments were high and tithing funds were available (especially in Europe, where such monies and goods were often expended in support of the gathering), larger numbers, especially the poor, the old, and the relatively unskilled, were aided. Such periods were usually followed in subsequent years by a sharp decline in emigrant totals. This was not simply due to the depletion of Perpetual Emigration Fund resources, but was evidence that new arrivals needed time to generate capital before they could send for family members and friends who had helped make their journey possible. Time was also required, following two or three successful periods of emigration, to build up the local membership pool. As the number of baptisms dropped off in the 1870s and 1880s, this became an increasingly difficult task.

The social and political climate produced by the announcement of plural marriage in 1852, the Utah War in 1857, the Civil War during the 1860s and the church/state crisis of the 1880s and 1890s, affected ebb and flow of the number of people gathering to Zion. Also of significance after 1885 was the problem of overpopulation in the mainline Mormon settlements and the termination

of the Perpetual Emigration Fund in 1887. Some have argued that the pace of gathering slackened and then came to a virtual halt with the closing of the American frontier, as shown by the fact that suitable free land was no longer available after 1890. This situation was compounded by the absence of large industry in Utah, a serious economic slowdown in the 1890s, and the general poverty of the Church and church members due to the economy and the continued harassment of Mormons by federal officials.

These developments may have influenced and possibly hastened the termination of the gathering, but they were not the primary cause. Simply stated, the gathering ended because it was over. The supply of seekers, those prepared for this highly significant period in Mormon history, was

used up.

In 1890 and again in 1898, the earliest statements signaling the demise of the Gathering were voiced by George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency of the Church. On the latter occasion, the Saints were told that European proselytes were being asked to be patient and not overanxious to leave their homes and travel to Zion. In 1907 the Saints were directed to stay and build up the Church in their native lands. A message of the First Presidency in 1911 left little doubt the gathering had served its purpose, and the course of the kingdom was being altered.

IMPACT OF THE GATHERING

Among all the adult European immigrants who gathered to Zion, a surprising number, mostly Britons, served in the general levels of Church leadership. Three teenagers, George Q. Cannon, Anthon H. Lund, and James E. Talmage, and two small boys, John A. Widtsoe and Charles H. Callis, were among the dozen or more emigrants who became members of the Quorum of the Twelve, or First Council of Seventy. Perhaps the most important contribution of the European emigrants,

however, was their service as local authorities on community and ward levels and as parents and neighbors wherein they became a true expression of what Mormonism was all about. From a far country, often speaking a foreign tongue, they were shaped by the Gospel mold to become one in purpose and commitment. It was by them and among them, in their homes and their personal lives, that the restored Gospel was well expressed and Zion became evermore a reality.

While, thanks to the gathering, Zion in America was growing and prospering, the Church, as such, did not exist in 19th-century Europe. The countries in which missionaries labored were little more than staging grounds where members joined and then moved on, leaving little opportunity for an LDS community to become permanently rooted. Of course this was the way it was meant to be. As Brigham Young noted, in 1855,

Some of you inquire, 'Why can we not serve God in other countries as well as here? You can just as well in England, in France, in Germany, in the United States or on the isles of the sea, or any where else as well as you can here. Well then let us go, they say. But hold on. You can serve him just as well anywhere else when it is your duty to be there... If you would serve Him acceptably, it must be where he calls you. To what part of the earth is the Lord now calling his saints? He has opened up their way far into the interior of North America. When our elders go out to preach the gospel, they tell the people to gather to Zion. Where is it? It is at the city of the Great Salt Lake in the valleys of the mountains, in the settlements of Utah Territory--there is Zion now. 12

To speculate on what the Church would be like in Denmark if the 13,000 emigrants of the last century had remained there is as pointless as wondering what the Church as a whole would be like if no Danes had gathered to Zion. As we look back, we can argue that without the gathering, conversions might not have been so numerous. Like the release valve on a pressure cooker, the constant syphoning off of proselytes so compromised potential antagonists that persecution was not a significant factor, and Mormonism never became a serious threat to either

church or state. Evidence gleaned from Danish and newspapers published during the 1850s and 1860s suggests that the gathering drew attention to the Church; some of it, because of reader interest generated by the departure of many relatives, neighbors and countrymen, was positive and made Mormonism the best known Christian sect in the country.

