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## A History of the French Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1850-1960

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A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH MISSION OF THE CHURCH  
OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

1965

378.2  
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This study will trace the history of Mormon missionary work in France up to 1960. The French Mission encompasses most of the French-speaking areas of western Europe, and at various times during its history included all of France, the Channel Islands, and those parts of Switzerland and Belgium where French is the predominant language.

Also included in this study is a brief description of Mormon proselyting among the French-speaking Waldensian people of northern Italy. This was included because for many years Italy has been, at least nominally, assigned to the French Mission. Though missionaries have not proselyted in



PREFACE

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is an evangelical religion. From a beginning in western New York in 1830, it grew into a world-wide organization which numbered more than a million and a half members by 1960. Those largely responsible for this growth have been the Church members who have volunteered two to three years of their time to missionary service. In 1960 there were approximately 7,000 of these missionaries working in different areas of the world. Of this number, almost 1,800 were serving in Europe, where with the exception of the personnel of the United States government groups, they probably constituted the largest single group of organized Americans living abroad.

This study will trace the history of Mormon missionary work in France up to 1960. The French Mission encompasses most of the French-speaking areas of western Europe, and at various times during its history included all of France, the Channel Islands, and those parts of Switzerland and Belgium where French is the predominate language.

Also included in this study is a brief description of Mormon proselyting among the French-speaking Waldenses people of northern Italy. This was included because for many years Italy has been, at least nominally, assigned to the French Mission. Though missionaries have not proselyted in



Italy for more than 100 years, there are a handful of Mormons living in that country. *than words can express by her patient*

In this thesis, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is frequently referred to either as "the Church" or "the Mormon Church." This is done to avoid the repetition of its longer official name. Also, the Mormon missionaries are termed simply "the missionaries" or "the elders," the title elder being an office or degree of the Mormon priesthood to which all male missionaries belong. There are two remaining terms which need clarification. They are "branch" and "ward." In Mormon usage the branch is a small congregation of believers presided over by a branch president and two counselors. The ward is a somewhat larger congregation presided over by a bishop and two counselors.

In the writing of this thesis a number of people have been instrumental in aiding the author by advice or in research materials. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Professor S. George Ellsworth, chairman of the writer's graduate committee, for his valuable counsel and assistance. Appreciation is also expressed to the other members of the committee, Professors Leonard J. Arrington and Douglas D. Alder, for their helpful suggestions and encouragement.

For their cooperation in allowing access to the historical data and records on the French Mission, the writer owes a special thanks to the staff of the Church Historian's Office of the Mormon Church.

The author is also sincerely grateful to those who have

read and criticized this thesis, and especially to his wife, Connie, who helped more than words can express by her patient encouragement.

## CHAPTER I

### HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

On the sixth day of April, 1830, six men met together in the home of Peter Whitmer Jr., in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, and under the leadership of Joseph Smith Jr., the Mormon prophet, the Mormon Church was organized.<sup>1</sup>

At first, the news of Joseph Smith's visions and revelations traveled only among the friends and relatives of those associated with the prophet. Within several months a number of these people had joined the Church, and in a short time there were three small Mormon congregations holding meetings in three towns in the state of New York. These towns were Fayette, in Seneca County; Colesville, in Broome County; and Manchester, in Ontario County.

At a conference held by the Church on September 26-28, 1830, it was decided that missionaries should be called to disseminate the news of Joseph Smith's visions and revelations. Accordingly the following men were called to travel in New York and adjacent states to proselyte for the Church: Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer Jr., Parley P. Pratt, and Richard E. Peterson.

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CHAPTER I

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Prior to the organization of the Church, Joseph Smith claimed to have received a number of metal plates from a heavenly visitor. From these plates he translated the Book of Mormon. This book purported to contain the history of an ancient civilization which had once flourished in North and South America.

When the first missionaries of the Mormon Church were sent out to preach, they went first to the descendants of the people described in the Book of Mormon--the American Indians. The missionaries preached with moderate success among three Indian tribes, but in January 1831, government Indian agents, fearful that the missionaries would stir up trouble among the tribes, forbid the Mormons from continuing their proselyting.

Though this first mission was short lived, it was only the first of many Mormon missions that were subsequently organized. Soon new converts to Mormonism found themselves called as missionaries to various areas of the eastern United States and Canada.<sup>2</sup>

In 1837, the Mormon missionary effort was expanded outside of North America, and missionaries were sent abroad to Great Britain where they achieved remarkable success in converting English people to this new faith.<sup>3</sup> In Britain, as in

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<sup>2</sup>S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860," (unpublished doctor's dissertation, Department of History, University of California, 1951), p. 74-92.

<sup>3</sup>Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), p. 93.

the United States, many new converts were called upon to be missionaries to their own countrymen, and soon there were sizable numbers of Mormon congregations in the British Isles.

By the 1840's the leadership of the Mormon Church felt it was time to expand their missionary effort into other areas of the world. Accordingly, at a council meeting of the Church held in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844,<sup>4</sup> a number of missionaries were called to go to several foreign countries. It was on this occasion that the first official mention was made of a French Mission, and Elder Almon Babbitt was charged with the responsibility of inaugurating Mormon missionary work in France. However, for an unknown reason Elder Babbitt never left for his assigned field of labor, and no further mention can be found of this man in connection with the French Mission.

A year later a Scottish elder left his homeland for France where he took employment as a railway timekeeper. In the course of his work he reportedly converted two people to Mormonism.<sup>5</sup> Although it is not clear whether these were

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<sup>4</sup>Deseret News, August 5, 1857, p. 1; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 6, 1849. The Journal History is a day by day chronological history of the Mormon Church. It is located in the Historian's Office of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Herein after referred to as the CHO) in Salt Lake City, Utah, and covers the period from 1830 to the present. It is herein after cited as Journal History of the Church.

<sup>5</sup>Times and Seasons, VI (August 1, 1845), p. 989.



French converts or simply other British subjects working in France, the elder did express the feeling that if the Gospel were "preached in the language of the country... thousands [would] embrace it..."<sup>6</sup> This enthusiastic statement would later be shown to have been extremely optimistic.

In 1847 a plea was made in England, through a Mormon publication the Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, for elders to volunteer their services in France as missionaries. The writer of the article felt that the "time was ripe," and he suggested that because English was understood among many in Lyons and Calais, these would be suitable places to begin the work. The plea ended with the statement that "we are anxiously waiting for a young man to offer his services for France, who can go forth without purse or scrip as the first missionaries came to England..."<sup>7</sup>

Apparently discovering that none of the English Saints felt inclined to volunteer for France, the Church leadership in England decided to act, and at a General Conference of the British Mission a call was given to Elder William Howell to serve as a missionary in France.<sup>8</sup> It appears that Elder Howell delayed his departure for several months, and it was not until August of 1849 that further mention was made of him.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., XI (September 1, 1848), p. 263.

<sup>7</sup>Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, IX (December 1, 1847), p. 359-60. Herein after cited as Millennial Star.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., X (August 15, 1848), p. 254.



At this time he wrote a letter that was printed in the Millennial Star in which he gave an account of his missionary work.<sup>9</sup> He indicated that his efforts had been confined principally to the English-speaking Protestants residing in the area around LeHavre, and up to the time of the communication he had met with little success and had been able to convert but one person, a Mr. Augustus Saint d'Anna.<sup>10</sup>

After a short time Howell had visited most of the English-speaking people around LeHavre and was obliged to devote his efforts to the French inhabitants. He later related that he had been able to convert several French people in LeHavre area of the truth of Mormonism, but his preaching aroused so much persecution that he was forced out of the town of Saint Servan, after baptizing only one person.<sup>11</sup>

By April of 1850 Elder Howell had converted enough people in northern France to organize a small branch, and on the sixth of that month six French converts gathered together at Boulogne-sur-Mer to organize the first French branch of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.<sup>12</sup>

Until 1849 the limited missionary activity on the European continent had been directed by the Mormon leaders in England. However, beginning with the October General

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., XI (September 1, 1849), p. 263.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., XII (January 1, 1850), p. 11.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., (May 15, 1850), p. 159.

Conference of that year, held in Salt Lake City, elders began to be sent directly to various countries in Europe. It was during this conference that three rather prominent Mormons were called to serve as missionaries in France.<sup>13</sup> These three were: John Taylor, one of the twelve Mormon apostles and later president of the Church; Curtis E. Bolton, the son of a wealthy New York shipowner; and John Pack, in whose home the University of Deseret (a predecessor of the University of Utah) first held classes.

Of these missionaries called to France, only one, Curtis Bolton, had any training in the French language. He had lived in France for a short time while in the employment of his father and had apparently learned enough French to have become knowledgeable in that language, for in 1848 he was instructing a French class in Salt Lake City.<sup>14</sup>

It is interesting to note the manner in which the missionaries received their "mission call," and one must admire the faith of these men who would leave their homes and families for an unspecified length of time and journey anywhere in the world without purse or scrip to preach for their church. Elder Bolton gave the following description of his situation prior to receiving his call to go to France, and it aptly illustrates the austere conditions under which these

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<sup>13</sup>Journal History of the Church, October 6, 1849.

<sup>14</sup>Diary of Curtis Bolton, October 1848. Located in the Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Herein after cited as Bolton Diary.



people lived.

I found I had worked all of the Spring, Summer and Fall and had not earned a dollar. I had devoted my time to my land, living six weeks on greens, and here at the commencement of Winter I found myself without a house, or material to build one, without provisions, and not much clothing, no fodder for Winter. Very much dishearted...

He then related how upon attending church he discovered indirectly that he had been appointed or "called" to be a missionary.

Rebecca and I went to the meeting this morning. On entering the door Pres. John Young beckoned [sic] to me to come up on the stand as he frequently did. When I took my seat by his side... he asked me how I liked my appointment. I answered it depended on what it was. He ... [was] astonished I had not heard, and after much questioning told me I was appointed to go on a mission to France. This intelligence gave me such exceeding joy that I almost danced with joy.<sup>15</sup>

As in the case of Bolton, the missionaries themselves were often the last to be informed of their call, and the usual practice was for the Church leaders to draw up a list of prospective missionaries from the residents of the valley and read them off during a conference. Thus without prior knowledge a man such as Bolton would attend church conference and suddenly discover that he was expected to depart within a few days for a foreign land. One can only wonder at the apprehension of the audience\* that accompanied the reading of the names.

Though Bolton was very pleased about his mission call, it undoubtedly caused him a good deal of concern in regard to

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., October 1-7, 1849.



the welfare of his family during his absence. He was aware that the Church sent its missionaries without purse or scrip and that except for occasional help from other Saints he might encounter along the way, he would be expected to devote his time to missionary labor, trusting in the charity of the people he would meet for his sustenance. This would make it impossible for him to give any support whatsoever to his family during the next few years, and this prospect must have weighed heavily on his mind as he bid his family farewell.

After a six month's trip from Salt Lake City to New York and a four week's voyage across the ocean, the elders docked in England in June of 1850,<sup>16</sup> and at once set about trying to obtain financial aid from the English Saints for the French Mission. They also met with William Howell who had returned to England from Boulogne-sur-Mer to accompany the new missionaries to France. Before the elders continued to their destination, Elder Taylor, feeling that more help would be needed to expand the work in France, called two English elders, Fred Piercy and Arthur Steyner, to assist the other four in the work that lay ahead.<sup>17</sup>

On the 18th of June 1850, Elder John Taylor, Curtis E. Bolton, and William Howell arrived at Boulogne-sur-Mer.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., June 17, 1850. Millennial Star, XII (August 1, 1850), p. 235.

<sup>17</sup>Bolton's Diary, June 17, 1850.

<sup>18</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, June 18, 1850. Located in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, Vol. 1.

The other three missionaries tarried in England for a few days and joined their brethren on June 26.<sup>19</sup>

Upon landing at Boulogne, John Taylor wasted no time in announcing to the inhabitants of that city that the Mormon missionaries had arrived. He wrote a letter to the editor of the newspaper Interpreter Anglais et Francais, to announce the meetings of the Church and to give a brief explanation of the beliefs of the Mormons.<sup>20</sup>

Soon permission was requested and received from the civil authorities to distribute handbills and to hold public meetings.<sup>21</sup> The first of these public meetings was held on June 30, 1850, attended by about thirty people. Among those in attendance were three Protestant ministers who tried to disturb the meeting by interrupting Elder Taylor during his address.<sup>22</sup> Several days later a note was received by the Elders from those same three men challenging Elder Taylor to a public debate and discussion of the Mormon Church.<sup>23</sup> The challenge was accepted, and a hall was rented for three nights.

There is some confusion as to the outcome of this public

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<sup>19</sup>Bolton Diary, June 26, 1850.

<sup>20</sup>Millennial Star, XII (August 1, 1850), p. 235-36.

<sup>21</sup>Bolton Diary, June 27, 29, 1850.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., June 30, 1850.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1850.



discussion. Brigham H. Roberts, in his biography of John Taylor,<sup>24</sup> maintained that Elder Taylor vanquished the arguments of the three men and that Mormonism won the day. Indeed in a small pamphlet published by Taylor in which the proceedings of the discussion were given,<sup>25</sup> it would appear that Taylor was the victor. However, Curtis Bolton, who attended the meetings, wrote in his diary that during a discussion when John Taylor was defending the veracity of the Book of Mormon, one of the ministers handed him a piece of paper containing three passages, and asked Taylor which one of the passages was written in Greek. Elder Taylor fell into a trap and selected the top one. He was then informed that none of them were Greek, and this caused, according to Bolton, "uproarious shouts of derision and caused superlative ridicule to fall upon himself and the cause."<sup>26</sup>

In the pamphlet later written about the event, Taylor maintained that after he had made this blunder a man in the audience, who claimed to be an Oxford graduate and knowledgeable in the Greek language, demanded to see the paper.

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<sup>24</sup>Brigham H. Roberts, Biography of John Taylor (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1892), p. 213-22.

<sup>25</sup>John Taylor, Three Nights Public Discussion Between Revds. C. W. Cleeve, James Robertson, and Philip Carter and John Taylor of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Boulogne-sur-Mer, France (Liverpool, England: R. James, 1850).

<sup>26</sup>Bolton Diary, July 13, 1850.

He claimed that the line chosen by Taylor did indeed resemble Greek, and even though it was Japanese it could easily be mistaken for Greek by a layman.<sup>27</sup> This last episode was not reported by Bolton and therefore the actual outcome of the discussions is still somewhat in doubt.

It should be conceded, however, that even though there was some comment made on the event in the newspapers, there was not much interest stirred up over the debate; for after the last public discussion Taylor arranged to have a public meeting for the next day, and only two people attended. Still another meeting was held the following day with again only two people in attendance, and these were merely people traveling through the city who had stopped by the hall quite by accident. After these discouraging events, Bolton proclaimed in his diary that "Mormonism is dead here," and he and Taylor left for Paris where they joined Elders Piercy, Steyner, and Howell who had gone there nearly a month before.<sup>28</sup> Elder Pack remained in Boulogne to take care of the branch.<sup>29</sup>

The five Elders in Paris occupied themselves in translating Mormon literature into French or writing new tracts. Elder Howell attempted some door-to-door proselyting, but due to his difficulty with the language, his work was confined

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<sup>27</sup>Taylor, Three Nights Public Discussion... p. 31-32.

<sup>28</sup>Bolton Diary, June 29, 1850.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., July 24, 1850.



to the English-speaking people of Paris.<sup>30</sup>

Attention was soon directed to the translating of the Book of Mormon into French, and since Curtis Bolton was the most qualified in that language, it was decided that he should begin the work. Bolton worked on the translation from July 24 to October 1, 1850, at which time he layed it aside, and at the request of John Taylor, started to translate a sixteen page tract called, Aux Amis de la Verite Religieuse.<sup>31</sup> This booklet was published in 1851 in Paris, and was written by John Taylor. It contained a brief history of the Church and some of its basic doctrines.

Even though most of the elders' time was being devoted to their studies of the French language and to getting Mormon literature translated into French, they did maintain a constant effort to seek out converts to their faith. News of the missionaries' presence in Paris traveled, and a number of people sought out the elders to hear their message.<sup>32</sup> By November there were six people in Paris who desired baptism. These were: Louis Bertrand, a Mr. Wilhelm and his wife, and a Mr. Squires and his wife and son.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the fact that the Mormons baptize by total immersion, it became a problem to find a place in Paris where this

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1850.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., November 1, 1850.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., November 14, 1850.

ordinance could be accomplished. Curtis Bolton recorded:

No one can conceive the difficulty we have to contend with in relation to baptizing. The swimming baths are taken to pieces. There are no public baths where both sexes are allowed to enter together, and we can find no place neither up nor down the river.<sup>34</sup>

Bolton had been warned that due to the cold weather, which would make it somewhat dangerous for people to be baptized in the open air, the police would not allow the river to be used for that purpose. However, after some searching a suitable place was located in the Seine River on the Ile St. Owen,<sup>35</sup> and the baptisms were held without any interference or interruption.

When Bolton again resumed his work on the Book of Mormon he was aided by one of the new converts, Mr. Wilhelm. Wilhelm was a well educated man who, before joining the Mormons, had been a member of the Jesuit Order of the Catholic Church.<sup>36</sup> Wilhelm's help lasted until February of 1851, at which time he became disillusioned with Mormonism. Taylor had offended him by refusing to publish a tract he had written on the Church, and Wilhelm retaliated by refusing to continue his help with the translation.<sup>37</sup> Shortly thereafter he was excommunicated from the Church.

In March a young man stopped by the elders' quarters

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., November 20, 1850.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., December 1, 1850.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., November 14, 1850.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1851.



and offered his services to the missionaries. He returned the next day and undertook to review the translations that Wilhelm had made prior to his leaving. About a week after this, a man by the name of Lazare Augé called on the elders to offer his services to help finish the Book of Mormon.<sup>38</sup> He had been sent by Louis Bertrand, the editor of a communist newspaper, who had joined the Church the previous year. Mr. Augé was hired and began at once to translate the book.

At the same time that the Book of Mormon was being translated, work was being done to start the printing of a monthly periodical called the Etoile du Deseret. On May 29, 1851, the first issue was printed and ready for sale.<sup>39</sup> It was printed each month thereafter for a year; the last issue being printed in April 1852. The purpose of the Etoile was to give instruction on the doctrine of the Church as well as on its history and position on various beliefs.<sup>40</sup> It was also used as a means of conveying messages from the Church president, as well as the mission president, to the French-speaking Mormons of France, Switzerland, and Italy. There were also articles written from time to time by Alphonse Dupont, Curtis Bolton, and Louis Bertrand.

During this period in France there was a law that forbade any foreigner to publish a periodical. To get around

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., March 22, 1851.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., May 29, 1851.

<sup>40</sup>Etoile du Deseret, ed. John Taylor (Paris, France: Ducloux, 1851-52).

this law in the printing of the Etoile, Elder Bolton had a Mr. Ducloux, a Frenchman in whom he had confidence, assume ownership of the Mormon periodical. Bolton also made arrangements with Mr. Ducloux to sell the Etoile in his bookstore as well as the Book of Mormon, when it was translated and printed.

With the Etoile du Deseret organized and in regular publication, all efforts were again directed to the completion of the Book of Mormon translation. On the seventh of July 1851, Louis Bertrand called on Curtis Bolton to offer his services.<sup>41</sup> He had lost his job as the editor of the communist newspaper Le Populaire and was in need of employment. Mr. Augé, who was still helping the elders, agreed to relinquish his translator's job so Bertrand could take charge of the work.

Bertrand proved to be an invaluable aid with the Book of Mormon, and continued his help until it was finished. Indeed, in later years he related that it was he who had translated almost all of the Book of Mormon into French. He felt that those who were not Mormons who had worked on it had not put its true spirit into the translation, and Curtis Bolton's knowledge of the French language was not perfect enough to give a meaningful translation. He, therefore, felt that he had been obliged to redo the portion that had been translated as well as the remainder, and thus, in effect, he

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<sup>41</sup>Bolton Diary, November 18, 1851.



had done almost all of it.<sup>42</sup>

Louis Bertrand was a very interesting person. In his youth he had traveled a great deal and had lived for a time in the United States and South America. In 1846 he returned to Paris with the intention of writing a book about his travels. While in Paris he became interested in the communist and socialist movements which were becoming popular in that city and became an active member in several of these groups.<sup>43</sup> Apparently it was at this time that he assumed the pseudonym of Louis Alphonse Bertrand for he later wrote:

I was baptized in Paris by Elder John Taylor under the name of Louis Alphonse Bertrand. These were only my French political names. I was then a mad politician, the cashier and editor of the journal *Le Populaire*, a demagogick [sic] paper of the first water. I did spend about 10 years of my life in Paris and I am extensively known in that city by the French government, under these names.<sup>44</sup>

Bertrand had probably assumed a false name with the hope that any trouble he became involved in would have no repercussions on his family. There is only one known instance when he revealed his real name, and this was done when he participated in the holy temple ordinance of the Mormon Church. At this time his true name was recorded as

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<sup>42</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865. All letters cited are located in CHO unless otherwise stated.

<sup>43</sup>Louis Alphonse Bertrand [John Francis Elias Flandin], *Memoires d'un Mormon* (Paris, France: E. Jung Treuttel, 1862), p. 6.

<sup>44</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, August 11, 1859.

