History of the Swedish Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1905-1973

Carl Erik Johansson
Brigham Young University - Provo

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HISTORY OF THE SWEDISH MISSION OF THE CHURCH
OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
1905–1973

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History and Doctrine
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Carl-Erik Johansson
August 1973
This thesis, by Carl-Erik Johansson, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Church History and Doctrine of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Richard O. Cowan, Committee Chairman

John P. Fugal, Committee Member

Aug 2, 1973

LaMar C. Berrett, Department Chairman

Typed by: Janice Backus
Dedicated to my parents
Carl and Emilia Johansson
who inspired
my love for Mormonism
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since childhood an outer sign of thanks has been a handshake and a bow. It is still today, only the handshake is firmer, the bow more courteous and sincere, and added to it is a heart full of deep feelings of true gratitude.

This kind of thanks goes to the many people, in or out of organizations, who helped see me through this most enjoyable project:

To Lauritz A. Petersen of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose eminent knowledge, great humor and lively personal interest added so much, and to his willing and able staff, and to other Church agencies.

To the chairman of my advisory committee, Richard O. Cowan, for his unfailing and unselfish support and encouragement, and to the other committee member, John P. Fugal, for his great interest and time, when he seemingly had no time. The extra mile was walked by both committee members.

To the patient and always smiling typists: Jeannette, Jessica, June and Inger.

To all my fellow Saints who through the years made the history and the many who retold it on paper or by mouth. Eternally will it and you live.

To my dear brother Caj-Aage across the waters for his impeccable discernment and steady digging in archives far away.

To my beloved wife Maja and children, who suffered through with a smile and a cheerful word while "Daddy" brooded through the next
chapter.

To my dear, dear parents, now in the splendor-filled autumn of their many rich and useful years, for showing me "den väg som till himla bär" (the road that leads to heaven). ¹

¹Rune Lindström, "Ett spel om en väg som till Himla bär," (Stockholm: 1941).
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FOREWORD

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been in Sweden since 1850. A history covering all those years has not been compiled either in the Swedish or the English language. A history of the Scandinavian Mission, of which Sweden was a part until 1905, was published in 1927, and in 1968, a dissertation was presented covering the period 1850-1905. Both of these publications have been used as sources for the chapters on the background and the early years. The efforts of these pioneering works center around the chronicling of missionary or proselyting activities, which seems both natural and reasonable, as that was a period of warning, harvesting and gathering of the converts to the Mormon Zion in the Intermountain West.

The efforts of this writer have centered more in chronicling what may be termed the "building of the Kingdom," a permanent, strong organization, which brings its members most, if not all, of the advantages, or blessings (in Mormon vernacular), that the earlier gathering promised.

The first two decades of the mission were above all characterized by government efforts, both through the Parliament and the Department of Foreign Affairs, to hinder the spreading of what by them and others

1Andrew Jenson, History of the Scandinavian Mission (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927).


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was considered an un-Christian religion, that had had both polygamy and emigration as part of its tenets. When the final "no" to both these attempts had been registered, the Mormons could change from an apologetic approach, which really did not die until several decades later with the demise of that generation, to a new image of true accomplishments, and on that foundation the "Kingdom is now being built."

SOURCES

The Mormon Church is known as a record keeping organization, and this writer has certainly benefitted from the many varying records kept over the years.

Foremost among them stand the Quarterly Historical Reports, which were compiled in the mission over major events and changes in offices, etc. They are preserved at the official record keeping institution of the Church, the Historical Department, located at Church Headquarters in Salt Lake City. There is also located the annual statistical data, the Mission Report Form.

A more detailed account of events was recorded in the mission, district and branch minute books, kept at the same place with the exception of those for the last two or three years. However, at least on the mission and district levels, they seem to be sparingly kept, but still yielded interesting details.

Another source at the Historical Department is the taped interviews in the Oral History Program. This writer is at the present time interviewing living former mission presidents and other prominent people of their activities while in the mission field. So far only three have been completed and none of these are yet available in an edited, typewritten
form. The interviews made have proven a most delightful experience to this writer in which much "inside" information was received, not available otherwise.

Several diaries and journals of former missionaries have lent general information and feeling to the subject, as have conversations with literally hundreds of former missionaries, whose missions would cover all but the first two decades of the history of the mission.

The mission magazine, Nordstjärnan, has served as a most consistent source of information, as it has housed an official column about men, events, policies, etc., ever since its founding in 1877.