Beginning early in this century, a new era was initiated as that of the gathering passed from the scene. Under the direction of Joseph F. Smith and his successor Heber J. Grant, Mormonism emerged from its bunkers and, with Ephraim sufficiently gathered and the kingdom securely rooted in the American West, began to extend its borders throughout the United States. Meanwhile, in Europe, the Church was essentially "dead in the water."

The 1950s bridged, in many ways, the end of one era and the beginning of another in the history of European Mormonism. The period began with a shutdown of the Church-sponsored gathering near the turn of the century and continued through a period of recovery and change that lasted some sixty years. For a good portion of that time, Mormonism in Europe was like a ship becalmed. There was no wind in its sails.

In earlier decades, it had obtained its direction and sustained its momentum from the doctrine of the gathering. The mission of the Church, mission president and missionary were clearly understood: each was a vehicle to bring the convert to Zion. The worthy and obedient paused just long enough to sell out, pack up and then head for the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

With the call to Zion no longer being sounded, the roles of the Church members of foreign nations had to be revised. The problem was that with a program previously geared to gathering, there were no buildings to meet in, temples to worship in, sufficient members to marry, quorums to belong to, or stakes and wards to lead. When the missionary asked the investigator of this period to be baptized, he might have responded, "Into what?" and when

the mission president asked the few members to stay and not emigrate to America, they might have answered, "Stay for what?"

In time, European members, missionaries, and mission leaders came to understand that the arrow pointing to Zion was no longer away from, but rather toward them. Whereas the Gathering had been a motivating message during the nineteenth century, it became a subject for the local Saints to ponder and reponder during the first half of the twentieth. With no place to go and no reason for staying, European Mormonism was a becalmed ship waiting for the breeze of the 1950s and 60s to bring to the European saints the complete Church program and with it another kind of gathering experience, more exciting and rewarding than they could possibly have envisioned.

Among the countless individuals who came to the United States during the nineteenth century, the Mormons who made the journey are described as being no more than a ripple in the vast stream of humanity that emptied onto American shores. Of much greater significance than their numbers, however, was the distinction that while gentiles by the millions emigrated, Mormons by the thousands gathered. And when it ended, a significant epoch in human history came to a close. Scattered throughout hundreds of communities of every kind and size, the great gathering of the latter-days was over, and Zion was well established in the tops of the mountains.

Notes

- 1. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957, p. 18.
 - 2. Ibid.
- 3. P.A.M. Taylor in his book *Expectations Westward*, London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965, reported, after a careful study of Church documents, the figures for Great Britain between 1850 and 1900 as 42,317. The figure 48,000 comes from Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1937.

4. Christensen, Marius A., "History of the Danish Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966, p. 93.

5. Douglas Alder, "The German Speaking Immigration to Utah,

1850 to 1950," M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1959, p. 3.

6. These secondary reformers--among them Samuel Lutz, the Pietist leader of Switzerland; Hans Denk, Balthasar Hubmaier, Johann Bunderlin, Olaf Petersson, Georg Norman and the leaders of Anabaptists; the Puritans and the Quakers--may have been far more helpful in preparing the way for the restoration than we have appreciated.

7. John Taylor, "Things of God Revealed," Journal of Discourses,

Vol. 15, May 26, 1872, pp. 170-171.

8. Mulder, Homeward to Zion, p. 11.

9. Taylor, Expectations Westward, pp. 146-147.

10. Mulder, "Mormons in Scandinavia," pp. 230-231.

11. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, p. 140.

12. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, 11, April 6, 1855, p. 253.