John Francis Elias Flandin.<sup>45</sup>

Bertrand was a very talented person, and from the time he joined the Church until his death in 1875 he devoted most of his energy to furthering the cause of Mormonism, and to the building up of Utah. He had led a very colorful life, and during the disquieting period of French history leading up to the revolution of 1848, he had been very active in the revolutionary intrigue and had risen to the leadership of the Revolutionary Party of Red Republicans. With the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, he was chosen as a member of the Revolution committee. When the uprising failed, his political activity landed him in prison for three months.<sup>46</sup> It was upon his release from prison that he associated himself with the communist newspaper Le Populaire, owned by a well known French communist Etienne Cabet. While occupying this position he was contacted by John Taylor and Curtis Bolton, and after three months he was baptized.

It would seem probable that one of the things that influenced Bertrand and other French converts was the socialistic aspect of Mormonism. Several years after he joined the Church, Bertrand recorded in his memoirs that he had studied the utopian ideas of such men as Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, and Etienne Cabet, but he had found them all to be too

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<sup>45</sup>Letter from D. M. McAllister to Andrew Jenson, September 11, 1923.

<sup>46</sup>Bolton Diary, December 22, 1851.



materialistic, and therefore felt that they could never achieve success. With the Mormons, however, he felt as though he had found a group of people successfully forming their own semi-socialistic communities, and meeting with a good deal of success in spite of the strong persecution opposing them. Even with the loss of their prophet and leader Joseph Smith, they appeared to be alive and growing,<sup>47</sup>

Though the first missionaries to France did not witness as rapid a growth of the Church in that country as had been the case in some other Mormon missions,<sup>48</sup> they did experience some rather noteworthy successes. In keeping with the practice of calling new converts as missionaries, some of the early French members found themselves being sent out to proclaim Mormonism. One of these French Mormons, a Brother Bellanger, met with considerable success in his home town of Le Grand Lucé, and in March of 1851 he wrote a letter telling of baptizing three converts. He also related that there were so many people coming to his home to hear him preach that he had to hold meetings out of doors. On one occasion his house was filled with thirty people, with another hundred trying to get in.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Louis Bertrand, Memoires d'un Mormon, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup>For example, in the Mormon Mission in Scandinavia, the elders were able to convert 2052 souls within three years after their arrival. See Andrew Jenson's History of the Scandinavian Mission (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), p. 533.

<sup>49</sup>Millennial Star, XIII (March 15, 1851), p. 85-86.

In response to Brother Bellanger's letter, Philip De La Mare, a recent French-speaking convert from the Channel Islands, was sent to assist in the work at le Grand Lucé. In a letter to Curtis Bolton, Elder De La Mare gave further indication of the success of the missionaries in that town.

Dear Brother Bolton... I have again to announce to you that we have baptized three more persons last week, now seven in all. Every night our place is full of people; some come many miles distance to hear us. The people in this place have not much confidence in their priests. When we take scriptures and read to them, they are astonished at their contents. On Saturday, at eleven o'clock, we baptized two, a man and his wife; and on Sunday, the people came by the hundreds. The cry was "come out! we have come, some three, some four leagues, and we won't go until we have heard what you have to say." All of them wanted to buy books; but we could not sell any for want of authority. So after we had spoken about four hours, we went out of the house, expecting the people would go, but some followed us, and we had to preach to them out of doors, and on our return the house was full.<sup>50</sup>

While the missionaries outside of Paris were experiencing some welcome success, the elders in Paris were becoming discouraged because of the opposition thrown against them by the French government. By April of 1851 there were no people, other than the missionaries, attending the Mormon meetings. Elder Bolton felt that the political situation in France at the time was so volatile that the Parisians were afraid to attend any meetings whatsoever.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Bolton Diary, April 10, 1851.



In May of the same year an invitation was received by the elders to attend a reception given by the Minister of Religions and Public Schools. They were unable to attend, but they passed by the minister's office the following day to tell him of their purpose in France and to assure him that they intended to conform to the laws of the nation. The missionaries explained that all the elders wanted was the liberty to preach and the protection of the government. The minister replied that his authority existed only over the officially established churches in France, and he suggested that the elders not be too severe against the other churches, for if one of the established churches issued a complaint against the Mormons, the Minister of the Interior, Leon Fouchet, would silence the Mormon preaching.<sup>52</sup>

As the year wore on the government of Louis Napoleon became more restrictive on the French people, and the emperor's repressive measures greatly hampered the elders' work. There was a severe restriction placed upon the distribution of printed material, and Curtis Bolton wrote that a person was liable to fines and imprisonment for distributing any type of literature. These restrictive measures were not against the Mormons exclusively, but they covered all people living in France. Elder Bolton related that his printer was imprisoned for three months for printing a book against the Catholic Church, even though the book had already passed

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., May 13, 1851.

through eleven previous editions in France.<sup>53</sup> D. W. Brogan, a British scholar of French history, explains: "There were numerous press persecutions and a war against the colporteurs who sold books, pictures, tracts, Bibles. The assembly was against all stirring up of the countryside even by the sale of Bibles."<sup>54</sup>

By the end of August 1851, active missionary work in Paris had practically stopped. Bolton had been positively forbidden to preach in public anywhere in France. People were afraid to come to any church meetings, and the only way that Mormonism was being preached was through the few copies of the Etoile du Deseret that filtered into the hands of the public.<sup>55</sup>

It would appear that everything seemed to be working against the Mormons. Possibly due to tensions built up over repeated failures to interest the Parisians in Mormonism and the repressive policies of the French government, some dissensions began to occur among the elders, at least between Bolton and Taylor.

In July of 1851 Bolton wrote the following in his diary in regard to a disagreement he was having with John Taylor

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<sup>53</sup>Letter from Curtis Bolton to Brigham Young, August 30, 1851.

<sup>54</sup>D. W. Brogan, The French Nation From Napoleon to Pétain (New York: Harper & Brother, 1957), p. 101.

<sup>55</sup>Letter from Curtis Bolton to Brigham Young, August 30, 1851.



over the Book of Mormon:

He [Taylor] wants his name to be put as translator of the Book of Mormon into French, though he has never had anything to do with it at all except raise part of the money for its publication and left me to get the rest, which I have done.

He continued to expand upon the discord which existed between them.

He [Taylor] is a most jealous being. He wants to be a Lord God Almighty and have every particle of the honor of every single thing himself and never allow to another any whatever, even if so deserving. He has the greatest nack I ever saw to make everyone think him some great one but only for a time for they find him out after awhile. I verily believe it is that spirit which he manifests that is one of the chief reasons why the mission doesn't prosper.<sup>56</sup>

In spite of the difficulty encountered in proselyting and the dissent among some of the missionaries, the elders continued with their work. Bertrand was now devoting his full time and attention to the Book of Mormon, and the translation was progressing rapidly. However, this work suffered a setback in December of 1851 when a coup d'état was launched by Louis Napoleon, and fighting broke out in Paris. It was felt that due to Bertrand's previous communist affiliation it might be wise for him to leave the city until the political atmosphere cleared.<sup>57</sup> In Bertrand's absence Bolton again took over the translation of the Book of Mormon, and in an entry in his diary in December 1851, he gave a vivid account of the temper of Paris and of his determination to finish the

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<sup>56</sup>Bolton Diary, July 20, 1851.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., December 2, 1851.

book. He recorded the following:

A most horrid stillness that was almost tangible suddenly came over the usual noise of the great city. This lasted some ten minutes, when suddenly it was broken by an infernal roar of artillery and platoon firing in every direction. This lasted for about a quarter of an hour and then that same horrid stillness, really awful. It was truly a solemn moment, but relying on the arm of Jehovah for protection I went on translating and correcting without allowing my mind to be the least disturbed.<sup>58</sup>

In the midst of this revolutionary atmosphere in Paris, John Taylor called a Church Conference. The day set for the meeting was December 21, 1851, the same day that a plebiscite was to be held by Louis Napoleon to determine whether he had the right to draw up a new constitution--or in other words become dictator of France. Some of the elders felt that it might prove to be unwise to have a Church Conference on the same day as the plebiscite due to the fact that the Church had been under observation by the French police for some time, and the conference might provoke some action. There was a law in Paris in 1851, which specified that no more than twenty persons could assemble together at one time,<sup>59</sup> and the Mormon meetings were often entered by the police to count the people and see if any laws had been violated.<sup>60</sup> Also during 1851, John Taylor had published a pamphlet entitled, The Kingdom of God in which he stated that the "Kingdom of God was eventually

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>See appendix number A.

<sup>60</sup>Brigham H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor, p. 232.



to overcome all other kingdoms and subdue them."<sup>61</sup> The doctrine of the Mormon Church at this time was that there would be a literal taking-over of the earthly kingdoms by the Kingdom of God.<sup>62</sup> This type of belief was undoubtedly unpopular with the leaders of Louis Napoleon's government.

A short time before the conference was to be held, John Taylor received an emphatic order to present himself before the Minister of War.<sup>63</sup> When he arrived, he was handed a copy of the pamphlet and asked if the statement contained therein that the Kingdom of God would eventually overcome all other kingdoms was doctrine in the Mormon Church. When Taylor replied in the affirmative, he was promptly given twenty-four hours to leave France.

John Taylor did not seem to have been the type of man to be pushed by anyone, and hoping the police would forget about him he simply changed his residence and proceeded with the conference as planned. It seems that John Taylor was not the type of person to let the mere threat of a French revolution deter him from his work.<sup>64</sup> However, shortly thereafter Eugene A. Henroid, a recent convert to the Church from LeHavre, recalled that around midnight one night he heard a

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<sup>61</sup>Letter from Eugene Henroid to Andrew Jenson, January 7, 1914.

<sup>62</sup>For further information of this subject see: Hyrum Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1958).

<sup>63</sup>Henroid letter.

<sup>64</sup>Brigham H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor, p. 233.

rap at his door, and upon investigation he found John Taylor trying to escape from the police. Taylor was hidden in the house until passage was obtained for England.<sup>65</sup> He was then helped to the coast where he made his escape. John Taylor left France for good, but before leaving he had appointed Curtis Bolton to carry on the work as the mission president with Louis Bertrand, First Counsellor and James H. Hart, Second Counsellor.

The year 1851 had seen some progress in the French Mission. In spite of the restrictions placed on the missionaries by the French government, the Elders had been able to organize four small branches of the Church in France. These branches were in Paris, Le Grand Lucé, LeHavre, and Boulogne-sur-Mer. In addition to this, the Mormon periodical Etoile du Deseret was being published regularly in the French language. The year 1851 also saw an expansion in the mission territory with the placing of the Channel Islands under the jurisdiction of the French Mission.<sup>66</sup> These islands are located in the English Channel off the coast of France at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Malo. Even though they are within sight of the French mainland they have been in the possession of the English crown since the time of the Norman invasion.<sup>67</sup> However, due to their close proximity to France,

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<sup>65</sup>Henroid letter.

<sup>66</sup>Millennial Star, XIII (July 15, 1851), p. 218.

<sup>67</sup>"Channel Islands," Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. John V. Dodge, Vol. 5, 1964, p. 268-72.



the culture and language of the islanders is largely French, and for this reason it was decided, at a General Conference held in London in 1851, that the Channel Islands should come under the jurisdiction of the French Mission.

The Mormon missionaries had been preaching on the islands for several years before the French Mission was established, though it was not until 1848 that the elders began to attract very many converts.<sup>68</sup> This increase in conversions was largely due to the efforts of Elder William C. Dunbar, who arrived on the island of Jersey in 1848. The Church prospered on this island, and soon there were three Mormon branches meeting regularly on Jersey. By 1851 there were 270 Mormons<sup>69</sup> meeting in branches on the four main Channel Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark.<sup>70</sup> During this early period of the French Mission these islands produced more converts to Mormonism than in any area of France.

One reason the missionaries had more success in the islands than on the French Mainland was due to the more permissive attitude which the Channel Islanders' government had towards the missionaries. Also, judging by reports from the various elders, the islanders seemed to show a good deal of interest in what the Mormons were preaching.<sup>71</sup> John Pack,

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<sup>68</sup>Deseret News, December 18, 1854, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup>Millennial Star XIII (July 1, 1851), p. 207.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., XVI (March 11, 1854), p. 155.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 155; Deseret News, August 17, 1854, p. 2.

who was sent to Jersey to preside over that branch in 1851, reported that: "The work of God is rolling on here with great rapidity. We are baptizing some almost every day..."<sup>72</sup>

With several hundred Mormons from the Channel Islands now in the French Mission, the financial burden of printing literature and supporting the missionaries must have been lessened. The members of the islands indicated they would be willing to financially support the missionaries in France, and John Pack was requested to hold himself ready to send help when needed.<sup>73</sup>

By the early part of 1852, after a year and a half of labor, the French translation of the Book of Mormon was at last ready to be printed.<sup>74</sup> The costs of the printing were generously paid for by some English saints who had responded to an earlier plea for money which John Taylor had printed in the Millennial Star.<sup>75</sup> In addition to translating the Book of Mormon, Louis Bertrand had also engaged in translating some Mormon tracts and pamphlets into French, and soon the Church was supplied with a variety of religious literature.

The printing of the Book of Mormon and the success that Mormonism was having in the Channel Islands seemed to give new hope to the missionaries in France, and Curtis Bolton,

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<sup>72</sup>Fredrick J. Pack, "Life of John Pack" (1937), p. 48. In CHO.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>74</sup>Bolton Diary, January 13, 1852.

<sup>75</sup>Millennial Star, XIII (February 1, 1851), p. 42.



excited about the many conversions on Jersey, noted with great enthusiasm that: "Everywhere the work prospers well in these islands--an excellent spirit reigns, no persecution--preaching called for everywhere in new places--many being baptised--20 or more getting ready to go to Zion..."<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile, in France things were not going so smoothly. Mr. Ducloux, who had printed the Book of Mormon and who had promised to sell the book in his bookstore, now refused to do so; his reason being that many of the leading Protestants in Paris were against the book, and they were putting pressure on him not to sell it.<sup>77</sup>

The French government was still keeping the Mormon missionaries under a rather close surveillance to be certain they were observing French laws, and they would often stop by the elders' quarters to check on them. In January of 1852 several agents of the police visited the elders to inquire about Louis Bertrand and his activities.<sup>78</sup> This was especially disconcerting to Bertrand who, only the month before, had been forced to go into hiding to escape possible arrest by the police.

To add to their troubles, dissensions again broke out among the missionaries, this time between Bolton and Bertrand.

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<sup>76</sup>Bolton Diary, December 21, 1852.

<sup>77</sup>Journal History of the Church, January 28, 1852.

<sup>78</sup>Bolton Diary, January 27, 1852.

It appears that a dispute arose between these two missionaries over the control of mission affairs. Though the control rightfully belonged to Curtis Bolton, who was the mission president, he felt that his counsellor, Bertrand, was trying to usurp this authority for himself. He reported that he discovered Brother Bertrand had been seeking to destroy his influence and have himself chosen as mission president. Fortunately one of the members made this known to Bolton, and the affair was brought out into the open. It was found that Bertrand had written a number of letters to brethren in both France and England accusing Bolton of acting in a manner "not becoming a missionary." With the matter now in the open, both parties aired their grievances, and all people involved agreed to repent and be rebaptized.<sup>79</sup>

In spite of these difficulties the work continued to progress, though apparently mostly among the resident aliens in France rather than among the French themselves. Elder Bolton noted that only two or three of the more than twenty members of the Paris branch were French, the rest being German-speaking Swiss. This percentage was the same in the LeHavre branch which also numbered about twenty souls.<sup>80</sup>

By March of 1852 Paris, LeHavre, and about one-third of France was put under marshall law by Napoleon III.<sup>81</sup> The

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., June 29, 1852; August 24, 1852; October 11, 1852.

<sup>80</sup>Letter from Curtis Bolton to Brigham Young, March 16, 1852.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.



effects of this condition were noted two months later by John Hyde, Junior. He observed that the members in Paris were forced to meet in three different groups at three different places for one meeting each Sunday. He further recorded:

We dare not preach in public, it is even sometimes dangerous to preach in private, almost every window reveals a spy and every wall conceals a traitor; where mistrust exists there can be found nothing but confusion implanted on every feature and terror impresson on every heart.<sup>82</sup>

Attempts to hold regular meetings at houses of members for a prolonged length of time had been discouraged because the police would soon find out where they were held and visit the meetings, taking down the names, ages, vocations, and places of birth of all the people present.<sup>83</sup>

In response to all of these difficulties Bolton, in a fit of despair, noted in his diary that:

I have not named the 100,000 part of the difficulty, trials, escapes, dangers, privations, etc. I have endured on this mission. I could fill books with the description of what I have to endure and contend with in the way of money affairs, governmental affairs, book printing, Etoile, correspondence, writing letters and copying them, meeting 3 times a week 3, 4 & 5 miles off and a council meeting besides making 4 evenings per week that I am up til 12, often very often too tired to sleep, my sprained ankle paining and burning so that I have to keep it out of bed on a chair and often up almost all night trying to make out ways and means to keep the work a going here on its own resources, since the Presidency in England have refused flatly to do anything for the French Mission.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Millennial Star, XIV (June 19, 1852), p. 267.

<sup>83</sup>Bolton Diary, May 16, 1852.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., May 17, 1852.

In spite of these difficulties, Bolton continued to petition the police for permission to engage in open missionary work,<sup>85</sup> and in June his perseverance was rewarded. Conditions in France had ameliorated somewhat, and the police at last granted limited permission to preach and hold public meetings in Paris.<sup>86</sup> The elders at once rented a small hall in which to hold their meetings, and with enthusiasm tried to interest the Parisians in Mormonism, but with slight success.

In 1853, after serving over three years in France, Elder Curtin Bolton was released from his mission and allowed to return to his home in Utah. In his place Andrew L. Lamoreaux, who was serving as a missionary in the Channel Islands, was named as president of the French Mission.<sup>87</sup> He continued his residence on the Channel Islands and confined his activity in France largely to visiting the members.

In 1854 President Lamoreaux wrote that conditions were getting worse in France, and the cities of Paris and LeHavre were the only places where Mormon meetings could be conducted. He further noted that the people's minds didn't seem to be on religion, and they were so caught up in the spirit of war<sup>88</sup> that they had no time to listen to the Mormon elders.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., June 16, 1852; June 21, 1852.

<sup>86</sup>Millennial Star, XIV (June 19, 1852), p. 314.

<sup>87</sup>Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of The Church..., p. 131.

<sup>88</sup>In 1854 France was engaged in the Crimean War against Russia.

<sup>89</sup>Deseret News, December 21, 1854, p. 3.



In the latter part of 1854, Elder William Dunbar, also a missionary from the Channel Islands, succeeded Andrew Lamoreaux as president of the French Mission. Shortly after assuming this position Elder Dunbar journeyed to France, and from there he wrote: "I endeavored to make myself acquainted with the law of the land, in regard to religious liberty, and found that really there is none, at least for 'Mormonism.'"<sup>90</sup>

In despair Dunbar further wrote:

We can not even tract without breaking the law and running the risk of being put into prison. You may ask is there not the same liberty now as when brs. Taylor and Bolton went there? No. When France was a monarchy there was more liberty. Although they will not grant us licenses for preaching they very readily grant them for brothel houses. Still if simply baptizing people would accomplish anything we could baptize thousands; tell a Frenchman that we have an emigration society, and hold out a prospect of his bettering his circumstances and you may baptize him a dozen times in one night.<sup>91</sup>

By November of 1855 it was decided by President William Dunbar that all missionaries but one be withdrawn from France.<sup>92</sup> This one missionary, Elder Thomas Leiz, was left in charge of the three remaining Mormon branches in France. Of these three branches the Bellanger Branch, at Le Grand Lucé, hadn't been heard from in two years, and the branch in Paris was composed of only three or four destitute families. The branch at LeHavre was made up of a small number of women and one man,

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<sup>90</sup>Millennial Star, XVII (November 3, 1855), p. 699.

<sup>91</sup>Deseret News, December 21, 1854, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup>Millennial Star, XVII (November 3, 1855), p. 699.

but the members of that branch appeared to have been better off financially than those in Paris and thus better able to support a missionary. Therefore, Elder Leiz took up residence in that city.<sup>93</sup> Leiz attempted to resume missionary work from time to time, but French authorities denied him permission to do so, and in late 1855 he was instructed by the Church to leave France.<sup>94</sup>

From the time Leiz left France in 1855 until 1859, when missionaries again took permanent residence in that country, the French Mission had only a nominal existence with only the Channel Islands Conference having any resident missionaries. Even on these islands, however, interest in Mormonism was declining, and conversions were becoming rare.<sup>95</sup>

In 1859 the Mormon leaders again turned their attention to the French Mission, and Louis Bertrand, who had emigrated to Utah several years before, was called by Brigham Young to return to his homeland as the president of the French Mission.<sup>96</sup> Bertrand accepted this call and arrived in France on December 10, 1859.<sup>97</sup> Apparently he was the only missionary sent, for no mention was made of anyone else accompanying him

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Millennial Star, XVIII (August 2, 1856), p. 491; XXI (May 7, 1859), p. 204-205.

<sup>96</sup>Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church..., p. 286.