Non-Mormon sources perused included Swedish newspapers and magazines at the Royal Library in Stockholm. The minutes of the parliamentary sessions preserved at the National Archives (1910-1915), and a dossier of about one hundred pages at the Archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs on the Mormon visa problems in the 1920's were studied at respective locations in Sweden's capital. A microfilm copy of both these records was also secured for the Brigham Young University Library.

Being involved in the history of the Church in the present century, it is natural that the living memory would play a big role in this writing. This writer gracefully and happily admits to having been part of this history for a long time on both sides of the ocean. His parents' memories, which he carefully searched during happy visits to their home across the ocean the last few summers, go back firsthand from the birthday of the mission in 1905. This writer has been very much aware of the risk of subjectivity in his efforts, but he has carefully tried to follow the path of objectivity down through a very pleasant memory lane.

The personal memories, the conversations and the meetings with
friends and fellow Saints have contributed to the outline of the overall picture, while the official records mentioned above supplied the details.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

There are several terms used in this study that need to be identified, due to their meaning in Mormon vernacular.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the official name of the Mormon Church. This complete title is replaced in the following pages by the designation "Church." Members of the Church are often referred to as "Saints" or "Latter-day Saints." "Mormon"\(^3\) is a common nickname for both the Church and its people and will be used as such.

The title "Elder" indicates an ordained male member who has been formally called and set apart for Church service. In the mission field the title is used for the male missionaries.

"Mission" refers to a geographical area presided over by a mission president, in which proselyting work is going on. It also indicates the term a proselyter or an Elder is serving.

The word "conference" has a double meaning. It is both a geographical subdivision of a mission and a formal gathering of members. In its geographic content the title was changed Church-wide to "district" in the 1920's.

"Branch" is a geographic unit under the district. It is a local group of members, from a handful to several hundred, who meet regularly each week for Church services.

\(^3\) Wengreen, p. 3.
"Auxiliary" is a common name for four of the Church's organizations—Relief Society, Sunday School, Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association and Primary.

"The Relief Society" is the woman's organization, founded in 1842, for the development of the individual woman. Its members range in age from eighteen and above.

"The Sunday School" is a teaching organization for all members above age three.

"Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association (MIA)" intends to satisfy the social needs of young people from age twelve.

"The Primary" provides an activity and instruction program for children age three through eleven.

"Zion" is both a spiritual condition signifying the "pure in heart," and a geographical concept that refers to America.

DELIMITATIONS AND IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

This study included only the Mormon activities within the geographical bounds of Sweden. It excluded the history of the few Swedish-speaking Saints in Finland, the handful in Russia and other foreign countries. Also excluded were the deeds of the many who left for America, their promised land of Zion.

The history of the last twenty-five years was also limited, as it seemed impossible to this writer to properly evaluate the individual events in their future context. Therefore, only those that seemed predictable to this writer were included, and he left for the next generation to put a more accurate interpretation on the latest happenings.
One delimitation ought to be mentioned concerning the naming of people. In the most difficult task of deciding what persons to name, it was finally decided that only mission presidents and General Authorities would be included. This was done, not because others were not worthy of inclusion, but out of courtesy towards those who most certainly unwittingly and mistakenly would have been left out. There was also the question of where the line should have been drawn. To be Christ-like, it seemed as if the humble widow, who washed the linen of her beloved missionaries year after year or scrubbed the meeting hall month after month, rated as much praise as the leader in the high position. My apologies to those who in their own right feel they should have been named.

It gives this writer great satisfaction to see a history completed covering the more than a century of Mormon activities in Sweden, even though he is very much aware of its limitations. Any organization with such a long, continuous service rates a history. It is the hope that this writer's attempt will in some degree contribute to a better understanding of how it was done and why it could be done.
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called the Mormon Church, was organized in Fayette, New York, April 6, 1830. Its members believed that a general apostasy from the teachings of Christ had taken place, that the true principles, ordinances and authority established by the Master himself nearly two thousand years previously had been perverted or lost. It claimed that by direct contact with heavenly messengers Joseph Smith, its first prophet and leader, had received the lost principles, ordinances and authority, thus making it possible once again for man to reach eternal life by following the restored truths. With the restoration came also, it further claimed, the millenial Biblical injunction, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature" (St. Mark 16:15).