<sup>97</sup>Louis A. Bertrand, Memoires d'un Mormon, p. 273-74.



on his mission. When the new mission president arrived in Paris, he discovered that the Mormon Branch in that city had continued to function in the absence of the elders, and the members in Paris had retained some contact with the Church through the visit of an occasional elder and through a Mormon periodical published in Switzerland.<sup>98</sup> To Bertrand's chagrin however, he noted that the president of the branch, Elder Herail, had assumed dictatorial powers over the other members, and had refused to submit to the authority of elders previously sent to visit the branch.<sup>99</sup> Apparently Bertrand was treated in the same manner for he stated that it took some efforts on his part to get the members to give up their allegiance to Herail and to conform to the accepted teachings of the Church.<sup>100</sup> After they accepted the authority of Bertrand they were all rebaptized, and the new mission president at once set about to renew missionary efforts in France.<sup>101</sup>

Bertrand applied to the French authorities in Paris for permission to preach in public, but this request was turned

in addition to Mr. Joussan, who wanted to interrogate the

<sup>98</sup>Letter from Elder Herail to Brigham Young, October 25, 1858.

<sup>99</sup>Letter from Elder Heyrend to Brigham Young, October 25, 1858.

<sup>100</sup>Louis Bertrand, Memoires d'un Mormon, p. 284-90.

<sup>101</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

down flatly.<sup>102</sup> Upon receiving this news Elder Bertrand decided that if he could not publicly preach about the Church at least he could write about it. As we have previously seen, Bertrand had had some experience in journalism and in translating Mormon literature. Even after leaving France for Utah he had continued to send articles on the Mormons to leading French newspapers in the hope that French people would be made aware of the Church through these publications. He experienced some success in this endeavor for he reported that he had received favorable communications from the Parisian newspapers La Presse and Le Siecle.<sup>103</sup>

A short time after Bertrand arrived in Paris he received an invitation from Mr. Louis Jourdan, editor of Le Siecle, to present himself at the editor's office for an interview. Le Siecle was reported by Bertrand to have been an important republican daily with an audience of about one million readers.

When Bertrand arrived at the editor's office, he discovered that there were about a dozen "literary gentlemen," in addition to Mr. Jourdan, who wanted to interrogate the Mormon missionary. Bertrand noted that the men were "...a little puzzled to find in their midst an old red republican

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<sup>102</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, May 3, 1860.

<sup>103</sup>Letters from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, October 6, 1858; January 7, 1859.



now professing such principles, and especially a french [sic] Mormon capable of discussing and writing on nearly every subject."<sup>104</sup> At the conclusion of the interview the modest Mr. Bertrand gratefully received the news that the editor of Le Siecle was willing to publish "any communication what ever on the Mormons."<sup>105</sup>

Even though Bertrand now had a promised outlet for his writings, he did not give up petitioning the civil authorities for permission to preach in public. Bertrand had been previously informed that Mormonism was not officially recognized by France as a religion, and therefore his request to preach had been denied, but with persistence Bertrand had applied to a higher department. For awhile there was no answer; then he received a note requesting him to apply to the Prefet of Police. He did so, and in a short time he was summoned to appear before the prefet's secretary who told him: "You have written two petitions to the state ministry of the interior. Here they are. I am instructed by his excellency to inform you that not only your request is refused, but that you are forbidden to attend the Mormon meetings in Paris and if you are found in these meetings, a judiciary prosecution shall be directed against you."<sup>106</sup> Bertrand later

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<sup>105</sup>The newspaper Le Siecle later became anti-Mormon in its policy. See letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid. Journal Star, XXIII (March 2, 1865), p. 103.

Also see appendix b for the text of the message.

<sup>109</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

said that he disregarded this announcement and continued to preside over the Mormon meetings in Paris, and though he was continuously watched by the police, he was not bothered.<sup>107</sup>

Seemingly undaunted by his rebuff from the prefet's secretary, the tenacious Mr. Bertrand must have decided that the only way to get any positive action for his cause was to appeal directly to the emperor, Louis Napoleon III. Accordingly he composed a message to the ruler. Contained in the message was Joseph Smith's prophecy on war, and a formal request for permission to publicly preach in France.<sup>108</sup> The letter was transmitted to the proper authorities, and Elder Bertrand was later informed by Mr. Moquard, the private secretary to Napoleon III, that the emperor had been given the letter, read it, and then broke into laughter and tore it to pieces.<sup>109</sup>

Though there was no higher authority left in France to whom Bertrand could appeal, he was still determined to publicly proclaim Mormonism in Paris. To this end Bertrand felt that being a Mason, he might be able to engage in some type of expose on the Mormons in the Masonic lodges in Paris. He reported that in April of 1861 he began to attend the Masonic meetings and was soon invited by the master to speak to the lodge. About two hundred people were in attendance,

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Millennial Star, XXIII (March 2, 1861), p. 105. Also see appendix B for the text of the message.

<sup>109</sup> Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.



and Bertrand reported that they listened to him with great interest. As a result of his speech Bertrand found that many important houses in Paris were opened to him.<sup>110</sup>

The elder continued to speak at the Masonic lodges until May of 1861 when, by the order of the French government, the principle lodges in Paris were closed. In disgust Bertrand wrote: "We are living under a military, a pure military despotism."<sup>111</sup>

In 1861 an event occurred in Paris which probably served to arouse the interest of the French people in Mormonism more than anything else to that point. This was the publication of Jules Remy's two volume work on the Mormons entitled, Voyage au Pays des Mormons.<sup>112</sup> Elder Bertrand reported that a great many comments were being made on the book by the leading papers in Paris, and in fact Bertrand himself published a lengthy analysis of it in a Parisian review. The book was judged by Bertrand to have been "the most important book ever published on 'Mormonism' in any language."<sup>113</sup>

The publication of Remy's work and the attention it received might have served as the impetus for Louis Bertrand to

<sup>110</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, April 25, 1861.

<sup>111</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, May 26, 1861.

<sup>112</sup>Jules Remy, Voyage au Pays des Mormons (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860, 2 vol.)

<sup>113</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, April 25, 1861.

write his own book about the Mormons; for in 1861 he began the ambitious project of writing what was to become the only book about the Mormons written by a French convert. This book was first published as a series of articles in La Revue Contemporaine, said by Bertrand to have been one of the best literary periodicals in Paris. In 1862 the articles were put together in a book under the title, Memoirs d'un Mormon.<sup>114</sup> The book recounted Bertrand's experience among the Mormons and gave a resume of their theology and history as well as answers to accusations leveled against the Mormons in various anti-Mormon publications.

Elder Bertrand was very pleased with the reaction to his book, and he stated that as a result of its publication some of the periodicals in Paris took the side of the Church and gave quite favorable reviews of his book.<sup>115</sup> These reviews were not only confined to France, but at least one article was published in England in a respectable literary magazine, edited by Charles Dickens, entitled All The Year Round.<sup>116</sup>

Remy and Bertrand weren't the only French writers to have directed their attention to the Mormons. As early as

<sup>114</sup>There were 2,200 copies printed in this edition, and Louis Bertrand made a profit of eighty dollars from the sale of the books. See letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

<sup>115</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, June 8, 1862; Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

<sup>116</sup>"Brother Bertrand, Morman Missionary," All The Year Round, IX (March 14, 1863), p. 68.



1854 a book had appeared in France titled Les Mormons, written by Amedee Pichot.<sup>117</sup> The book treated mainly the history of the Church and dealt only slightly with Mormon religious doctrine. The opening lines of Pichot's publication clearly indicated where his interests were. He began by saying that: "If you judge the Mormons by their doctrine you will think as we, that they don't merit your attention, but if you think of their history you will be forced to recognize that there is none more extraordinary."<sup>118</sup> With this opening Pichot proceeded to give what was at times a fair appraisal of the Mormons, but what too often was strongly colored by the influences of anti-Mormon writings. In all fairness, however, one must say that Pichot appears to have honestly tried to give both the Mormon side of the story as well as that of their enemies, which was something that was rarely attempted by most early writers on this group of people.

The publication of Bertrand's book, and the subsequent publicity it received seems to have aroused the interest of Mme. Hortense DuFay. She did some research into the history and doctrines of the Mormon religion, and in 1863 she wrote a book entitled Le Prophet du XIX Siecle, ou Vie Des Saints Des Derniers Jours.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Amedee Pichot, Les Mormons (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1854).

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 1 (avant propos).

<sup>119</sup>Hortense DuFay, Le Prophet du XIX Siecle, ou Vie Des Saints Des Derniers Jours (Paris: Dentu, 1863)

This was one of the few works on Mormonism published in France that mentioned the French Mission, though it was done only in connection with Louis Bertrand and his activities in Paris. Mme. DuFay's book dismissed Joseph Smith's visions as being frauds, although she felt that Smith had been innocent of any conscious deception and was only an unfortunate lad who had been manipulated by men with evil designs.

Undoubtedly a number of French people became aware of the Mormon Church's existence through these various publications. However, few of them ever embraced Mormonism, and Louis Bertrand reported that for all of his efforts he gained a number of friends but few converts to his cause.<sup>120</sup>

By 1863 Bertrand wrote to Brigham Young that "an experience of three years has thought sic me that nothing at all is to be expected among the french infidels: they are every one spiritually dead."<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless he expressed the desire to remain in France at least another year to continue to try to "prepare the ground" for a time when better conditions would favor the acceptance of Mormonism in France.<sup>122</sup>

By 1864 Bertrand was ready to give up, and he wrote the following in a letter to Brigham Young:

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<sup>120</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, January 23, 1863. Letter from Louis Bertrand to George A. Smith, March 16, 1865.

<sup>121</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, January 23, 1863.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.



Dear Brother, I went to my mission with 80 dollars in my pocket. I am now returning home wifeless & entirely penniless, [sic] but extremely rich by my faith. I don't care a fig about money. The only thing I want is a good young Zion wife, and a little farm to make several agricultural experiments. I should be most happy to be judged worthy of receiving such a precious boon from your hand.<sup>123</sup>

In June of 1864 Louis Bertrand left France<sup>124</sup> bound for Utah where he lived the remainder of his life, a single man. With the departure of Bertrand, the French Mission was officially closed not to be reopened for another 48 years.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, May 1, 1864.

<sup>124</sup>Millennial Star, XXVI (June 18, 1864), p. 395.

<sup>125</sup>Missionary work continued on the Channel Islands, but they were no longer a part of the French Mission. This area had again been put under the direction of the British Mission. See Jenson's Encyclopedic History of the Church..., p. 131.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ITALIAN MISSION

In 1848, at the time John Taylor, Curtis Bolton, and John Pack were called as missionaries to France, there were two other missionaries who, although called to go to Italy, soon found themselves working among a group of people having a French origin and speaking the French language. These people were known as the Waldenses or Vaudois and lived in northern Italy. The two elders called to serve as missionaries in that country were Lorenzo Snow, later to become president of the Mormon Church, and Joseph Toronto, a Mormon convert of Sicilian ancestry.<sup>1</sup>

Within a short time of receiving their mission calls, these two elders departed for their assigned field of labor, and by April of 1850 had traveled as far as England. Here they remained for several weeks before continuing their journey.

The arrival of missionaries bound for Italy caused some excitement among the English Saints, and the two elders were told of prophecies made by several church members in England that thousands of Italians would soon be converted to Mormonism.<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by these remarks, Snow began an

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<sup>1</sup>Millennial Star, XII (May, 1850), p. 133.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., XIII (January 15, 1851), p. 26.



investigation of conditions in Italy to determine where the best place would be to begin his missionary work. It was at this time that the first mention was made of the possibility of proselyting among the Waldenses.

The Waldenses were descendants of the followers of Peter Waldo, the founder of an heretical Christian sect of the 12th century. This group had been greatly persecuted because of their religious beliefs, and many of them were driven from their homes in France and sought refuge in the Alps of northern Italy. Here, in the isolated mountain valleys, these French-speaking people were able to practice their religion as well as preserve their native language. During the following centuries they came under severe persecution from the Italian Catholics, but by sheer tenacity were able to cling to their religious beliefs as well as their Alpine homes.<sup>3</sup>

When Protestantism spread throughout Europe in the 16th century, the Waldenses joined the movement and consequently again felt the wrath of the Catholic Church. In spite of the persecution, however, they continued to remain faithful to the Protestant religion. It was undoubtedly partly because of this Protestant heritage that Lorenzo Snow chose to begin his work among these people.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 23:287-89, William Benton, Chicago, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>The Mormons had always obtained more converts from among Protestants people than from among Catholics.

On June 16, 1850, Snow, Toronto, and Thomas B. H. Stenhouse (an English elder called by Lorenzo Snow to serve as a missionary) left England, bound for Italy. After a week of traveling, this trio of missionaries arrived in the Italian city of Genoa, and within a short time Elders Stenhouse and Toronto were dispatched to Piedmont to make a first hand investigation of conditions in that province. Several days later they sent Snow a letter informing him that prospects looked very good for establishing a mission in that area. Upon receipt of this information Snow recorded that:

Now, with a heart full of gratitude, I find an opening is presented in the valleys of Piedmont, when all other parts of Italy are closed to our efforts. I believe that the Lord has there hidden up a people among the Alpine mountains, and it is the voice of the spirit that I shall commence something of importance in that part of this dark nation.<sup>5</sup>

Within a short time Snow joined the other elders in Piedmont. The missionaries soon discovered that although Italian was understood by some of the Waldenses, French was still the preferred language of this people. With this fact in mind, the elders set about studying French and making arrangements for some Mormon literature to be published in that language. A small pamphlet entitled The Voice of Joseph was soon written by Snow, and sent to England where arrangements were made for its translation. This work contained a brief explanation of the doctrine of the Mormon Church as well as

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<sup>5</sup>Eliza R. Snow Smith, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), p. 121.



a resume of its history.

The elders were quite cautious at first and did not immediately engage in active missionary work. Elder Snow said that: "We endeavored to lay a foundation for future usefulness in silently preparing the minds of the people for the reception of the Gospel, by cultivating friendly feelings in the bosoms of those by whom we were surrounded."<sup>6</sup> To the surprise of the elders, they soon discovered that they were not the first to "prepare the minds of the Waldenses" for Mormonism. Stories of the Mormons had preceded the elders to the valleys of Piedmont, and Lorenzo Snow reported that an anti-Mormon publication entitled History of the Mormons was in circulation in some of the Waldenses villages.<sup>7</sup>

By mid-September of 1850, the elders felt that the time was right to begin proselyting. An additional missionary named Jabez Woodard was summoned from England to assist in the work, and when he arrived the missionaries formally organized the Church in Italy. This was done at a private ceremony performed on a mountain located near the city of La Tour, Piedmont. To celebrate the occasion, this mountain was henceforth referred to by the elders as "Mount Brigham," named in honor of Brigham Young.<sup>8</sup>

With the elders now actively seeking converts to their

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>7</sup>Millennial Star, XII (December 1, 1850), p. 371.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 370-74.

religion, the Waldenses clergymen began admonishing their congregations to beware of the Mormon missionaries and to hold to the religion of their ancestors. Elder Snow related the following experience in that regard:

In our intercourse with the clergy, we have been treated with respect; but it is in vain that we announce to them the greatest message of the last days. The professed teachers of religion have always been slow to receive the revelations of heaven. When attending their places of worship the other Sunday, one of their ministers looked pitiously upon us, and then at the congregation, to whom he said in tones mournfully low, "Do not leave that dear church which is consecrated by so many glorious remembrances, and for which your fathers have died." What would have been his feelings if he had known that, in a few hours afterwards, I baptized one of his flock who had been listening to his admonitions.<sup>9</sup>

By December of 1850, Lorenzo Snow felt that the work in Italy was sufficiently underway to allow him to go to England and arrange to have the Book of Mormon translated into Italian. Before leaving Italy, he gathered the other three missionaries together for a meeting on "Mount Brigham." At this meeting Snow called Thomas B. H. Stenhouse to go to Switzerland and begin a mission in that country. Jabez Woodard and Joseph Toronto were instructed to remain in Italy, and Elder Woodard was called by Lorenzo Snow to preside over the Italian mission.<sup>10</sup>

Jabez Woodard was left with a difficult task; just prior

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., XIII (January 15, 1851), p. 25-26.

<sup>10</sup>Jenson, Encyclopedic History . . ., p. 369. Snow's Biography, p. 168-175. (Jabez Woodard's last name is also spelled Woodward).



to Snow's departure it was reported that the missionaries were encountering some trouble in the printing of Mormon literature. There was a law in Piedmont that prohibited the publishing of any material which attacked principles of Catholicism, and, in order to continue the printing of The Voice of Joseph, it became necessary to disguise it so that it appeared to be a Catholic publication. This was accomplished by adorning the cover with woodcuts of a Catholic nun and cross along with various other religious symbols.<sup>11</sup> This ruse was so successful that the pamphlet enjoyed a wide distribution, and it was even reported that some of these publications were in circulation in cities as far away as Rome.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to clergymen in Piedmont preaching sermons of warning against the Mormons and the civil laws restricting their publications, a new anti-Mormon pamphlet made its appearance in Italy in 1851.<sup>13</sup> This pamphlet was of a Swiss origin and was probably one of a number of anti-Mormon publications which had been originally written by several Swiss authors as a defense against the spread of Mormonism in their country.

In spite of many difficulties, the missionaries were able to make some progress, and by August of 1851, 31

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>12</sup>Millennial Star, XIV (September 18, 1852), p. 477.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., XIII (October 1, 1851), p. 301

Waldenses had been converted to the Church.<sup>14</sup>

In 1852 the Italian translation of the Book of Mormon was made available, and the missionaries began preparations to expand their proselyting efforts to other areas of Italy. The intentions of Lorenzo Snow were clearly not to confine Mormon activities exclusively to the French-speaking Waldenses. This fact is illustrated by the following statement:

The Mission up to this time has been necessarily carried on in a rather narrow sphere, but more favorable openings now seem to present themselves, and the Book of Mormon will lend its powerful aid for building up the Church. After many anxieties with regard to that work, it was no small pleasure to find it welcomed by the brethren in Italy as a heavenly treasure and its translation so highly approved of.<sup>15</sup>

In December of 1852, Elder Thomas Margetts was sent to Italy to aid Jabez Woodard in his work. In preparation for carrying the Gospel to some new areas of Italy, Margetts spent much of his time studying the Italian language. When he was able to communicate in that tongue, he was sent by Woodard to Genoa with the hope of establishing a Mormon branch in that city. In Genoa he experienced some initial success, and he soon had several people who desired to join the Church. However, just before they were to be baptized, all of these prospective converts mysteriously changed their minds. Upon investigation of this sudden change, Elder Margetts discovered that it was the time of the annual

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., XIV (April 1, 1852), p. 107.



confession in the Catholic Church, and by this means the priests had discovered Margetts' missionary activities and had forbidden all Catholics to have anything to do with him.<sup>16</sup>

Elder Margetts remained in Genoa for three months but without achieving any success. In the search for better opportunities, he journeyed to the city of Turin.

On my arrival in Turin, I found that I was well known. I presume some important dispatches had been sent from Genoa about me, with as much fear about "Mormonism" as if a crusade had landed for the purpose of taking the whole country. Finding I could not remain there more than a few days, I was compelled to return to the vallies of the Waldenses.<sup>17</sup>

Margetts remained in Italy until June 8, 1853, at which time he was forced to return to England for reasons of health.

Shortly after Margetts' departure, Elder Jabez Woodard, along with 58 other saints from the Swiss and the Italian Missions, left Europe and emigrated to the United States. After Woodard's departure, Elder Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, who had begun the mission in Switzerland in 1850, was called to preside over the Italian Mission as well as maintaining his presidency of the Swiss Mission. These two missions were thus combined into one administrative unit known as the Swiss and Italian Mission.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., XV (August 13, 1853), p. 556-57.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 557.

<sup>18</sup>Le Reflecteur, (December 1853), p. 191; Millennial Star, XVI (March 25, 1854), p. 187.

Several months after this occurrence, a missionary from England was sent to Switzerland to aid Stenhouse in his work. This missionary was Elder Samuel Francis, and he was called by Stenhouse to take charge of proselyting in the Italian part of the mission. During the first year that Elder Francis was in Italy he baptized 20 Waldenses into the Church, but he also gave warning that new anti-Mormon feelings were growing. It appears that shortly after the first missionaries arrived in Italy in 1850, a disease began to appear in the vineyards and orchards of Piedmont. Each year this blight worsened, and as its destruction continued, rumors began circulating that the Mormon missionaries were somehow responsible for this calamity. Elder Francis said that as a result of these rumors there was talk of driving the Mormons out of the country.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1854 and 1855, only two missionaries, Samuel Francis and George Keaton were working in Italy. Very little success was experienced among the Waldenses during this time, and Elder Francis soon began a study of the Italian language in the hope of extending his missionary work into some new areas of Italy. He had been exhorted by some of the Church leaders from England to try to carry the Gospel to the Italian-speaking people in Turin, and in July of 1856 he left for that city. Francis was told that he might achieve more success than his predecessors if he proselyted without "purse

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<sup>19</sup>Millennial Star, XVIII (August 2, 1856), p. 491.



or scrip," and so he conducted his work in that fashion. However, after several months he found himself on the verge of starvation and was forced to write to another missionary for assistance.<sup>20</sup>

In February of 1857, Elder Francis admitted defeat and left Turin for Geneva, Switzerland. In Geneva he was put in charge of the French-speaking Swiss Saints as well as the Mormon branches in Italy. From that time forward there were no missionaries living in Italy, and any contact between the Church and the members in that country was carried out by elders working in Switzerland. This was the end of the Italian Mission, and even though it existed (in name only) for several more years it ceased to exist as a functioning mission of the Mormon Church.

The history of the Church in Italy is both short and one of a very slow and limited growth. The number of Mormons in that country was never very large,<sup>21</sup> and those who did join the Church found themselves subjected to continued opposition, such as loss of employment and having their children expelled from school.<sup>22</sup> The Protestant ministers tried every means to keep the elders from their congregations, and they attempted to draw those who had already become Mormons back

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., XX (May 29, 1858), p. 363-64.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., XV (February 19, 1853), p. 127.

<sup>22</sup>A total of 211 Italians were converted to Mormonism in the Italian Mission between 1850 and 1856. See the membership records of the Italian Mission at CHO.

into the Protestant Church by offers of food and money.

During the years when the Italian Mission was functioning, the Mormon Church gave both encouragement and assistance to converts who would emigrate to Utah. This policy was very tempting to the Waldenses, and due to their poverty, many desired to emigrate. When the Protestant Ministers became aware of the Mormon emigration policy, they went so far as to offer free transportation to Algiers to any family that would give up Mormonism. Some of the families took advantage of this offer, and consequently the elders had to cut them off from the Church.<sup>23</sup>

Along with bringing some insincere people into the Church, this emigration policy also caused a steady drain of the faithful Italian converts from the Mission. These circumstances made it difficult for the missionaries to establish permanent branches in the small Waldenses villages.

In addition to these difficulties, an event occurred in Utah in 1857 which was a major contributing factor in the abandonment of the Italian Mission. This was the "Utah War." Due to a misunderstanding between the Church and the American government, the Mormons were thought to have been in a state of rebellion against the United States, and an expedition was sent to Utah to put down this supposed rebellion. To prepare for the coming of the army and to protect the Church, Brigham Young called all of the Utah elders home from the missions of

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<sup>23</sup>Millennial Star, XVII (July 21, 1855), p. 454-56.



the world.<sup>24</sup>

The withdrawal of the missionaries from Europe placed the responsibility of administration and preaching in inexperienced hands, and as a result a marked decline occurred in missions such as the one in Italy where there were only a few members. Though American missionaries returned to Europe in 1860, no effort was made at that time to reopen the Italian Mission, and it was not until the year 1900 that the Church again sent a missionary into that country to investigate possibilities of reopening a mission. The missionary selected for this task was Daniel B. Hill Richards, and in the spring of 1900 he went to Turin, Italy to apply for permission to proselyte among the residents of that city. This request was denied by the Chief of Police. From Turin, Richards went to some of the Waldenses villages in the Alps. Here he proselyted for a but was unable to make any conversions. Based on Richards' lack of success, nothing further was done at that time to send missionaries back into Italy. It is interesting to note, however, that Elder Richards was able to locate an elderly lady who had become a Mormon years before, but she had long since drifted away from her early beliefs, and she wanted nothing further to do with Mormonism.<sup>25</sup> This was the only evidence that Richards

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<sup>24</sup>Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1940, 6 vol.) IV, p. 241.

<sup>25</sup>Daniel B. Hill Richards, The Scriptural Allegory (Salt Lake City, Utah: Magazine Printing Co., 1931) p. 124.

found of previous Mormon activity in that country.

In later years there are instances of a few people in Italy joining the Church, but these members were assigned to the French Mission, and they will be discussed in another chapter as a part of that mission.

Although the French Mission was officially closed from 1864 to 1912, there were several attempts during this period to re-establish missionaries in some areas of France.<sup>1</sup> None of these attempts met with any lasting success, however, until 1908 and 1909 when several French cities near the borders of Switzerland and Belgium were opened to Mormon activity.<sup>2</sup> Due to the lack of an organized French Mission during this period, Mormon activities in these cities came under the direction of missionaries from the Swiss or Netherlands Missions. This practice continued until 1912 when the French Mission was organized for the second time.

The mission that was created was much larger than the former one, and it included in addition to France, the French-speaking areas in western Switzerland and southern Belgium. These two sections, at the time they were attached to the French Mission, contained eight organized branches of

<sup>1</sup>*Millennial Star*, XXXII (July 19, 1870), p. 457; *Diary of John Fairbanks*, p. 217, [located at the Brigham Young University Library]; *Millennial Star*, LX (June 14, 1896), p. 377; *Ibid.*, p. 618-19.

<sup>2</sup>*Journal History of the French Mission*, September 2, 1908 and October 24, 1909; *Journal History of the Netherlands Mission*, August 17, 1908.



the Church with almost 400 members. For many years these two areas were the only parts of the mission where the Church was able to maintain branches.

CHAPTER III

WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS

The story of the French Mission is one of a much more complicated existence than that of France. Although the French Mission was officially closed from 1864 to 1912, there were several attempts during this period to re-establish missionaries in some areas of France.<sup>1</sup> None of these attempts met with any lasting success, however, until 1908 and 1909 when several French cities near the borders of Switzerland and Belgium were opened to Mormon Elders.<sup>2</sup> Due to the lack of an organized French Mission during this period, Mormon activities in these cities came under the direction of missionaries from the Swiss or Netherlands Missions. This practice continued until 1912 when the French Mission was organized for the second time.

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<sup>2</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, September 2, 1908 and October 24, 1909; Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, August 17, 1908.

the Church with almost 400 members.<sup>3</sup> For many years these two areas were the only parts of the mission where the Church was able to maintain any permanent branches.

The story of the Church in these two countries of the French Mission is one of a much more continued existence than that of France. In Switzerland the Mormon Church has existed without interruption since 1850 when Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, a Mormon missionary from England, arrived in the city of Geneva.<sup>4</sup> It will be recalled that Stenhouse had been originally called as a missionary to Italy, but after serving there a short time he was sent to Switzerland by the Italian Mission President.

Elder Stenhouse spent his first winter in Geneva in an intensified study of the French language, and by spring he was ready to commence his work. However, he had only begun his labors when they were interrupted by the necessity of going to England for a short time to care for his wife and daughter.<sup>5</sup> When he was again able to return to Switzerland

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<sup>3</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 1-2, (This book is a fragmented history of the French Mission kept by some unidentified missionaries at mission headquarters. It is located in CHO. The eight branches which made up the mission were the following: Lausanne, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Neuchâtel, Geneva, Liège, Verviers, Seraing, and Brussels.

<sup>4</sup>Journal History of the Church..., December 31, 1850.

<sup>5</sup>Fanny Stenhouse, Tell It All (Hartford, Conn: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1875), p. 110-11.



he was obliged to bring his family with him, and although it proved difficult for Stenhouse to support them during his mission, his wife was a great help to him in his missionary work. Mrs. Stenhouse had lived in France for several years, and with her thorough knowledge of the French language she was able to help her husband immensely in writing and translating material into French.

Shortly after Stenhouse resumed his work in Switzerland, the Church came under attack by several Protestant ministers in Geneva and Léusanne. One of these ministers was the Reverend Mr. Favez who in 1851 began publishing a series of booklets against the Mormons. One of the first in this series was entitled Lettre Sur les Mormons de la Californie.<sup>6</sup> This booklet attacked doctrines of the Church which had been explained in several Mormon tracts, and Favez's apparent purpose was to illustrate the errors of Mormonism by comparing its teachings with certain scriptures in the Bible. The minister also assaulted the Book of Mormon, and from his research he dismissed it as having been a clumsy attempt on the part of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to plagiarize from an older work written by Solomon Spaulding.

About the same time as the Reverend Favez was denouncing the Mormon Church in print, another clergyman, by the name of Emilius Guers, was attacking the beliefs of Mormonism from

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<sup>6</sup>L. Favez, Lettre sur les Mormons de la Californie (Lausanne: E. Buvelot, 1851).

the pulpit.<sup>7</sup> Stenhouse recorded that he attended one of these anti-Mormon lectures in Geneva, and he discovered to his delight that instead of poisoning the people's minds against Mormonism, the Reverend Guers was merely stirring up interest in the movement. Stenhouse noted with pleasure that after the meeting many of the people in the audience accepted the Mormon tracts which he distributed at the exit. At this occurrence the minister called a private meeting of both laymen and clergymen to discuss means of halting the spread of Mormonism in Switzerland.

As a result of this type of anti-Mormon meeting, as well as the public meetings held by Stenhouse and other converts, news of the presence of the Mormons began to spread throughout Switzerland, and Stenhouse was kept busy answering inquiries about the Church. This increased activity made it impossible for him to devote any time to the support of his family, and his meager resources were soon exhausted. Usually a missionary could depend upon other members within the mission for some support, but in Switzerland where the work had just begun there were few members who could give any help.

The Stenhouses had a very difficult existence in Switzerland, and they suffered many privations. Mrs. Stenhouse recorded the following example of some of the hardships she

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<sup>7</sup>Eliza R. Snow, Biography and Family Records of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Company, 1884), p. 183.



and her family encountered:

...our circumstances seemed to be getting worse and worse, and my health seemed to fail. For several months neither of us had sufficient nourishment, and my anxiety increased my physical weakness; I was so dispirited yet I feared to complain or even let my husband know what I felt. At length I was really ill, and could not leave my bed, weak and oh, so faint hearted that I had scarcely any desire to live.<sup>8</sup>

Later, for fear that her landlady would discover her family's poverty and evict them, Mrs. Stenhouse forced herself to walk through the routine of preparing meals at regular hours everyday; so that the landlady would think that they had plenty of food for all meals.<sup>9</sup> Fortunately assistance did arrive in the form of a contribution made by one of the new converts, but the Stenhouses continued to live on the edge of poverty for many months.

In spite of these privations the Stenhouses were able to continue their efforts in gaining converts to Mormonism, and the number of Swiss Mormons slowly grew. In opposition to this growth various laws were passed to restrict Mormon activity. Public preaching was forbidden in Geneva,<sup>10</sup> and Stenhouse had to resort to the distribution of tracts and preaching in private homes to attract converts to his cause. In Lausanne it was forbidden to hold any Mormon meetings whatsoever, but the missionaries were able to arrange meetings in several

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<sup>8</sup>Stenhouse, Tell It All, p. 118-19.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Millennial Star, XIV (October 9, 1852), p. 525.

different areas of the city and thus escape detection.<sup>11</sup>

In 1852, hoping to give the Swiss people a better understanding of the Mormons and thereby stop the increasing harassment of the Church by the civil government, Stenhouse began publishing a Mormon periodical in the French language called Le Reflecteur.<sup>12</sup> This magazine outlined some of the basic beliefs of the Church and was also used as a means of conveying messages from the mission president to the members. It was printed monthly for one year and was discontinued only when more pressing commitments forced Stenhouse to stop its publication.<sup>13</sup>

A short time after the publication was halted, the Church came under fresh attack by some Swiss writers. A slanderous book was written by the Reverend Emilius Guers entitled L'Irvingism et le Mormonism Jugé par la Parole de Dieu.<sup>14</sup> In this book Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church, was accused of being a seducer of women as well as a deceiver of men, and the whole book was filled with vituperations against the Mormons.

The following year another book was published entitled

Les Mormons (Lansanner, Balatonraja et Company, 1853).

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<sup>11</sup>Journal History of the Church..., January 31, 1853.

<sup>12</sup>The expenses of publishing Le Reflecteur were paid by Serge Ballif, Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Le Reflecteur, I (December 1853), p. 191.

<sup>14</sup>Emilius Guers, L'Irvingism et le Mormonism Jugé par la Parole de Dieu (Paris: Ducloux, 1853).



Fragments sur Les Mormons: Joseph Smith et Les Mormons.<sup>15</sup>

This publication was written by Reverend Favez of Lausanne, and it also heaped abuse on the Mormons.

To answer these mounting attacks on the Church, Elder Stenhouse decided to write a book in the defense of Mormonism. This book was published in 1854 under the title of Les Mormons et Leurs Enemies.<sup>16</sup> In his publication, Stenhouse answered the accusations that the Swiss and French writers had directed against Mormonism, and he endeavored to give a definitive statement about the Mormons and their beliefs. This book served only to fan the flames however, and more anti-Mormon writings subsequently appeared.<sup>17</sup>

By 1854, after devoting almost four years of their time in establishing the Church in Switzerland, Elder Stenhouse and his wife felt the desire to leave that country and emigrate to Utah. Stenhouse made a request to be released from his mission, and upon its approval he and his family left for the United States.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>L. Favez, Fragments sur les Mormons: Joseph Smith et Les Mormons (Lausanne: Delafontaine et Company, 1854).

<sup>16</sup>Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, Les Mormons et Leurs Enemies (Lausanne: Larpin et Coendoz, 1854).

<sup>17</sup>The Reverend Mr. Favez published one more book against the Mormons after Thomas Stenhouse wrote his defense of the Church. See: L. Favez, Le Mormonism Juge d'Après Ses Doctrines (Lausanne: Delafontaine et Company, 1856).

<sup>18</sup>Stenhouse, Tell It All, p. 158.

After their departure, Mormon missionaries continued their work among the French-speaking Swiss, but subsequent mission presidents expanded proselyting efforts more out of the French-speaking areas of Switzerland and into the German-speaking parts of that country. These missionaries also visited some areas in Germany and Austria. It wasn't until 1908 that the missionaries from Switzerland directed their efforts across their western border into France.

While the Church in Switzerland has enjoyed a continuous existence since 1850, the history of Mormonism in the Belgian area of the French Mission is not as old. The earliest mention we have of a missionary being sent into Belgium was in 1861 when Louis Bertrand sent Gustave Chaprix, a Belgian convert of the Paris Branch, on a mission to Brussels.<sup>19</sup> Bertrand had hoped to open another country to the elders of the Church, but this attempt met with failure, and no further mention can be found of Chaprix or his mission.

In 1868, a Swiss elder named Octave Ursenbach was sent into Belgium to try to establish a branch of the Church. He spent some time in the cities of Antwerp and Liège, but he felt that the Belgians had no potential for Mormon conversions, and he requested permission to return to Switzerland.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Millennial Star, XXIII (June 15, 1861), p. 380.

<sup>20</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, October 9, 1868; Also see Octave Ursenbach's diary located in CHO.



The first missionary to achieve any notable success in Belgium was Elder Mischa Markow. He was a Serb who had joined the Mormon Church in Constantinople in 1887. After his conversion, he traveled around Europe preaching about Mormonism, and in 1883 he arrived in Belgium and began proselyting among the German-speaking residents in the vicinity of Antwerp.<sup>21</sup> A number of these people joined the Church, and when Elder Markow departed from that country, several German-speaking missionaries from the Swiss-German Mission were sent to continue his work. Soon there were Mormon branches established in Liège, Brussels, and Antwerp; and by 1889 ten people had joined the Church.<sup>22</sup>

As before noted these early missionary efforts by the Mormons in Belgium were directed by German-speaking elders of the Swiss-German Mission. However, it soon became evident that because the Belgian people spoke mainly Flemish and French, these German-speaking missionaries would not be able to communicate freely with the majority of the population. It was decided, in 1891, that the work in Belgium should be placed under the direction of the Netherlands Mission.<sup>23</sup> With this change, Flemish-speaking elders were soon assigned

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<sup>21</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, 1891.

<sup>22</sup>Journal History of the Swiss-German Mission, November 25, 1881.

<sup>23</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, 1891.

to labor in Belgium, and the Belgians began to hear the Mormon gospel in their own language.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to these Flemish-speaking elders, there were some missionaries in the Netherlands Mission who spoke French. By 1895, at least two of these elders, John Baptist Ripplinger and Fredrick Pieper were working among the people of southern Belgium.<sup>25</sup> Particularly notable success was encountered by the elders around the city of Liège. Here, Elder Ripplinger became acquainted with a group of Belgians belonging to the Baptist Church, and he reported that many of them displayed a lively interest in Mormonism. Soon, about 15 or 20 of these Baptists began to travel around the Liège area obtaining opportunities for Elder Ripplinger to hold meetings in other Baptist homes. Many of these people who heard Ripplinger asked him to give his message to their minister, and in compliance with this request the elder visited the Baptist leader of Liège and testified to him of the truthfulness of Mormonism. The minister rejected his testimony and challenged Ripplinger to a public debate in the defense of his church. This challenge was accepted, and a meeting place was arranged. It was agreed beforehand that each side would have equal time to speak, but after the debate had begun the minister withdrew from this agreement and allowed the elder only a portion

<sup>24</sup>Millennial Star, LXVI (January 28, 1904), p. 49-51.

<sup>25</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, 1894; Millennial Star, LVII (August 15, 1895), p. 522.



of his allotted time. This ungentlemenly act on the part of the minister made the Baptist members rather angry with him, and when the minister saw that he was losing favor with his congregation he demanded that the meeting come to a close and the people leave. This had no effect on the audience, and the minister then informed his congregation that those who stayed would be cut off from the Baptist Church. This threat had as little effect as his former command, and the people stayed to hear Elder Ripplinger's message.<sup>26</sup>

The elders' acceptance by the Baptists in the Liège area alarmed the ministers of that church, and a special Baptist preacher was sent to Liège to deliver an address against Mormonism. Elders Ripplinger and Pieper were informed of his coming, and they attended the meeting which was held in one of the Baptist members homes. With the elders present, it was decided by the congregation that the minister should give equal time to the Mormons to reply to his remarks, but after several exchanges had been made the minister gave one last speech on Mormonism and promptly announced that he had to leave the meeting. Angered that the minister was going to leave before the elders could make a rebuttal, the lady of the house arose and took hold of the minister forcing him to hear the elders' closing remarks. At the conclusion of the meeting several of the Baptists in the audience voiced dissatisfaction with their church, and it was reported by the

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<sup>26</sup>Millennial Star, LVIII (February 20, 1896), p. 123.

missionaries that one man addressed the minister in the following words:

You have tried to show us tonight that the Mormon people are the worst people on the earth; on the other side it has sufficiently been proven by the Scriptures and by other facts that the churches and sects are wrong and not of God, and therefore we do not wish to belong to any of them any more.<sup>27</sup>

Upon hearing remarks such as this, the minister turned on his heels and left the meeting. His exit was accompanied by shouts from his audience of "Vive les Mormons." As a result of this success among the Baptists, the elders had about 100 people who were investigating the Church, and meetings were being held in St. Nicholas, Ougrée, Jehais and several other towns around Liège.<sup>28</sup>

The missionary efforts in Liège were not confined solely to the Baptist residents, and a number of Catholic families were also investigating the Church. In November of 1896 Elder Fredrick Pieper baptized Bartholomeus Creuiwel and his wife and daughter into the Mormon Church.<sup>29</sup> Mr. Creuiwel was a very prominent and influential merchant in Liège, as well as a lay official in the Catholic Church. His conversion to Mormonism made quite a stir in Liège, and it was reported

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., (April 30, 1896), p. 288.

<sup>28</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, May 31, 1896.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., November 11, 1896; Millennial Star, LVIII (November 26, 1896), p. 765.



that from as far away as Brussels an article appeared in a newspaper expressing regret that such a respectable family should be lured into Mormonism. This publicity stirred up a good deal of excitement, and though it caused many inquisitive people to attend Mormon meetings, it also substantially increased the anti-Mormon feeling in Liège.

On November 30, 1896 a mob of several hundred people gathered in front of the Creuiwel family home. Elder Ripplinger was holding a meeting inside, and the mob demanded that he come out. Unwilling to face the hostile crowd, Ripplinger refused to comply with the mob's wishes. In response to this, some members of the mob began throwing stones at the house, and some slight damage was inflicted. Fortunately, however, the police arrived before anything more serious happened, and the mob was dispersed.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of these occasional anti-Mormon outbreaks in Liège, the elders continued to enjoy success, and in August of 1897 a larger Mormon meeting hall was obtained in that city. This meeting hall could accommodate about 125 people, but at times there were so many who wanted to attend the meetings that the missionaries were forced to admit the public on a ticket only basis.<sup>31</sup>

It is interesting to note that Belgium was one of the few countries where Mormon missions were established that

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<sup>30</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, November 30, 1896.

<sup>31</sup>Millennial Star, LIX (September 9, 1897), p. 571.

did not impose restrictive laws on the Church's activities. President Joseph W. McMurrin, an official of the Mormon Church, remarked after a tour of Belgium that, "It is gratifying to note that notwithstanding the fact that the very great majority of the inhabitants of Belgium are of the Catholic faith, religious freedom prevails, and the Elders are not interfered with or restricted in any way from the performance of their missionary labors."<sup>32</sup>

The agitation that the elders caused in some quarters did prompt the Belgian government to investigate missionary activity, and on at least one occasion Elder Ripplinger was summoned to Brussels for an interview with the Minister of Religion and Public Instruction. As it turned out the minister was only interested in learning what the missionaries were trying to do, and at the conclusion of the interview Ripplinger was told that if the Mormons broke no laws they might continue on in their work.<sup>33</sup>

After 1897, when Ripplinger and Pieper finished their missions and returned home, the work in southern Belgium languished for a time due to the lack of French-speaking elders. However, after 1903, proselyting was again advanced in the French-speaking cities of Liège, Charleroi, and Namur.<sup>34</sup> Serge F. Ballif, a French-speaking Swiss convert,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, February 6, 1897.

<sup>34</sup> Journal History of the French Mission, May 22, 1903.



was sent to Liège where the Church again began to grow,<sup>35</sup> and by 1905 there were about 100 Mormons in the Liège area.<sup>36</sup>

In order to further stimulate interest in the Church, some new French tracts were written, and in 1907 it became necessary to print a second edition of the Book of Mormon.<sup>37</sup> Also, in 1908 selections from a collection of scriptures known as the Doctrine and Covenants were translated into French, and 28 of the 133 sections were printed.<sup>38</sup> With the additional help of this increase of Mormon literature in the French language, the missionaries expanded their efforts, and they were soon working in most of the large cities in southern Belgium.

As we have seen, by 1912 the Church had enough French-speaking members and missionaries in western Europe to warrant the establishment of a separate French Mission. On October 15th of that year at a conference of French-speaking elders held in Paris, this mission was officially formed.<sup>39</sup> The 15 elders attending the conference were assigned to this new mission, and one of their number, Elder Edgar Brossard,

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<sup>35</sup>Millennial Star, LXVI (March 10, 1904), p. 155; Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, September 15, 1904.

<sup>36</sup>Millennial Star, LXVII (October 19, 1905), p. 669.

<sup>37</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, October 9, 1905.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., August 15, 1908.

<sup>39</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 1-10.

was called to be its president.<sup>40</sup>

Under Brossard's direction the headquarters of the French Mission were established in Paris, and the elders soon opened some new branches of the Church in a number of French cities.<sup>41</sup> In spite of their work, the missionaries made little headway, and during that first year only 15 converts were made in the three countries of the mission.<sup>42</sup> Although this figure grew during the next year, the missionaries were still making rather slow progress. This difficulty in attracting people to the Church cannot be attributed to any restrictive laws within the different countries of the mission; for those laws which had been the most oppressive to the progress of the Church in France, during the time of Bolton and Bertrand, had been repealed by 1912.<sup>43</sup> There were at times occasional difficulties experienced in Switzerland,<sup>44</sup> and some minor trouble was recorded by the missionaries with the French police.<sup>45</sup> As World War I approached

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 34-36.

<sup>42</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, March 10, 1913.

<sup>43</sup>Laws number 291 and 292 of the French Penal Code had been repealed in 1901. See appendix A and O. W. Mueller (ed), The French Penal Code (South Hackensack, New Jersey: Fred B. Rothman & Co., 1960).

<sup>44</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, May 6, 1914.

<sup>45</sup>Due to complaints by some of the citizens of Amiens, the elders in that city were forbidden to continue their work in any way for a period of several days. See "Book I 7822," p. 37.



some hostility towards the missionaries was experienced in France when they were mistaken for Germans,<sup>46</sup> but these difficulties were usually resolved when the missionaries identified themselves and explained their purposes for being in Europe.

In 1913, due to illness, President Edgar Brossard was forced to return to his home in Utah, and Elder Benjamin Howells replaced him as mission president. President Howells took control of the mission at a difficult time, and by August of 1914 France was at war with Germany. Normal missionary functions soon became impossible in France, and the missionaries awaited instructions from the Church to inform them whether to leave the country or stay. When it appeared that Germany might invade France through Belgium, missionary work was also stopped in that country, the missionaries conducted only the regular meetings while awaiting instructions from the Church headquarters.

By August 6th, when a German invasion through Belgium appeared to be close at hand, the American elders in Belgium were instructed to leave for London without delay. The urgency of this message caused some of them to abandon their belongings, but fortunately the elders departed when they did for the day after they left Liège that city came under heavy bombardment from the Germans.<sup>47</sup> Twelve days

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with Edgar Brossard, October 13, 1964.

<sup>47</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 74.

after the missionaries in Belgium departed, those in France received word that they too should proceed to the United States with all possible speed.<sup>48</sup>

In Switzerland, as that country was not involved in the war, those missionaries from America remained several more months, but eventually they also left for the United States. In their absence the French-speaking branches of the Church in that country continued to function throughout the war under the leadership of the local Swiss members.<sup>49</sup>

With the departure of the missionaries from France and Belgium, the Church had no direct way to learn of the welfare of the French and Belgian Mormons trapped in their countries by the war. By 1915, most of Belgium had fallen to the Germans, and attempts were made to establish contact with the Belgian saints. This was done largely by correspondence, but this means proved to be a rather useless method, and only a few families were contacted. Those who were reached were sent some monetary relief by the Church.<sup>50</sup>

As time passed and the war bogged down to become a protracted stalemate of trench warfare, some of the initial confusion of the first few months cleared, and the Mormons around Liège, Belgium, were able to organize themselves and hold some

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>49</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, 1915-1916.

<sup>50</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, May 1, 10, 25, 1915.



church meetings.<sup>51</sup> As many functions of the Church as were possible under wartime conditions were resumed, and during the war the local members of the Church around Liège were able to baptize approximately 14 converts into the Church.<sup>52</sup>

Some Mormons from the Netherlands tried to enter Belgium to establish contact with the members of the Church and give them relief supplies, but the German occupying forces would not allow it. The only aid the Church was able to give to these members was about twenty-six dollars a month sent to be distributed among the poor.<sup>53</sup> Later this help was probably increased as money from the "Church Relief Fund for the Belgian Saints" was received.<sup>54</sup> There were also some food drives held in Mormon areas of Utah and Idaho to help the Belgians, but this aid was to be distributed to all Belgians and not solely to the Mormons.<sup>55</sup>

In France there is no indication that the Mormon branches continued to function during the war, and organized Church

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<sup>51</sup>Arthur Horbach, "Mormons in Liege During the War," The Improvement Era, XXII (January 1920), p. 262-63.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, November 11, 1917.

<sup>54</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, May 7, 1918.

<sup>55</sup>A carload of flour was sent to Belgium by the Relief Society of the Fremont Stake (Idaho) of the Mormon Church. See Journal History of the Church..., December 16, 1914.

activity appears to have collapsed when the American elders were withdrawn.

Due to the lack of Church activity in France, and the fact that no communication was possible between French-speaking saints of Belgium and Switzerland, it was decided that the areas of these two countries which had formed part of the French Mission should temporarily revert back to the control of the Swiss and Netherlands Missions.<sup>56</sup> The French Mission was thus dissolved.

At the end of the war, in 1918, preparations were made to send missionaries back into Belgium and Switzerland, and in 1920 one or two missionaries were sent to those countries.<sup>57</sup> In 1921 the members in Liège, Belgium began to write letters to the headquarters of the Church in Salt Lake City requesting that missionaries again be sent to their city.<sup>58</sup> In response to these requests, Belgium was officially made a part of the Netherlands Mission, and two elders of that mission were sent to Liège.

By the end of 1923 the Church had taken some action to re-establish the French Mission. The areas in Switzerland and Belgium which had formerly been a part of that mission

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<sup>56</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 80-81.

<sup>57</sup>Journal History of the Netherlands Mission, November 28, 1920; Journal History of the French Mission, November 15, 1920, May 1920.

<sup>58</sup>Deseret News, June 4, 1921, section iv, p. 6.



before the war were again united as the first step in reforming the mission.<sup>59</sup> The following year France was included in this union, and the French Mission was officially re-organized with Russell Blood as its president.<sup>60</sup> Geneva, Switzerland, was chosen to be the headquarters of the mission.

The year 1924 had a special significance for the Mormon Church. It was the one hundredth anniversary of the delivering of the golden plates to Joseph Smith.<sup>61</sup> To commemorate this event President Blood traveled throughout the mission giving illustrated lectures on the Book of Mormon. As a result of this lecture tour much favorable publicity was given to the Church by various newspapers within the mission.<sup>62</sup>

Russell Blood served only a brief time as president of the French Mission, and in 1925 he was replaced by Ernest C. Rossiter.<sup>63</sup> President Rossiter was fluent in the French language which he had learned both as a missionary to Belgium in

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<sup>59</sup>Millennial Star, LXXXVI (January 10, 1924), p. 26; Ibid., LXXXV (September 6, 1923), p. 270-71.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., LXXXVI (March 29, 1924), p. 180-81.

<sup>61</sup>The Mormons believe that these golden plates were given to Joseph Smith by an angel. These plates allegedly contained a written record of an ancient people that, when translated by Joseph Smith, was called the Book of Mormon.

<sup>62</sup>Ernest C. Rossiter, "The French Mission," The Improvement Era, XXXII (November 1928), p. 55.

<sup>63</sup>Millennial Star, LXXXVIII (June 17, 1926), p. 378.

<sup>64</sup>"Mission Annual Reports," 1926: 194. This record is located in CHO.

1908 and as the president of the Tahitian Mission from 1915 to 1920. After taking control of the French Mission, he embarked on an expansion program designed to open the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to Mormon proselyting. He also decided to open some new areas of France to the Missionaries. To implement the first of these projects, in October of 1925, Elders Alton Fife and Arthur Newman applied for and received permission from the government of Luxemburg to carry out missionary work among its people. However, after being in Luxemburg only three weeks, an inflammatory article was written against the Church and printed in a Luxemburg newspaper. This resulted in the elders being arrested and jailed. This action was protested by the Church, and after a short time the affair was straightened out, and the missionaries were released from their confinement. They continued their work for another month, but it was soon decided to discontinue missionary efforts in Luxemburg due to the small number of Luxemburgois who spoke French.<sup>64</sup>

As a result of his expansion program, President Rossiter reported that the missionaries in France had opened branches of the Church in nine new cities and prospects for success looked very promising.<sup>65</sup> In most of these cities the missionaries were well received, and in at least two of them

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<sup>64</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 128.

<sup>65</sup>"Mission Annual Reports," 1926: 144. This record is located in CHO.



meeting halls were furnished to the Church free of charge.<sup>66</sup>

In Belgium the future also looked very bright for the Church, and the missionaries were experiencing no difficulty from the civil authorities. In the cities of Herstal and Namur, as had been the case in some French cities, meeting halls were offered to the Church rent free.<sup>67</sup>

By 1927 membership in Seraing, Belgium, had grown sufficiently large that the Church felt a chapel should be constructed in that city. In November of that year some land for that purpose was purchased.<sup>68</sup> Six months later a lot was also obtained in the city of Liège, and within a short time construction on both chapels was underway.<sup>69</sup> Both of these buildings were completed by 1930.

During this time in Switzerland, there was a difficulty occurring in the Canton of Vaud that was to plague the Church for many years. The authorities of that canton had been hostile towards the missionaries for some time, and on several occasions the missionaries in the city of Lausanne had been forbidden to proselyte. This trouble came to a climax in 1925 when the authorities of Vaud took offense at the Mormon

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<sup>66</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 99.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>69</sup>"Lib. 3288," p. 122, (This is a record book located in CHO).

activities, and they saw fit to disallow the Mormons rights that the other denominations enjoyed.<sup>70</sup> In spite of protests from the mission, the Church was prevented from proselyting in that canton for the next 11 years.

Even though the Church had trouble in the Canton of Vaud, elsewhere in Switzerland the people seemed to have some interest in the Mormons. This was shown by the high attendance at a series of public conferences held in Switzerland in 1928. These conferences were illustrated by lantern slides, and Church records show that in some cities as many as 650 people were in attendance.<sup>71</sup>

The success of these conferences in Switzerland serves as a good contrast to the similar public conferences held in Grenoble, France, where 3,000 invitations were distributed but only six residents of that city were interested enough to attend.<sup>72</sup> It is difficult to explain the apparent apathy on the part of the French to Mormonism, but throughout the early part of the French Mission the elders always seemed to have had more success among the Belgians and Swiss members of the mission than among the French.

In 1928 Ernest Rossiter was released as mission president, and Rulon Christensen was called to replace him.

Under president Christensen the mission magazine L'Etoile du

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<sup>70</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, April 15, 1925.

<sup>71</sup>"Book I 7822," p. 193.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 138.



Deseret, which was last published in 1853, was revived and again printed. Its name was changed slightly to L'Etoile de la Mission Francaise, and its first few issues were distributed on mimeographed sheets of paper. This continued until 1930 when the Etoile was printed with a cover, and it assumed the appearance of a magazine. At this time its circulation had reached 500 issues a month.<sup>73</sup>

President Rulon Christensen presided over the mission for only a year, and in 1929 he was replaced by Golden Woolf. President Woolf endeavored to interest more French people in Mormonism, and to aid in this project he moved the headquarters of the mission from Geneva, Switzerland, to Paris, France. In addition to this he attempted to improve the image of the Church among the French-speaking people of Europe by obtaining the services of some well known French and Swiss writers. Charles Cestre, professor of American Literature at the Sorbonne, and Benjamin Valattan, a Swiss author were engaged by the Church to contribute each an article on the Mormons in a special issue of the Etoile which commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Mormon Church. Professor Cestre also agreed to write an article on the Mormons and submit it to the Larousse Publishing Company to replace an erroneous article on the Church which was printed in their encyclopedia.<sup>74</sup> Also, to provide

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<sup>73</sup>Millennial Star, XC (November 29, 1928), p. 760.

<sup>74</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," September 30, 1930. This is a report of mission statistics and history which is compiled every three months by the missions of the Church.

more information on the Church in the French language, President Woolf directed that the book The Articles of Faith, written by the Mormon apostle James E. Talmage, be translated into French. These measures not only served to acquaint more people with the Church, but it was also hoped that they would correct the effects of various magazine and newspaper articles as well as books, which had been written both about and against the Mormons.<sup>75</sup>

In spite of the attempts to inform more people about the Church and to correct misinformation about its doctrines, the missionaries continued to be unsuccessful in their efforts to convert people in France to their beliefs, and by 1930 there were only 47 French Mormons. This compares with 344 Church members in the Belgian part of the mission and 280 in the Swiss part.<sup>76</sup>

Methods used by the missionaries to attract converts to the Church consisted largely of door to door tracting, supplemented by occasional lecture tours. In addition to this there were the regularly scheduled Church meetings held in all cities where missionaries were living.

The missionaries were undoubtedly looked upon with some

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<sup>75</sup>The book Le Lac Sale by Pierre Benoit, (Paris: Henry Maillet, 1921) is probably the most widely read novel on the Mormons that has been written in French. See also the following periodical articles: R. Guenon, "Les Origines du Mormonism," Revue Politique et Littéraire, LXIV (September 4, 1926), p. 535-41; "Le Centenaire du Mormonism," L'Illustrations, LXXXV (January 30, 1927), p. 110-11.

<sup>76</sup>"Mission Annual Report," 1930, p. 244.



suspicion by residents of the cities in which they worked, and some offense was probably taken at the method of door to door tracting. Also, at least in the former German area of Alsace, France, it was felt by some French officials that the missionaries might be engaged in some clandestine propaganda effort for Germany, and it was difficult for the missionaries to obtain permission to enter any city of that province.<sup>77</sup>

In 1933 Golden Woolf was released as president of the French Mission, and Elder Daniel J. Lang took his place. During Elder Lang's tenure as president, the mission was greatly hampered by an acute shortage of missionaries. This was due largely to the severe depression which was occurring in the United States which made it difficult for the American Mormons to support the Church missionary program. In 1933 there had been 45 missionaries in the French Mission,<sup>78</sup> but in 1934 this number had been reduced to 14.<sup>79</sup> To compensate for this reduction, President Lang called about 50 native members to act as part time missionaries. In spite of this action, it soon became necessary to discontinue a number of Mormon branches in the mission. This missionary shortage continued for about three years.<sup>80</sup>

In 1935 a conference was held in Liège, Belgium, for all of the mission presidents in Europe. On this occasion the

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<sup>77</sup>"Quarterly report of the French Mission," 1921, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 1933, p. 2.

<sup>79</sup>Deseret News, March 14, 1936, (Church Section), p. 3.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

following message was sent to the King and Queen of the Belgians:

To their majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians. The presidents of the European Missions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who are assembled together at a conference in Liege, remember with great emotion the visit which his majesty King Leopold and his auguste father made to Salt Lake City; they wish to express to your majesties their appreciation for the hospitality which they have received in your beautiful country, and extend to you their most sincere respect.

The following reply was received from the royal family:

The King and Queen have been particularly touched by the sentiments of sympathy you have expressed to them on the occasion of the Congress of the European Missions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and their Majesties have charged me to transmit to you as well as to all of the delegates for whom you speak, their sincere gratitude.<sup>81</sup>

(signed) Secretary of State for the kings house.

With such evidence of good relations between the Belgian government and the Church, it was decided by Octave Ursenbach, who succeeded Daniel Lang as mission president in 1936, to move the headquarters of the mission from Paris to Liège, Belgium. During this period 95 percent of all converts in the French Mission were being made in Belgium.<sup>82</sup> Also, during this same year to provide facilities for the growing Church membership in Belgium, construction was started on a chapel in the city of Herstal.

Shortly after assuming leadership of the French Mission,

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<sup>81</sup>L'Etoile, 1935, p. 258-259.

<sup>82</sup>Deseret News, July 11, 1936, (Church Section), p. 2.



President Ursenbach experimented with some new methods of proselyting. One of these methods was the use of basketball teams made up of Mormon missionaries.<sup>83</sup> At first these teams engaged themselves in teaching the techniques of basketball to different sporting clubs in Belgium. The members of these clubs would inevitably be curious about the American's presence in Belgium, and the elders were often invited by the friends they made to explain their beliefs.

This method of proselyting was found to be so successful in making people aware of the Church that in 1937 it was decided that the elders should form a basketball team to compete in the Belgian tournaments. This team was made up of elders from the Belgian cities of Liège, Seraing, Herstal, and Verviers. These four cities were all located near each other so the missionaries were able to meet regularly to practice. There were a number of good players on the Mormon team, and sports writers in Belgium soon took notice of them. In June of 1937 the Mormons entered a tournament in Brussels and created a national sensation by defeating the Amicale Sporting Club. This club had held the basketball championship of Belgium for three consecutive years and was to represent Belgium in the 1937 Olympics in Berlin.<sup>84</sup> This single victory probably served to make more Belgians aware of the Mormons presence in their country than anything done before.

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<sup>83</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," 1936, p. 11.

<sup>84</sup>Journal History of the French Mission, June 13, 1936.

In addition to this "basketball proselyting," President Ursenbach also started the "White Card System." This was a referral system whereby friends of the missionaries would refer the elders to their friends by writing an introduction for the missionaries on the cards.<sup>85</sup> Radio programs were also experimented with in Belgium to introduce people to the beliefs of the Mormons.<sup>86</sup>

In 1938, Octave Ursenbach was released from his calling as mission president and was replaced by Joseph Evans. President Evans arrived in the French Mission at a critical period in European history. Within a year of his arrival, the countries of Europe were again faced with the prospect of another European war.

In August of 1939 the situation appeared to be nearing a climax, and war seemed inevitable. Aware that a holocaust might break out at anytime between France and Germany, the Mormon Church issued instructions for the missionaries in France to proceed to port cities in the event that it was necessary to evacuate them from the continent. If war did occur between France and Germany it was felt very likely that the German armies would follow the Von Schlieffin plan, which called for an invasion through Belgium and the Netherlands. To prepare for this eventuality, the missionaries in Belgium were also instructed to proceed to French seaports on the

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<sup>85</sup> Deseret News, July 11, 1936, (Church Section), p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Journal History of the French Mission, June 4, 1936.



English Channel. However, due to difficulties in obtaining traveling visas for France, these instructions were altered slightly, and the missionaries in Belgium remained in that country but gathered near the coast.<sup>87</sup>

On September 3, 1939, when war was declared by England and France against Germany, those French missionaries with over 20 months of service were released from their missions and took passage on ships bound for America. Those with less than 20 months were to have been sent to Switzerland to finish their missions, but entry permits could not be obtained, and with the exception of two elders all of the missionaries left for the United States.<sup>88</sup>

The two elders who remained in the mission were Brigham Young Card, who stayed in Geneva for a short time to direct the Swiss district, and Gaston Chappuis, who was left in Paris to take care of the mission headquarters and to continue publishing the Etoile. After a short time, however, Elder Card was instructed to return to America. In Paris, Gaston Chappuis continued to direct the mission until the German armies over-ran France. At that time he closed the mission affairs, and in the company of his wife fled to Spain and then to Portugal where passage was obtained for the United States.<sup>89</sup> With the departure of the American elders from the

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<sup>87</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," September 30, 1939, p. 9.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Interview with Mrs. Gaston Chappuis, November 20, 1964.

mission, the responsibility for direction Church activities was turned over to the local members.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### THE SECOND WORLD WAR

As we have seen, the outbreak of World War II caused the withdrawal of all of the missionaries from the French Mission. Now, as had been the case during the First World War, the responsibility of directing the Church's activities in the three countries of the mission fell into the hands of the local Belgian, French, and Swiss members.

In Belgium, the Church members were quite well prepared to carry on in the absence of the missionaries. At the beginning of the war there were over 400 Mormons in that country, and most of them were located within easy communication of each other. These Belgian members were organized into seven branches, and when the missionaries left Belgium in 1939, almost all of these branches were functioning under the leadership of experienced local members. The man charged with the responsibility of directing Church activities in Belgium was Paul Davignez, a resident of Liège and the president of the Belgian district. He was assisted by two counselors, Augusta Scubinet and Wladislaw Jallinek.<sup>1</sup>

Though Belgium was neutral at the beginning of the war, the Church members in that country prepared for its eventual-ity, and soon reserve stocks of grain and potatoes were

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purchased to be set aside for the possible future needs of the Church. In the Seraing Branch, a garden was planted to help supply some vegetables for the needy members.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this, Paul Devigne received instructions from the Church in Salt Lake City authorizing him to use money from the "Church Security Plan Fund" to help support the families whose husbands had been taken into the Belgian Army. This fund had been started during Octave Ursenbach's presidency, and it contained 3,000 francs.<sup>3</sup>

In May of 1939, Germany disregarded Belgium's neutrality and invaded that country. Within 18 days the Belgian Army was forced to capitulate before the German onslaught. A short time afterwards the German occupying forces moved into Liège where they systematically seized any property that was of use to them. The three Mormon chapels in Liège, Seraing, and Herstal were among the buildings taken by the Germans. However, the members were allowed to continue to use them for church services, and the German officials appointed Paul Devigne to be the "verwalter" or trustee of the confiscated Mormon property. He was made directly responsible to the German authorities for their care and upkeep.<sup>4</sup>

After the initial confusion of the German invasion, most

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<sup>2</sup>Interview with Joseph Hasoppe, March 14, 1965; Lib. A3365, p. 273-76 located in CHO.

<sup>3</sup>Letter from Joseph E. Evans to Paul Devigne, February 24, 1940.

<sup>4</sup>Deseret News, December 23, 1944, p. 1. (Church Section); Interview with Joseph Hasoppe, March 14, 1965.



of the Belgian branches resumed their normal meetings.<sup>5</sup> As food grew scarce, many of these church meetings were followed by servings of free soup to those who had been in attendance. Members cooperated to help one another find enough food to live on.

Towards the end of the war small amounts of relief supplies were sent by the Swiss members to the branches in Belgium, but these supplies were very limited, and they offered only temporary relief. An attempt was also made by the Swiss members to protect the Mormon children in Belgium by having them sent to live in Switzerland until the war ended. This plan was never put into effect, however, because of the opposition of the German and Belgian authorities.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the hardships of the occupation and the hatred which the Belgians developed for their German oppressors, there was some contact between the Mormons who were among the German occupying forces and their Belgian brothers and sisters. The secretary of a German general in Liège was found to be a member of the Church, and she frequently attended the branch services in that city. In addition, there was at least one German soldier in Liège who often visited the Church meetings.

Unfortunately several members of the Seraing branch were deported to Germany to work in the factories. The branch

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<sup>5</sup>These branches were: Liège, Seraing, Herstal, Verviers, Namur, Brussels, and Charleroi.

<sup>6</sup>Deseret News, December 23, 1944, p. 1, (Church Section).

president in Seaing reported that three of the deported members made contact with the Church in the cities where they were working, and they were warmly received by the German members.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to continuing the normal Church functions during the war, the members in Belgium also organized some proselyting activities, and during the occupation 50 people were converted to the Church. Many of these converts were attracted to the Church after observing the brotherhood and cooperation which existed among the Belgian Mormons.<sup>8</sup>

While the Belgian branches were well organized throughout the war, branches in France had a more difficult time. Among the approximately 75 French Mormons, there was only one active elder capable of leading the members during the war. This elder was Leon Fargier of the Valance branch.

When Gaston Chappuis departed from Paris in the Summer of 1940, he left Fargier in charge of the Church in France. Faithful to this responsibility, Elder Fargier tried to keep the branches functioning during the war. This involved a great many problems, not the least of which was finding adequate places in which to hold church services. As the German armies streamed into France from the north and east, great numbers of French refugees fled to the south. This displacement of population created a desperate housing shortage

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<sup>7</sup>Interview with Joseph Hasoppe, March 14, 1965.

<sup>8</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," 1946, p. 35; Interview with Joseph Hasoppe, March 14, 1965.



wherever these people settled, and the meeting halls that the Church had rented in those areas were soon taken over by these refugees. In Fargier's native city of Valance, the Mormon meeting hall was lost in this manner, and from that time on the Church meetings were conducted in the Fargier home.<sup>9</sup>

In June of 1940, France was defeated by the German armies, and shortly thereafter an armistice was concluded between the two countries. By the terms of this armistice France was divided into two zones. One zone, made up of France's northern and eastern provinces, was occupied by German forces, while the provinces of southern France were formed into an unoccupied area. Fargier lived in this unoccupied portion of France, and he was able to travel extensively in that zone to visit Church members and hold meetings. However, the members were scattered throughout France, and travel from the unoccupied to the occupied areas was closely restricted. Consequently, Fargier's visits to the branches in eastern and northern France were infrequent. This situation lasted until 1942, when the Germans moved into France's southern provinces. The complete occupation of France was due to the allies' successful conquest of North Africa which now made the beaches of southern France a potential area for invasion from across the Mediterranean Sea.

Now, with all of France occupied by German armies, the

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<sup>9</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," January, 1947, p. 23.

two zones were eliminated, and a person could travel as easily in northern and eastern France as he could in the south. This change made it possible for Fargier to regularly visit the branches of Paris, Besancon, and Grenoble.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the war, the members in France were cut off from any direct communication with the headquarters of the Church in Utah. However, an indirect contact was established through members in Switzerland, and with the help of a handful of French sisters, Fargier relayed the news and instructions he received from the Church to the members in the various French branches.<sup>11</sup>

Along with occupying himself with the needs of his fellow Mormons, Fargier also carried on some proselyting, and during the war he was able to baptize five people.

This activity and dedication to his Church attracted some attention, and an article describing Fargier's work appeared in a July 1941 issue of the French newspaper Paris Soir.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the small groups of members in the various French cities which Fargier visited, there was one branch in France that functioned throughout the war under local leadership. This branch was near the French-German

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Some of the Church members who aided Fargier in this task were: Sister Morard of Grenoble, Sister Chastagner of Saint Etienne, Sister Desmaison of Besoncon, the two Julian sisters in Nîmes, and Sister Kleinert in Paris.

<sup>12</sup>L'Etoile de la Mission Francaise, (January, 1947), p. 23-25.



border in the city of Strasbourg. A German dialect was spoken in this Alsaian city, and before the war the Strasbourg branch had been a part of the German-speaking Swiss Austrian Mission.

When the missionaries left Strasbourg in 1939, the local members continued to hold church services. Soon the city came under attack by the advancing German armies, and after its capture the Gestapo informed the Church members that further Mormon services would not be tolerated. To emphasize this restriction, the branch meeting hall along with all of the Church's possessions was confiscated. From that time until 1943, when the Church's belongings were returned, the church meetings were secretly held at the homes of various members.<sup>13</sup> At the conclusion of the war, this branch was included in the French Mission.

Unlike Belgium and France, Switzerland was able to remain neutral throughout the war, and the Swiss members were saved from the difficulties and hardships which existed in the other parts of the mission. The French-speaking Swiss branches were organized as a district and placed under the leadership of Robert A. Simond, a local Swiss member. This district was made up of 300 people living in the cities of La Chaux-de-Fonds, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva. All of these branches functioned in a normal fashion throughout

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

the war, and in the absence of missionaries the local members converted 25 people to the Church.<sup>14</sup>

The Etoile, which had been discontinued in 1940 because of the war, was replaced in Switzerland by a publication called Bulletin Mensuel d'Information.<sup>15</sup> This publication contained information on the Church and its mission and served to unite and inform the French-speaking members of western Switzerland.

When the Second World War ended in 1945, much of Europe lay in ruins, and its people were in desperate need of help. As soon as possible, various governments and private organizations started sending aid to the stricken countries. The Mormon Church was one of the many churches that participated in this mercy effort, and relief supplies were sent to its members throughout Europe.

In 1946, quantities of food and clothing began arriving in France for distribution among the Church members. These supplies were handled by a French government organization called "Entr'Aide," and several carloads of these goods were processed by this organization under the supervision of a Belgian member named Joseph Hasoppe.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 20-23.

<sup>15</sup>This bulletin was published between May 1944 and December 1945. It was printed in Neuchatel, Switzerland by Marcel Pauli.

<sup>16</sup>Deseret News, August 9, 1947, p. 1, (Church Section); "Quarterly Report of the French Mission," December, 1947, p. 30; Ibid., March, 1948, p. 6.



In Belgium, the relief supplies were delayed briefly because the Belgian government felt that the food and clothing should be distributed to all Belgians rather than just to the Mormons. Within a short time, however, Ezra Taft Benson, the European mission president, accompanied by the American Consul at Brussels, obtained an interview with Belgian officials, and the Church received permission to distribute these goods among their members.<sup>17</sup>

These supplies continued to be sent to the French Mission for several years after the war; and for their work in Belgium, the Church received a certificate of merit from the Belgium War Relief Society of the United States.

In May of 1946, President Barker and his wife arrived in France and established the mission headquarters in Paris. The Barkers had a very difficult time during their first few years in the mission due to the serious shortages of food and heating fuel. Travel in France and Belgium was also a problem because of the widespread destruction in those countries, and trips which normally required a few hours often took as long as a day. Many of these trips were necessary to locate the scattered French Mormons, but with the help of French officials, Barker was able to obtain one of the few civilian

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<sup>17</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," 1946.

CHAPTER V  
MEMBERSHIP GROWS

At the end of the Second World War the Church began to send missionaries back to Europe. In 1946, James L. Barker was called as president of the French Mission and given instructions to reopen that mission to Mormon proselyting.

President Barker was well qualified for this position. He had received a higher education at several French universities and was well known among European scholars for his work in phonetics. Prior to his calling as mission president, Barker had been head of the language department at the University of Utah, and his skill with languages proved invaluable in reopening the French Mission.

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in allowing President Barker enough gasoline for his travels.<sup>1</sup>

Six months after the Barkers arrived in Paris, a group of ten missionaries was sent to aid them. Due to the scarcity of food and the extremely high cost of living in France, most of these missionaries had to be sent to work in the branches in Belgium. None of these elders could speak French, and therefore it was several months before any proselyting could be conducted in that country.

After the missionaries were settled in Belgium and President Barker had located as many members as possible in France, he embarked on a lecture tour throughout the mission. These lectures drew very large crowds and proved to be quite successful in acquainting people with the Church. Elder Barker continued these tours throughout his tenure as mission president and gave at least one lecture a week during his four years in the mission.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to his work among the French people, Barker also concerned himself with the German Mormons who were inmates in French prisoner-of-war camps. He solicited permission from the French government to visit these prisoners and did all that was possible to aid and comfort these German brethren during their confinement.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Mrs. James L. Barker, March 9, 1965.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," December, 1947, p. 30.

In November of 1947, the headquarters of the French Mission was transferred from Paris to Geneva, Switzerland. This move was made primarily because of the continued scarcity of fuel in France and the resulting impossibility of heating the mission headquarters during the approaching Winter.<sup>4</sup>

By 1948 the Church was sending more missionaries to Europe, and during that year the number of missionaries in the French Mission increased to 80 elders and sisters. Unfortunately, however, due to some bad publicity and misunderstandings about the Mormons, some trouble began to develop between the Church and the Belgian and French governments.<sup>5</sup> In Belgium, the four elders living in the city of Namur were informed by local authorities that they would be required to leave Belgium for a few days every two months in order to obtain permission to reside in that country. In France, during the same period of time, the missionaries were obliged to leave that country for several days every three months, and they worked under the constant threat of permanent expulsion.

Missionaries could be forced to leave France because the Mormon Church was not officially recognized as a church by the French government. Therefore, the rights of the missionaries to reside in French cities were subject to the wishes

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.; Interview with Mrs. James L. Barker, March 9, 1965.

<sup>5</sup>Lawrence S. Jeppson, "Press Relations of the French Mission" (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Public Relations and Communications, Boston University, 1955), p. 155. Located in CHO.



of any official in the cities and departments of France. Though it did not occur very often, there were times in the late 1940's and the early 1950's that some missionaries were given 48 hours notice to leave that country.<sup>6</sup> In Strasbourg, France an ancient law that prohibited any foreigners from doing missionary work in the city was revived and used to expel the missionaries.<sup>7</sup>

Much of the discrimination to which the Church was subjected can be traced to ignorance or misunderstandings of Mormon beliefs. President Barker's frequent lecture tours were designed to acquaint the French people with the background and beliefs of the Mormons, and those lectures gained much favorable publicity for the Church. However, during the same period, there were a number of slanderous stories printed against the Mormons.

In 1949, the first of several highly publicized raids occurred in the village of Short Creek, Arizona. This town was inhabited by a group of people practicing polygamy, and though according to Mormon pronouncement these people were not members of the Church, the impression was given in the French press that these polygamists were faithful adherents of Mormonism. The following is an example of the coverage of this raid which was carried by several French newspapers

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," March, 1948, p. 9.

in both France and her North African Colonies:

By a stroke of the pen the Supreme Court of the United States has plunged into deep despair 25,000 Mormons. Polygamy is dead in the United States. At the same time 125,000 wives find themselves in a complicated position regarding the law. By six to nine the judges have upheld the condemnation of six members of the Mormon sect called "Fundamentalists," each of whom had five or six wives...

According to U. S. law these "Federalists" [sic] must content themselves with one wife or leave the country. It is this last solution that these 25,000 husbands have accepted, and after several investigations in Europe they have decided to locate at Cape Martin on the Cote d'Azur. They will not all debark at the same time, but a delegation of 30 husbands and 150 wives has come to acquaint themselves with conditions in which the sect will be able to definitely settle... Agencies specializing in the sale of property have been consulted from America, and several villas have been purchased as well as several acres of surrounding forest. The settling of several dozen "Fundamentalists" on the Cote d'Azur, where polygamy certainly is not the exception, had some chance of passing unseen--at the beginning at least--but the "celestial marriages" greatly risk new disagreements between the Mormons and the natives.

It is in the open air that these marriages are celebrated, in presence of the high priest of the sect, who stands before the man and the woman.

He intones, "In presence of the high priest, this marriage will be consummated," and taking a step forward, he pulls off the ceremonial robe of the fiancee, who finds herself completely nude.

The same incantation followed by the same gesture, this time for the man. After that the marriage must be consummated--in public.<sup>8</sup>

The early practice of polygamy among the Mormons has always intrigued people, and many French writers have essayed on this subject. However, very few of these authors have bothered to mention that this practice was officially terminated by Church decree in 1890.

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<sup>8</sup>Lawrence S. Jeppson, "Press Relations...", p. 250-51.



Not only have many articles been written which still persist in linking Mormonism with polygamy, but this image is further perpetrated by the so-called "Mormon jokes." Witness the following examples:

One day Victor Hugo received a delegation of Mormons. Because they wanted some of the descendants of the great man in their own country, they came to offer two pretty girls of their sect.

Hugo replied, "Impossible. My contracts forbids all foreign reproduction. Ask my publisher."

Joseph Smith took six wives, one for each day of the week; on the seventh day he rested. His successor, Brigham Young had 17, and he never rested.<sup>9</sup>

This type of reference to the Mormons certainly did not create a very favorable image of the Church among French-speaking peoples, and jokes of this nature greatly detracted from the dignity of the Church and its leaders.

Many articles alleging depraving Mormon practices were written in postwar France and Belgium, and there grew an accumulation of biased and largely unreliable articles and books on this subject.<sup>10</sup> In 1948, to offset some of the canards which were being circulated about the Mormons, the missionaries embarked on a program to inform people about the Church. One way this was done was to conduct a series of public conferences. In Paris the elders were able to get the French National Broadcasting Network to regularly play recordings of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, along with

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>10</sup>See Appendix C for a bibliography of French literature on the Mormons.

explanations of the history of the Choir and the Church. Also in 1948, the missionaries organized a vocal quartet which presented nine radio programs in France, including one sponsored by the Voice of America. In a tour, this quartet gave recitals and explanations about the Church in almost 30 cities of the mission.<sup>11</sup>

This type of public relations work gained many friends for the Church, and a series of favorable articles on the Mormons subsequently appeared in the French press. However, the most favorable publicity the Church ever received in France and Belgium occurred in 1949 and 1950. During these years President Barker revived the "Basketball proselyting" that had been inaugurated by President Octave Ursenbach in 1937. A new missionary team was organized in Liège, Belgium, and it began challenging the sporting clubs in that area. Soon the skill of the Mormon players attracted the attention of Belgian sports writers, and the team became well known throughout the country. As they scored victory after victory over basketball teams in Belgium, their fame spread and many newspapers in both France and Belgium followed their progress. The missionaries' biggest game, and the one that received the most publicity, was one that was held in Brussels against a group of Belgian all-star players. This team also included three members from the Belgian National Olympic basketball squad. The game was promoted for the dedication

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<sup>11</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," December, 1948, p. 55-58.



of a new sports arena, and a large crowd was attracted. For this contest the Mormons gathered their best players from all over the mission. Darrell Hafen, a former player for the phenomenal 1944 University of Utah team, traveled from France to Brussels for the game. From Switzerland came Morris Gardner, a well known athlete from Brigham Young University, accompanied by a number of other experienced basketball players.

After several days practice, the elders confronted the Brussels team. The game was played before a capacity crowd, and both sides started out rather cautiously. Soon, however, the Mormon team found the range of the basket and began to pour the ball through. At one point Virgil Parker, one of the Mormon players, was making so many baskets that an excited fan ran down from the stands, threw his arms around one of the missionaries and shouted, "Who have you got in there making all those shots--Joseph Smith?"

The Mormon team put on a tremendous show of skill, and by halftime they had accumulated a considerable lead over the opposing team. During the second half, however, the lack of depth on the Mormon bench proved to be their undoing; and in the last few minutes of the game, the Brussels team came back to tie the score and then to take the lead. The audience went wild as the Belgians expanded their lead to four points, and when the game ended the whole crowd was on their feet. This exciting finish caused a sensation in the Belgian newspapers, and even though the Mormons lost the game they

received invitations to play teams from all over Belgium and northern France.<sup>12</sup>

This team went on to win 90 percent of their games in 1950, and the press coverage of these matches gave the Church much favorable publicity as well as creating innumerable friends for the missionaries and the Church. Evidence of the benefit the Church received from this type of activity was given by Elder Lawrence Jeppson who related that while proselyting in a neighborhood in Liège, where the Mormon team had played several games, he found the people very friendly and receptive to the missionaries. All but five or six people listened with interest to what the elders preached, and one old gentleman greeted the missionaries by saying, "Ah, you are the Mormons, you are held in high esteem in this neighborhood."<sup>13</sup>

During the same year that "basketball proselyting" was being extensively in Belgium, missionaries in France continued to organize musical groups, and several of these groups traveled throughout the mission giving vocal performances and lectures.<sup>14</sup> Some missionaries also entered contests, and in

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<sup>12</sup>Lawrence S. Jeppson, "Press relations..." p. 240-242.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>14</sup>Preston Olsen, "Report on the activities of the Quatuor Mormon" (located in the Historian's office of the Mormon Church).



this way some recognition was given to the Church. In Nancy, France, Elder Robert T. Martin won the "Premier Prix du Conservatoire" for his skill in playing the viola. This was the first time that the annual award had gone to an American, and the fact that the recipient was a Mormon missionary brought some prestige to the Church in Nancy.<sup>15</sup>

By 1950 there were 131 missionaries and 829 members in the French Mission, and the Church decided that it would be desirable to be officially recognized as a church by the French government. Without this recognition, the Church itself had no legal rights under French law, and property could not be purchased or held in its name.

This recognition was not easily obtainable because the French government officially recognized only two Christian churches--Catholic and Protestant. Because the Mormons would not accept classification under either of these titles application was made to recognize the Church as "Une Association Etrangère" (a Foreign Association).<sup>16</sup> Numerous meetings were held between Barker and French officials, but the government could not decide whether or not to recognize the Church under that title. It was finally decided that the French government would conduct a thorough investigation of the Church before a decision could be made. Negotiations were thus suspended for almost two years.

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<sup>15</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," June 1949, p. 33.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., December 1951, p. 65.

In April of 1950, James L. Barker was replaced as president of the French Mission by Golden Woolf. It will be recalled that President Woolf had previously served as mission president in France from 1929 to 1933. Woolf's second term as president of the French Mission lasted from 1950 to 1953. These were the same years that the United States was involved in the Korean Conflict, and the effects of this "conflict" had repercussions in the French Mission as well as the other Mormon missions throughout the world.

Because Mormon missionaries were considered as clergymen, and therefore not subject to induction into the American army, the United States government placed a restriction on the number of missionaries that the Church could call each year. This restriction was set at one missionary per ward per year. The result was a slowly decreasing number of missionaries in all of the missions of the Church. This policy lasted until the end of the Korean Conflict in 1953.

In France, President Woolf soon felt the effects of this restriction, and the number of missionaries declined from 149 in 1951 to 95 in 1952. The number of available missionaries continued to remain low for the next four years.

In 1951, for the first time in almost 100 years, some Mormon proselyting was conducted in Italy. This missionary work was done by Fabio Cagli, an Italian member of the French Mission who had joined the Church while living temporarily in Switzerland. After Cagli returned to Italy, he reported to Woolf that he had baptized three Italians from the town of



Santo Tomasso. Because Cagli had not been called as a missionary and therefore did not have the authority to admit people into the Church, there was some question as to whether these people's baptism and confirmation into the Church were admissible.<sup>17</sup> Sometime after this event a missionary visited Santo Tomasso and officially confirmed these three Italians as members of the Mormon Church. These members were subsequently assigned to the French Mission, and periodic visits were made to them by the mission president.

With this small branch established at Santo Tomasso, and with Cagli and his family living in Bologna, it was felt by the Church that perhaps missionaries should be again sent into Italy. In pursuance of this idea, President Woolf went to Italy in 1952 to investigate the possibilities of sending Mormon missionaries there. In an interview with an attache of the American Embassy in Rome, Woolf found that due to local restrictions and opposition of the Catholic Church, such a venture would be almost impossible.<sup>18</sup> However, with an eye to future possibilities, Woolf arranged for Fabio Cagli to make a second translation of the Book of Mormon into Italian.<sup>19</sup>

In 1952, Woolf resumed negotiations with the French

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., December 1951, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Golden Woolf, March 8, 1965.

<sup>19</sup> The first Italian translation of the Book of Mormon was in a dialect of northern Italy, and therefore not useful for all of Italy.

government to have the Church officially recognized in France. The French Department of the Interior and the Department of Foreign Affairs had investigated the Church for two years, and upon completion of this investigation, the French government agreed to recognize the Church as "Une Association Etrangère." However, an amendment was attached to this recognition which made it impossible for the Church to purchase property in France. After some investigation the Church discovered that they could get around this amendment by purchasing property through a foreign corporation. This corporation would then lease the property to the Association Etrangère for a nominal sum.<sup>20</sup>

In the summer of 1952, an attempt was made by the Church to purchase a building in Paris through the Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. However, before the French government would register that corporation in France, they demanded a fee of \$21,000. Rather than pay this sum, the Church formed the Foreign Lands Corporation, and its articles of incorporation were submitted to the French government for approval. This corporation was approved, and no fee was charged for its registration. The next step was simply to have the Bureau de Change approve the acquisition of the property the Church was trying to purchase. This approval was obtained, and in May of 1952 the Church purchased a building located at 3 rue de Lota in Paris. This

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<sup>20</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," June 1952, p. 43-47.



building was remodeled for use as both a church and as the permanent headquarters of the French Mission.<sup>21</sup>

This official recognition of the Church by the French government as a Foreign Association also made it possible for the mission president to take legal action to insure the residence of missionaries in any French city and town. No longer could missionaries be expelled from areas in France at the whim of any petty government official, and a new sense of permanency and stability was now created in the French Mission.

In 1953 Golden Woolf was replaced by Harold W. Lee as president of the French Mission. President Lee took control of the mission when the policy imposed on the Church of one missionary per ward per year had its most telling effect.<sup>22</sup>

In 1953 the nadir was reached when there were only 48 missionaries left in the French Mission. This represents about one-third of the missionary force that was in the mission in 1951. As a result of this lack of missionaries, President Lee was forced to spread his remaining elders very thin throughout the cities of the mission in order to keep open as many branches as possible. For almost two years President Lee was engaged in this "holding operation" and not very much proselyting was done.<sup>23</sup> It was not until early 1956, almost

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>See Page 107.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with Harold W. Lee, March 8, 1965.

three years after the end of the Korean Conflict that the number of missionaries in the French Mission was back to "normal."

During much of President Lee's time in France, the Church was experiencing problems with the French and Belgian governments over visas for missionaries. There was too much time and paperwork involved in trying to obtain visas in the United States; so it was the practice of the Church to have the missionaries apply for them when they arrived in the mission. The missionaries could legally remain in any of the countries of the mission without a visa for 90 days, but at the end of this time they either had to have a visa or leave the country. Because it often required longer than three months to obtain a visa, new missionaries were continually being moved from one area of the mission to another to avoid being in a country illegally. This practice not only disrupted proselyting but greatly annoyed officials in the various countries of the mission who had to keep track of the people moving in and out of their cities. As a result some friction developed between missionaries and the local police in the cities where they lived.

In 1958, Harold W. Lee was succeeded as mission president by Milton L. Christensen. The year 1958 was very significant for the French Mission. It was during the early part of this year that the long awaited French translation of two books of Mormon scriptures, the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, were completed and ready for



printing.

It will be recalled that a translation of some selected sections of the Doctrine and Covenants was made in 1908, but the complete work was never fully translated into French until 1948 when professor Charles Cestre was engaged by the Church for that purpose.<sup>24</sup>

During the ten years that lapsed between the time Cestre completed his work and the actual printing of the book, successive mission presidents closely scrutinized the professor's translation to be certain that it was theologically correct. President Lee had done a good deal of work on this translation before he left France, and it was largely through his efforts that the book was finally printed. In the meantime, the Pearl of Great Price was also translated, and in the spring of 1958 these two books were ready for printing.

In addition to the publication of these two books, a noted upsurge in converts also occurred in 1958, and it began to appear as though the missionaries would convert more than 200 people in that year. This would be over twice the number of converts in any previous year since the mission was organized. However, as the year progressed some rather strange things occurred in the mission. Rumors began circulating among missionaries working in southern France that some heavenly visions and revelations had been received by the elders in Marseilles. At missionary meetings held in the

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<sup>24</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," March 1948, p. 11.

summer of 1958, these elders were questioned by other missionaries about their experiences, but only brief and evasive answers were given.

It soon became apparent that most of the missionaries in the Marseilles branch had discontinued their proselyting activities among the French people and instead were devoting their time to lengthy study sessions. These missionaries also became particular about what they would eat, and most meats, especially such "harmful" meat as pork, were excluded from their diet. Even the traditional white French bread was frowned upon, and whole wheat brown bread was used whenever possible.

As rumors of these strange goings on among the missionaries in Marseilles began to trickle into Paris, President Christensen became concerned and sent his counselor, William P. Tucker, to that city to find out what was happening. After several days in Marseilles, Tucker returned to Paris and reported to President Christensen that he could find nothing amiss among the missionaries in that city. Christensen was also assured that proselyting had been resumed in Marseilles and that the missionaries were diligently carrying out their work. Thus with Elder Tucker's assurance that nothing was wrong, Christensen forgot the matter for awhile.

Elder William P. Tucker was an interesting person. He was both a brilliant and a spiritual individual, and he was greatly admired by his fellow missionaries. He had been converted to the Mormon Church in California at the age of 15.



Shortly after his conversion he discovered that polygamy had been formerly practiced among the Mormons, and he began an intensive study of that doctrine. From his study Tucker soon became convinced that polygamy should have never been abolished in the Mormon Church. During this period Tucker also began to develop his own concepts of other Mormon doctrines.<sup>25</sup>

By the time Tucker was called as a missionary to France, he had some misgivings about the Church, and when he passed through Salt Lake City on route to the French Mission, he obtained an interview with Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Church. Tucker was not satisfied with the results of this interview, and he did not feel as though he had received satisfactory answers to his questions. He, therefore, continued to pursue his studies.<sup>26</sup>

When Elder Tucker arrived in France, he was assigned to work with Elder Davis Shore in the city of Marseilles. Shore and Tucker got along very well, and they soon found that they shared similar beliefs in regard to such things as the necessity of practicing polygamy. After several months, Tucker was re-assigned to work in Herstal, Belgium. While in Herstal he maintained a steady correspondence with Shore, and

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<sup>25</sup>Lyle O. Wright, "Origins and Development of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times," (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963), p. 121

<sup>26</sup>Interview with Milton L. Christensen, March 13, 1965.

together they arrived at some beliefs which were not compatible with what the Church was then teaching.

In the early part of 1958, William P. Tucker was called by President Christensen to be the Second Counselor of the mission. Tucker was a very talented person, and most of the missionaries including the mission presidents Lee and Christensen had been impressed by his abilities. His appointment as a member of the mission presidency was greeted with great enthusiasm throughout the mission.

The duty of the Second Counselor was to supervise and coordinate proselyting in the mission. This necessitated a good deal of travel, and in the company of Elder Stephen Silver, Tucker began visiting all of the missionaries. At this point Tucker was in a position to locate those elders and sisters who seemed receptive to his beliefs. Many of the missionaries, probably unknowingly at first, became his students, and they soon became imbued with his teachings.

In the meantime, David Shore had been released from his mission and had gone to Utah. Here he gathered literature from several sects and apostate groups of Mormons which had revived the practice of polygamy. Among this literature was some material from the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times. Shore sent much of this literature to Tucker in France.

Thus unknowingly, when President Christensen called Tucker to be his counselor and gave him the responsibility of creating a unity of purpose among the missionaries, he put



Tucker in a position to sew the seeds of discord and apostasy among the missionaries.

Tucker was now engaged in a dual role. Outwardly he was preaching accepted Mormon doctrine and achieving remarkable success. However, secretly he was leading a selected group of missionaries out of the Church.<sup>27</sup>

This dual role of Tucker's was exposed in August of 1958 when two elders, Harvey Harper and Ronald Jarvis, indicated to President Christensen that they had lost faith in the Mormon Church, and rather than continue to preach something in which they no longer believed, they preferred to return home. In an effort to get them to reconsider their decision, President Christensen tried to get Jarvis and Harper to remain in France for several more weeks in order to discuss their decision with Elder Hugh B. Brown, one of the high authorities of the Church. The two missionaries refused to remain in the mission any longer, however, and on August 25, 1958, they left for the United States.

Christensen now confronted his counselor with some of the things that Harper and Jarvis had told him, and Tucker admitted his duplicity. He also proclaimed that he no longer believed in the Mormon Church, and he felt that it had strayed from some of its original teachings.<sup>28</sup>

At this point, to determine how widespread this apostasy

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

was, Christensen summoned a number of missionaries from throughout the mission to Paris for questioning. He soon learned that more missionaries than he had imagined believed in what Tucker had been teaching. Elder Christensen hastily sent off a report of what had happened to some of the heads of the Church who were in England for the dedication of a Mormon temple. Since the missionaries from the French Mission were scheduled to attend this temple dedication, it was decided to hold an Elder's Court in London to determine whether certain missionaries should be excommunicated from the Church.

On September 10, 1958, this court was held in London at the headquarters of the British Mission. At this court, nine missionaries indicated that they desired to be severed from the Church, and at their request they were tried as a body and found guilty of apostasy. The following missionaries were then excommunicated: William P. Tucker, J. Bruce Wakeham, Stephen Silver, Loftin Harvey Jr., Niel Poulsen, Daniel B. Jordan, Juna Abbot, Marilyn Lamborn, and Eunice Fay Fulk.<sup>29</sup> In addition to these nine, one sister missionary, Marlene Wessel, also left the mission and returned home. This missionary was never excommunicated, however, and she subsequently returned to France and completed her missionary work.

This mass apostasy of missionaries from the Church created quite a stir among its members throughout the world.

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<sup>29</sup>"Quarterly Report of the French Mission," September 1958, p. 75.



The news services soon became aware of what had happened, and President Christensen reported that a representative from Life magazine called on the mission headquarters in Paris attempting to learn more of the affair.<sup>30</sup>

The nine missionaries who were cut off from the Church returned to France to gather their belongings, and in a short time they left for the United States. Most of them continued on to Mexico where some joined The Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times. This church was largely made up of former Mormons who felt that the Church had strayed from many of its original teachings. The missionaries in France had been made aware of the existence of this church through some of its literature that had been sent into the mission by David Shore, but it was just prior to their excommunication that the missionaries made the decision to join this particular church.<sup>31</sup>

In November of 1959, President Christensen was replaced as president of the French Mission by Edgar Brossard. President Brossard had earlier presided over the French Mission when it was reorganized in 1912. After this first term as mission president, Brossard had returned to the United States where he took a position in the United States Tariffs Commission. He worked there for many years, and after occupying

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., December 1958.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with Milton L. Christensen, March 13, 1965. (Some of these missionaries later returned to the Mormon Church).

a number of responsible positions, he was named as the head of that commission by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Upon his retirement in 1958, Brossard was called as mission president of the New England States Mission and then to the presidency of the French Mission.<sup>32</sup>

Under Edgar Brossard, the French Mission reached the high point of its history. In January of 1960, a drive was started to convert 400 people to the Church within that year.<sup>33</sup> This would be twice the number of converts in any previous year in the mission's history.

During the month of March alone, the missionaries converted 114 people, and by June the goal of 400 converts had already been reached. This goal was then revised to 800 converts for 1960.<sup>34</sup> By the end of that year the missionaries had surpassed this second goal, and 942 converts were brought into the Church. To help achieve this goal, the Missionary force had been built up to a record number of 214 elders and sisters.

The year 1960 began a new era in the mission. Never before in its history had an equal number of converts joined the Church during one year. Nor, for that matter, had there ever been as many missionaries in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. It was also the last year that these three countries

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<sup>32</sup>Interview with Edgar Brossard, October 13, 1964.

<sup>33</sup>Deseret News, January 2, 1960, p. 7 (Church Section).

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1960, p. 5 (Church Section).



were included within the confines of a single Mormon mission. In late 1960 plans were made to divide the French Mission into two separate units.

## CHAPTER VI

### HEROICIZATION

Send forth the elders of my church unto the nations which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea; send forth unto foreign lands; call upon all nations, first upon the Gentiles, and then upon the Jews.

And behold, and lo, this shall be their cry, and the voice of the Lord unto all people; Go ye forth unto the land of Zion, that the borders of my people may be enlarged, and that her stakes may be strengthened, and that Zion may go forth unto the regions round about.<sup>1</sup>

One of the distinctive characteristics of Mormonism is the belief in a "Zion," or a gathering place. In the early history of the Church (1830 to 1846), great emphasis was placed upon the idea that there existed a geographical area to which the Saints should gather. Between 1831 and 1846, there were established and subsequently abandoned, no less than three "Zions."<sup>2</sup> These three were in Kirtland, Ohio; Jackson County, Missouri; and Nauvoo, Illinois.

When the Church abandoned the last of these "Zions," at Nauvoo, it was decided to settle the Church somewhere in the Rocky Mountains far enough removed from established communities to make the Church immune to outside interference.

<sup>1</sup>Doctrines and Covenants, 133:6-9.

<sup>2</sup>These three areas where the Mormons settled were abandoned because of hostilities which developed between the Saints and their non-Mormon neighbors. These difficulties were the results of misunderstandings in regard to the Mormon's religious beliefs, as well as fear of their economic and political power.

CHAPTER VI

IMMIGRATION

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<sup>2</sup>These three areas where the Mormons settled were abandoned because of hostilities which developed between the Saints and their non-Mormon neighbors. These difficulties were the results of misunderstandings in regard to the Mormon's religious beliefs, as well as fear of their economic and political power.



Before this Mormon exodus to the Far West could be accomplished, however, Joseph Smith was assassinated by an enraged mob at Carthage, Illinois.<sup>3</sup> In his place, Brigham Young led the Mormon movement to the Rocky Mountains, and under his direction the mormons settled in the valley of the Great Salt Lake and surrounding area. This area soon became known as Deseret and was proclaimed as the new Zion for the Mormons. Soon the Saints from throughout the United States and Europe began to gather in this area, and the trails to Deseret (later Utah) were filled with Mormon wagons moving westward to Zion.

One reason for establishing a Zion was the belief that they, the Mormons, had been divinely chosen to build up the Kingdom of God, "over which Christ would one day rule."<sup>4</sup> The building up of this earthly kingdom required the work and help of thousands of people; so for this reason the members of the Church from throughout the world were called to gather to Zion.

This call was extended for the first time to members outside of the United States in 1840 when the Saints in

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<sup>3</sup>Joseph Smith, along with his brother, Hyrum Smith, was assassinated by a mob on June 27, 1844 while being held as a prisoner in a jail at Carthage, Illinois.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 5.

England were instructed to gather to Nauvoo.<sup>5</sup> By 1841 the first of the English Saints began arriving in that city. However, it was not until the late 1840's, when the Church was in Utah, that large numbers of Mormons from the overseas missions of the Church gathered to Zion.

During the late 1840's and the 1850's thousands of people in Great Britain and Scandanavia were joining the Church, and conversion to Mormonism became almost synonymous with emigration. A church office was set up in Liverpool to assist the emigrants, and ships were frequently chartered to bring the Saints to America.

Many of the people who joined the Church in both the United States and Europe were from the poor classes, and few of them had the resources to allow them to emigrate. To assist these people, the Church established the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. This was a revolving fund which loaned money to the poor to assist them in their journey to Utah where the Saint earned and paid back the investment in his passage. This organization was remarkably successful in its task, and during its existence between 1849 and 1887 it helped thousands of Europeans and Americans to reach Zion.

Though the main purpose for emigrating was the theological principle of gathering, it still remained that in order for the Mormons to build the Kingdom of God, the Church would need the help of skilled artisans and mechanics. For this

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<sup>5</sup>Gustive O. Larson, "History of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1926), p. 36-37.



reason, in the 1840's and 1850's members in Europe who were skilled workers were strongly encouraged to come to Zion. During the first few years those "specifically wanted were iron manufactures, metal workers, textile manufacturers, and potters. Church missionaries and agents were requested to 'search out' such persons, band those of similar trades together, and have them 'emigrate immediately... in preference to anyone else.'"<sup>6</sup>

The usual route the saints took to Utah was to go by ship from Liverpool to New Orleans and from there by riverboat up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. This route was rather hazardous because of the danger of contracting "River diseases," such as malaria and cholera. For this reason, in 1854, the port of entry was shifted to New York, and the emigrants were transported from there by rail to St. Louis.<sup>7</sup> From St. Louis they proceeded to a Mormon outfitting station on the frontier where wagons and supplies were obtained for the trip to Utah. By the end of 1870, 51,000 Mormon emigrants had been helped to Utah by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund,<sup>8</sup> and by 1887 this figure had doubled.<sup>9</sup> The history of

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<sup>6</sup>Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>9</sup>Gustive O. Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom, A Mormon Desert Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience (Francistown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company, 1947), p. 279.

this Mormon emigration to Utah is a fascinating story, and a number of studies have been made of it.

Though, during the last century, the quantity of emigrants who came to Utah from such European missions as those in Great Britain and Scandanavia can be counted in the tens of thousands, and the emigrants from the French Mission during the same period numbered only a few hundred. One reason for this difference is the simple fact that not as many converts were made among the people of French descent as were made among the people of Scandanavia and England. Therefore, there simply were not very many people in the French Mission available to go to Zion.

The exact number of people who did emigrate from the mission is difficult to determine. For example, there is no distinction made on the Church emigration records between the French and the German-speaking Swiss. Some references are found to the total number of emigrants from particular cities, but there is no way of arriving at a reliable figure for the total number of French-speaking Swiss emigrants.<sup>11</sup>

The number of emigrants from the Channel Islands is likewise difficult to determine. Because the islanders were

<sup>10</sup>See: William Mulder, Homeward to Zion; The Mormon Migration from Scandanavia (Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 1957), for a history of the Scandinavian immigration to Utah also see Douglas D. Alder "The German-Speaking Immigration to Utah, 1850-1950" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1959).

<sup>11</sup>By 1884 over 400 people had emigrated from Geneva, Switzerland to Utah. See The Journal History of the French Mission, May 14, 1884.



British subjects, their nationality was often listed simply as "E" (for English) on the emigration records. The Millennial Star did print some tables showing emigration from the different areas of Great Britain which included figures from the Channel Islands, but they were not published regularly, and thus it would be difficult to arrive at a reliable figure.

The number of French emigrants to Utah can be determined with some accuracy by reading through the lists of people contained in the Church emigration records and looking for the letter "F" next to the names. This indicates the person is of French origin. Fortunately, for most of the years included in the emigration records, a breakdown of the nationalities of the passengers on each departing shipload of emigrants is given, and the task of counting the number of French passengers is made much easier.

Through an examination of these records it was found that between 1850 and 1869, there were only 32 French converts who went to Utah. Most of these 32 people left while Louis Bertrand was president of the Mission between 1859 and 1864.<sup>12</sup> Bertrand had greatly encouraged emigration, and on several occasions he personally wrote to Brigham Young requesting money from the Perpetual Emigration Fund to assist the French Saints.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>"Emigration Records from the British Mission," (1849-1874).

<sup>13</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, April 10, 1860; Ibid., January 23, 1863.

Of the French-speaking peoples in Europe among whom Mormon missionaries worked, emigration figures are easiest to determine for the Waldenses of northern Italy. This is because the Church records of all of the Italian branches have been preserved intact through the years. This record indicates that during the history of the mission a total of 56 people emigrated to Utah. This is from a mission membership of 211 converts.<sup>14</sup>

Because of the extreme poverty of the Waldenses, several joined the Church solely for the purpose of emigrating. One missionary related that a new convert suddenly informed the elders that if the Church would not assist him to go to Utah, he would never again come to the Mormon meetings.<sup>15</sup> Several other members also expressed the desire to be excommunicated from the Church because they had not received assistance to go to Utah.<sup>16</sup>

Also, as was previously mentioned in Chapter II, some of the Protestant ministers in Piedmont tried to lure the Waldenses Mormons from the Church by offering free transportation to Algiers to those who would renounce Mormonism. In their desire to leave the poverty of their villages, a few of the

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<sup>14</sup>See the membership records of the Italian Mission located in CHO. These records are also printed in Daniel B. Hill Richards, The Scriptural Allegory (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Company, 1931), Appendix I.

<sup>15</sup>Millennial Star, XVII (July 21, 1855), p. 454-46.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., XIX (April 4, 1857), p. 218-19.



Waldenses accepted this offer and gave up their membership in the Church.<sup>17</sup>

The over-all impact of the emigration of French-speaking people to Utah was slight. However, out of these few hundred emigrants, there were two men who deserve some mention.

One of these was Philip De La Mare, a well known engineer from the island of Jersey. Just before coming to Utah, De La Mare entered into a partnership with John Taylor and three other Mormon converts to form the Deseret Manufacturing Company. This company purchased some sugar processing machinery in England, and under the direction of Elder De La Mare this machinery was shipped to Utah where a sugar refinery was established. Unfortunately, this first venture in making sugar in Utah was not successful, and the company soon went bankrupt.<sup>18</sup> After this business failure, De La Mare settled in Tooele County, and through his engineering skill contributed much to the building of the "kingdon."

The second of these French-speaking emigrants was Louis A. Bertrand. A colorful, widely-traveled individual who translated most of the Book of Mormon into French. Bertrand also played a part in introducing the silk industry into Utah. Somewhere in Bertrand's travels in France he had acquired a knowledge of the technique of raising silkworms and was employed for some time by Brigham Young to take charge of

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., XVII (July 21, 1855), p. 454-56.

<sup>18</sup>See: Leon R. Hartshorn, "Philip De La Mare Pioneer Industrialist" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

a silkworm cocoonery in Salt Lake City.<sup>19</sup> Bertrand also experimented with grape culture in Utah and introduced some French vines into the area.<sup>20</sup> He continued to be active in agriculture in the Salt Lake Valley throughout his life and won a number of prizes in local fairs for his products.

Although emigration from the French Mission to Utah has not ceased, the Church no longer stresses the "gathering to Zion" doctrine. European members are now encouraged to remain in their homelands and build up the branches rather than come to Utah. The Church's new policy of discouraging emigration to Zion appears to have started sometime in the late 1890's.

In the French Mission no definite plan to discourage emigration appears to have been started until 1937 when President Ursenbach undertook a program of encouraging the members to stay in the mission. This program was called "Zion in Europe," and consisted of organizing the branches in the mission in the same way Mormon Wards in the United States were organized.<sup>21</sup> The control of these branches was given to the local members whenever possible, and all of the programs of the Church which were used in the wards were adopted to the branches of the mission.

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<sup>19</sup>Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, May 1864; Ibid., September 15, 1869.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., August 23, 1859.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with Mrs. Jocile Ursenbach Neilson, April 5, 1965.



In spite of this program and the discouragement the Church gives to emigrating, some members still desire to come to the United States. Since complete records were not kept of this twentieth century emigration, it is not possible to give an accurate figure of the number of French-speaking people who have gone to Utah since 1900.

This idea that Mormons have of leaving their homelands and going to Zion has had a very noticeable effect on the French Mission. Even though, in comparison with other missions, very few French-speaking Mormons have come to Utah, the fact remains that those who did come were the strongest and the most faithful members of the branches. Therefore, with these members leaving the mission it was difficult to establish a nucleus of faithful, active Church members around which the missionaries could build permanent branches.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The French Mission was officially organized in 1850 when John Taylor, Curtis E. Bolton, and William Howell landed at Boulogne-sur-Mer, France. Between 1850 and 1960, the Mormon Church abandoned that mission no less than three times. The longest period of abandonment was between 1864 and 1912 when the missionaries were forced to leave France because of harassment from the French government. The other two occasions were from 1914 to 1921 and from 1939 to 1948 when wars made it necessary for the Church to withdraw all of its missionaries from Europe.

When added together, these three periods total 62 years of the 110 years between 1850 and 1960 that the French Mission was operative. The fact that missionaries have not been in France for a long consecutive period of time might partially explain why the Mormon Church has been slow in gaining a foothold in that country.

In addition to the rather lengthy interruptions, it also appears that for many years Frenchmen were not interested in joining a new religion such as Mormonism. Reports from missionaries in France during the 1850's and the 1860's point out that most of the Church members in that country were not even French but rather German or Swiss aliens.



One early missionary in western Switzerland made the following observation in the Millennial Star: "The Germans seem more disposed to receive the gospel than the French. I never did, and I never could feel much of the Holy Spirit among the French; and the little portion which they had is being withdrawn from them."<sup>1</sup>

Even after the elders reopened the mission in 1912, not much was done among the French people, and for some time proselyting in the French Mission was carried on mainly among the Belgians and the Swiss. Since more converts were made among those people, the missionaries were sent to areas where the potential for conversions was the greatest.

It is rather difficult to explain why the Belgians and Swiss were more receptive to Mormonism than were the French, and the writer has not yet found a satisfactory answer to that question. Some people have suggested that perhaps part of the reason lies in the fact that in France the Church has never built or purchased any suitable chapels in which to hold meetings--except for the mission headquarters in Paris which was purchased in 1952. For years the Mormons in France have met in hotel rooms, converted garages, old stores, and even barns. Some French people who became interested in the Church looked with suspicion at this type of arrangement, and many of them turned up their noses at such a religion. Also, because the French government did not officially recognize

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<sup>1</sup>Millennial Star, XX (June 5, 1858), p. 365.

the Church until 1952, the missionaries in France did not have the same freedom to proselyte as existed in other missions.

In Belgium, on the other hand, the missionaries were never hampered by any legal restrictions, and around the turn of the century they were quite successful in converting people to the Church. This early success prompted the construction of three Mormon chapels in Belgium. These churches at least gave Mormonism the appearance of being a religion rather than, as some Frenchmen saw it, simply some type of an American-run organization or club.

The story is much the same in Switzerland as it was in Belgium, and with the exception of the canton of Vaud, the missionaries have had the same religious freedom as any other church or sect in that country.

Though the Church has never built any chapels in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the meeting halls which the Church rented were always much more respectable than those in France. Missionary work in Switzerland has had almost a continuous existence since 1850, and many German and French-speaking Swiss have joined the Church. This has made it possible for the positions of responsibility and leadership in the Swiss branches to be filled by local members rather than missionaries. As in Belgium when missionaries were removed from Switzerland due to European wars the Swiss branches continued to function.

In France, however, each time the missionaries left



there was practically no one to carry on in their absence, and most of the members drifted away from the Church. Thus, when the missionaries returned it was like opening a new mission, and the elders had very few members to help them in their work.

There is another theory that has been set forth about the slow development of the French Mission. In a study made by Lawrence S. Jeppson of the press relations of the mission, it was concluded that part of the Church's trouble among the French-speaking people was the misinformation that exist on Mormonism. This reservoir of erroneous and slanderous stories had been built up over the years, and Jeppson felt that this misinformation has had an influence on people not joining the Church.

None of these ideas adequately explains why, in 1960, the mission suddenly began to experience such remarkable success with almost 1,000 conversions during that year. The year 1960 appeared to be the beginning of a new epoch for the French Mission.

It is quite useful for the period between 1859 and 1864, but after that time it tends to be made up chiefly of information concerning missionary movements and mission statistics.

There were two other mission histories which were used in this study. These were The Journal History of the Netherlands Mission and The Journal History of the Swiss and German Mission. These histories were used to obtain information on Mormon activities in Belgium and western Switzerland during

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The largest collection of both manuscript and printed material on the history of the French Mission is located in the Historian's library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Most of the sources used in this thesis may be found in that collection.

### Sources On The French Mission

One of the best sources of information on Mormon missionary activities among the French-speaking people of Europe is the four volume Journal History of the French Mission. This is a day-by-day (when possible) chronological record of events which occurred in that mission from 1849 to the present. This history resembles a large scrapbook, and it contains many clippings from Church publications, a large number of extracts from diaries, letters, and official Church reports. It is quite useful for the period between 1859 and 1864, but after that time it tends to be made up mostly of information concerning missionary movements and mission statistics.

There were two other mission histories which were used in this study. These were The Journal History of the Netherlands Mission and The Journal History of the Swiss and German Mission. These histories were used to obtain information on Mormon activities in Belgium and western Switzerland during



the periods that the French Mission was closed.

A good source of information on the mission between 1850 to 1853 is the Diary of Curtis E. Bolton, one of the first Mormon missionaries to France. In addition to this diary, the Historian's Office also has a diary kept by Octave Ursenbach who attempted some proselyting in Belgium in 1868. (This diary is written in French and is very difficult to read because of Ursenbach's peculiar handwriting). One other diary used by the author was the Diary of John B. Fairbanks who was sent on a mission to Paris, France in 1890. However, most of the pages describing his mission activities are missing. (This diary is located in the Brigham Young University Library).

Another source used extensively by the author was the Church's collection of letters from various French missionaries and members written to Brigham Young and other Church officials. Letters from the following individuals were used: Louis A. Bertrand, Curtis E. Bolton, Eugene Henroid, Elder Heyrend (first name not given), Elder Heraill (first name not given), Joseph E. Evans, and D. M. McAllister.

The Church also has on file a number of typewritten manuscripts concerning the experiences of several missionaries and members in the French Mission. These are: "Life of John Pack" (written by Fredrick J. Pack in 1937), "History of the Belgian District" (written by Paul Devignez about the branches in Belgium during World War II), and "Report on the Activities of the Quatuor Mormon" (written by Preston Olson

in 1949).

All of the missions of the Church send regular historical reports to the Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. This "Quarterly Report" (beginning in 1930 and continuing to the present time) was extensively used for the period between 1930 and 1960. It contains the statistics of the mission as well as anything of interest or importance that happened during the report period.

In addition, the "Membership Records" for the French and the Italian Missions and the "Emigration Records from the British Mission" (both sets of records are located in the Church Historian's Office) were used to help determine the number of French-speaking Mormons from Europe who immigrated to Utah.

The French Mission published two pamphlets which have been preserved by the Church Historian's Office containing useful information about the missionary activities in France. These were: Andrew L. Lamoreaux, An Epistle to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in France and the Channel Islands, From the President of the French Mission. (printed in Saint Helier's, Jersey, 1854) and John Taylor's Three Nights Public Discussion Between Rvds. C. W. Cleeve, James Robertson, Philip Carter, and John Taylor of the Latter-day Saints at Boulogne-sur-Mer, France. (Liverpool, England: R. James, 1850).

There were also two books which were used from the Church Historian's Library that have no titles, but are



referred to only by numbers. These were "Lib. 3288" (a record book from the French Mission) and "Book I 7822" (a fragmentary history of the French Mission written in longhand by several unidentified missionaries which covers the period of 1912 to 1939).

There were, on several occasions, Mormon periodicals which were printed for the French-speaking people in France and Switzerland. One of these was Etoile du Deseret (published monthly in the French language in Paris, France between May 1851 and April 1852). Beginning in 1928, the Etoile was again printed though under the slightly different title of Etoile de la Mission Française (published monthly in the French language from 1928 to 1940 and from 1948 to the present). In Switzerland, Thomas B. H. Stenhouse published a periodical known as Le Reflecteur (published monthly between 1852 and 1853).

One thesis was found particularly useful for the post World War II history of the mission. This was Lawrence S. Jeppson's "Press Relations of the French Mission" (unpublished Master's thesis, Boston University, 1953). This is a rather lengthy (about 400 pages) content analysis of hundreds of French newspapers and magazine clippings dealing with Mormonism and the French Mission.

#### General Works on the Mormons and Mormon Missions

Probably the best source on the history of the Mormon Church's overseas mission is The Latter-day Saints' History

Millennial Star. This periodical was published monthly in Manchester, England from 1840-1845; semimonthly from 1845 to 1851; weekly from Liverpool, England between 1852 and 1942, and monthly from 1943 to the present. Correspondence from missionaries all over the world was regularly printed in the Millennial Star, and this periodical contains a wealth of information about many of the Mormon Church's foreign missions.

Other periodicals which were found useful were The Improvement Era (published monthly from 1897 to the present) and the Times and Seasons (published at Nauvoo, Illinois between 1839 and 1846). In addition the Deseret News (printed in Salt Lake City from 1850 to the present) was frequently consulted.

A very useful reference work for individuals doing research on the Mormon Church and its missions is the Journal History of the Church. This work contains approximately 750 volumes of chronologically arranged documents (newspaper clippings, extracts from diaries, letters, Church publications, etc.). It is a day by day history of the Mormon Church throughout the world from 1830 to the present.

The most authoritative official history of the Church is Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930, 6 vol.). This work was consulted from time to time, but it does not have a great deal of information on the French Mission. Also, a very good history of the pre-Utah period of the Church is Joseph Smith's History



of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902, 6 vol.). This history had detailed information on the beginning of Mormon missionary activities. In addition to the two preceding multi-volume works, the author found Andrew Jenson's Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941) very convenient for obtaining a capsule summary of the history of the various missions, wards, and branches of the Mormon Church.

Two biographies of mission presidents (as well as Church presidents) were also found useful. These were: Brigham H. Roberts' Biography of John Taylor (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1892) and Eliza R. Snow Smith's Biography and Family Records of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884). This biography of Lorenzo Snow is a very useful book for information on the Italian Mission. Another good book on Mormon activities in Italy is Dr. Daniel B. Hill Richards' The Scriptural Allegory (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Company, 1931). In addition, Lorenzo Snow published a small pamphlet entitled The Italian Mission (London: W. Aubrey, 1851) which gives first hand information on his work in Italy. However, all three of these publications, dealing with the Italian Mission, tend to duplicate one another.

A good source for material on Mormon missionary work in western Switzerland, between 1850 and 1854, is Fanny Stenhouse's Tell It All (Hartford, Connecticut: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1875). Fanny Stenhouse and her husband,

Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, became disillusioned with Mormonism shortly after immigrating to Utah, and they subsequently gave up their membership. Mrs. Stenhouse became quite bitter over some alleged mistreatment by the Mormons, and her bitterness is easily perceived in her writings.

A number of theses were used in this history. Lyle O. Wright's "Origins and Development of the Church of the First-born of the Fulness of Times" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963) has one chapter dealing with the apostasy among the missionaries in France in 1858. Dee J. Valentine wrote a thesis entitled "Inventaire et discussion de la litterature francaise sur les Mormons, leur histoire, leur religion et leur moeurs" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1947). This work provides a useful bibliography of French literature on the Mormons. An important work on the development of Mormon missionary activity is S. George Ellsworth's "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1951). Two other theses which were consulted were Gustive O. Larson's "History of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1926) and Leon R. Hartshorn's "Philip De La Mare Pioneer Industrialist" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

Several books which were found to be useful in connection with Mormon immigration were Leonard J. Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day



Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958); Gustive O. Larson's Prelude to The Kingdom, A Mormon Deseret Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience (Francistown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones, 1947); William Mulder's Homeward to Zion, The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); and Andrew Jenson's History of The Scandinavian Mission (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927).

There were a number of books written by and about Mormons which were published in France or Switzerland. Of this rather lengthy list, the following were found useful to this study: Louis A. Bertrand's Memoires d'un Mormon (Paris: E. Jung Treuttel, 1862); Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, Les Mormons et Leurs Enemies (Lausanne: Larpin et Coendoz, 1854); Emilius Guers' L' Irvingism et le Mormonism Jugé par la parole de Dieu (Paris: Ducloux, 1853); Amedée Pitchot's Les Mormons (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1854); L. Favez, Fragment sur les Mormons: Joseph Smith et les Mormons (Lausanne: Delafontaine et Comp., 1854); L. Favez, Le Mormonism Jugé d'apres ses Doctrine (Lausanne: Delafontaine et Comp., 1956); Jules Remy's Voyage au Pays des Mormons (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860, 2 vol.); Pierre Benoit, Le Lac Sale (Paris: Henry Maillet, 1921). There also appeared in the periodical All the Year Round (vol. IX, p. 68) an article about Louis Bertrand entitled "Brother Bertrand, Mormon Missionary."

### Interviews

Between October 1964 and April 1965, interviews were conducted with the following people: Mrs. Flore Chappuis (a former member of the Liège branch), Mr. Edgar Brossard (president of the French Mission between October 1912 and May 1914 and from November 1959 to September 1961), Mr. Ernest C. Rossiter (president of the French Mission between August 1923 and August 1928), Mr. Golden Woolf (president of the French Mission between December 1929 and May 1933 and also between April 1950 and July 1953), Mr. Harold W. Lee (French Mission president from July 1953 to September 1957), Mrs. James L. Barker (widow of James L. Barker, president of the French Mission between May 1946 and April 1950), Mr. Milton L. Christensen (president of the French Mission from September 1957 to November 1959), Mr. Joseph Hasoppe (former president of the Seraing branch, Seraing, Belgium), and Mrs. Jocile Neilson (daughter of Octave Ursenbach who was president of the French Mission from January 1936 to May 1938).

### General Works on French History

There are a number of books which are useful in obtaining information on events occurring in France, contemporary to the history of the French Mission. The following books were especially helpful: D. W. Brogan's The French Nation From Napoleon to Petain (New York, Harper & Brother, 1957); Albert L. Guerard's French Prophets of Yesterday (New York:



D. Appleton and Company, 1920); and The French Penal Code  
(edited by Gerhard O. W. Mueller, South Hackensack, New Jersey:  
Fred Rothman & Company, 1960).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Art. 291. (Abrogé par L., 1er juillet 1901).  
Nulle association de plus de vingt personnes, dont  
le but sera de se réunir tous les jours ou à cer-  
tains jours marqués pour s'occuper d'objets re-  
ligieux, littéraires, politiques ou autres, se  
pourra se former qu'avec l'agrément du Gouverne-  
ment et sous les conditions qu'il plaira à l'auto-  
rité publique d'imposer à la société.

Dans le nombre de personnes indiqué par le  
présent article, ne sont pas comprises celles do-  
miciliées dans la maison où l'association se ré-  
unit.

Art. 292. (Abrogé par L., 1er juillet 1901).  
Toute association de la nature ci-dessus exprimée  
qui se sera formée sans autorisation, ou qui,  
après l'avoir obtenue, aura enfreint les condi-  
tions à elle imposées, sera dissoute.

Les chefs, directeurs et administrateurs de  
l'association seront punis d'une amende  
de 15 francs à 200 francs.

APPENDIXES

Taken from section seven of the French Penal Code



APPENDIX A

Art. 291. (Abrogé par L., 1er juillet 1901).  
Nulle association de plus de vingt personnes, dont le but sera de se réunir tous les jours ou à certains jours marqués pour s'occuper d'objets religieux, littéraires, politiques ou autres, ne pourra se former qu'avec l'agrément du Gouvernement et sous les conditions qu'il plaira à l'autorité publique d'imposer à la société.

Dans le nombre de personnes indiqué par le présent article, ne sont pas comprises celles domiciliées dans la maison où l'association se réunit.

Art. 292. (Abrogé par l., 1er juillet 1901).  
Toute association de la nature ci-dessus exprimée qui se sera formée sans autorisation, ou qui, après l'avoir obtenue, aura enfreint les conditions à elle imposées, sera dissoute.

Les chefs, directeurs ou administrateurs de l'association seront en outre punis d'une amende de 16 francs à 200 francs.

Taken from section seven of the French Penal Code

## APPENDIX B

To his Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

Sir,--Having been sent by the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who reside now on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, to take the direction of the French Mission, I had the honour last year to apply to two of your State Ministers to ask them the privilege of preaching the Gospel in France. Both made a negative answer.

This day I take the respectful liberty of applying directly to your Majesty to supplicate you to grant me a particular interview. Having spent four years in Great Salt Lake City, I should be happy to be able to answer any inquiries you might make on that work vulgarly called "Mormonism," which nobody but Saints can understand.

Sir--Let me affirm to your Majesty that you could do nothing more beneficial to strengthen your throne and dynasty than to grant me the privilege of giving my testimony in Paris on that work, and of preaching the Gospel of the kingdom in France.

I take the present opportunity to declare to you that that work is of God, and by no means a human one. Joseph Smith was really and in very deed a Prophet--the greatest Prophet of the Lord on the earth. By the side of his mission, that of Moses was a secondary one. For having refected the Divine mission of Joseph, for having killed him and so inhumanly persecuted the Saints, the United States (now dis-united) are to suffer the most unexpected trials. The present situation of the American people is perfectly similar to the order of things which existed among the inhabitants of Jerusalem when Titus and his legions went there to execute the awful sentense pronounced by the mouth of Messiah against that deicidal people. The sword of the American Titus is named "the slavery question."

The revolution which is raging on that side of the Atlantic will have immediate and exceeding awful consequences for all European nations. Twenty-eight years ago the Prophet Joseph predicted the crisis which is now threatening the whole world. I ask leave to lay before your Majesty the English test of his prophesy as it was published at Liverpool, in the "Pearl of Great Price," in the year 1851.



Verily thus said the Lord, concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls. The days will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at that place; for behold, the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called; and they shall also call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves against other nations; and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations. And it shall come to pass after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshalled and disciplined for war. And it shall come to pass also that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceedingly angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation; and thus with the sword and plague, and earthquakes, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightning also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath and indignation and chastening hand of the Almighty God, until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations; that the cry of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies. Wherefore stand ye in holy places, and be not moved until the day of the Lord come; for behold it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amem.

These words are so very clear and plain that they need no comment. We are going to see the literal fulfilment of the whole prophecy.

In the present state of human knowledge, America forms the problem of problems for the most learned individuals in the world. The mysterious origin of the red man, as well as the origin of the American antiquities, is entirely unknown to modern science. For the Christian theology, and for the sceptic philosophy, America is a most precious book which they are unable to read: hence the necessity of a special revelation. Being a necessary complement of all anterior revelations, this Divine message reveals the past, the present, and the future of the new continent and of the rest of the world, inaugurates the great and last dispensation of the fulness of times, and opens to mankind the door of a celestial era. Out of the light of that new revelation it is utterly impossible, even to the most learned men, to understand the extreme gravity of the present times. That is the reason why the European publicists did not foresee the American crisis, and are very far from being able to predict the final result of it.



Sire,--I am going to do the work for them.

The great Elohim, the living God of Israel, is as little known now at the cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris, or at the Vatican, as he was known at Athens when Paul went there to preach the Gospel to the Areopagi.

In the plan of His providence, the work of George Washington was only a provisional government, in order that His kingdom might be founded on the earth. Since the 6th day of April, 1830, when it was first organized with only six individuals, that kingdom has so widely extended that it possesses to-day, near the centre of North America, a Territory called Utah, nearly as large as France. The work of Washington is going to miserably destroy itself. You will soon see that young and powerful kingdom in His hands the political direction of the American people, reconciling the three hostile posterities of Shem, of Japhet, and Canaan, which are parts of it, resolving all the great problems which are before mankind, forming the angular stone of the New World, and initiating the whole earth into the knowledge of the true God and his Christ.

I supplicate the Almighty to pour out on your head his most precious gifts and blessings and to inspire you with the will of granting my request.

Sir,--Permit me to present to you the offering of my devotedness, and of the profound respect with which I have the honour to be your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient servant,

Louis A. Bertrand

Paris, 14th March, 1861.



APPENDIX C

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