Members were eager to follow this injunction and to "warn" relatives and friends and let them share their new-found convictions and before the end of the first decade missionaries were sent as far east as England. The second decade saw the main membership removed, or rather driven, to the Rocky Mountains, far away from any organized settlements. Once established there, an expanded missionary effort was made and the call went out for missionary work to Scandinavia, a task seemingly as forbidding as the barren soil on which they just settled, but which proved as fruitful as the blossoming desert they wrought in a few years.
The call was unassuming, the journey epic. The day was chilly. Snow covered the ground. Tender, tear-filled farewells were taken. It was late fall of 1849. The oxen and horses started to pull. A final "God bless you and keep you until we meet again," and the uphill march through Emigration Canyon had started. The missionaries called to Europe only a few short weeks earlier by the inspiring Mormon leader Brigham Young were on their way, eager to go about "their Father's business." With the snow falling to their right and left, they hastened across mountains and plains in a snow-free corridor like the ancient children of Israel across the Red Sea. Among them was the fearless sailor from the Northland, John Erik Forsgren, converted to Mormonism in Boston six years earlier. He was the only one of the group not called from the pulpit in the Salt Lake Tabernacle a few short weeks earlier. He simply volunteered his services when he heard that his Scandinavian friends were sent on missions to their homeland, Denmark. "Why not send somebody to Sweden?" The mighty Mormon leader agreed.

The company of thirty parted ways in Kanesville, Iowa, and each was free to visit friends, relatives and Saints willing to supply their needs on their continued journey eastward. The spring of 1850 saw them united in Liverpool, England, from whence Forsgren and his companions set out for Scandinavia.

Arriving in Copenhagen, which was made the headquarters of the mission, Elder Forsgren was sent to the city of his birth, Gävle, far up the east coast of Sweden. Within a few days he found himself before the church council of the city, the local judicial body of the State Church, for teaching things contrary to the "pure evangelical doctrine" as it is often called in Sweden. He was brought before the law for disturbing the peace. He was arrested and brought before the mayor, to have his head
examined for raising his brother from the sick bed.

He was deported from his native country, but before his forced return to Copenhagen, he had found some converts to his message, and had organized a small congregation.

Elder Forsgren and companions continued their proselyting efforts in Denmark and especially Copenhagen. Among those accepting their message were several Swedish people who soon crossed the narrow Sound from Copenhagen to Sweden to share their new-found joy with relatives and friends. They met with success and in 1853 four congregations, or branches as they are called in the Mormon Church, were founded in the southernmost province of Skåne and organized into a conference. Mormonism continued to spread to all of Sweden, especially the more populous southern half, and by 1860, about one thousand converts had joined the ranks, scattered in thirty-six branches and five conferences. The proselyting efforts, which had been carried on by local members during the first decade, were intensified by a steadily growing number of missionaries from Utah, as part of the continuously expanding missionary program from the Church.

The Stockholm conference was organized in 1854 covering central and northern Sweden. By 1885, this conference had grown in membership to become the largest in all of Scandinavia and is still, nearly a century later, the largest in Sweden. In 1857, the Göteborg conference was founded in western Sweden. These conferences—Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö, formed in the 1850’s—have had a continuous existence since their organization until this writing about six score years later.

By 1905 about 17,000 converts had been harvested, of which 7,400 emigrated to Zion in the western United States. Of the remainder,
about 5,000 were excommunicated or stricken from the official Church rolls, mainly due to apostasy from the pure Mormon doctrine, especially in times of heavy opposition or unfavorable publicity.

MORMON MESSAGES

The message proclaimed by the Mormon proselyters was one generally found in various Christian churches, but often distinctly different from what the Swedish State Church decreed and still decrees, such as baptism by immersion instead of infant baptism, direct revelation from God instead of a closed heaven, and three distinct personages in the Godhead as opposed to the Athanasian concept of three in one and one in three. However, what set the Mormons apart from the rest of the Christian world, and caused them to be branded as non-Christians by "Christians" the world over, including leading ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden, was their belief in the distinct Mormon doctrines of plural marriage and the "gathering to Zion," that America was a land choice above all other lands. This latter belief had its origin in the Book of Mormon. The detractors of Mormonism called it the "Mormon Bible," but the Mormons themselves considered it holy writ, comparable to the Bible.

Plural Marriage

Plural marriage, or polygamy, was introduced into the Mormon Church by its founder, Joseph Smith. He claimed that he had received divine revelation to that effect commanding it. The doctrine was not publically declared until 1852, and even though only a small percentage of the men eligible for marriage entered into it, it became an issue of great contention from both governmental, ecclesiastical and other institutions. Eventually the Mormons, again referring to divine manifestation,
officially abandoned the practice in 1890.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, the belief in polygamy caused the Mormons serious problems in Sweden, even though no such marriage was claimed to be or ever entered into in Sweden. The Swedish government let it be reason enough, well into the 1920's, to ban Mormon missionaries from entering Sweden. The suspicion and distrust concerning this doctrine died slowly, if they ever have, within official Sweden, and the Swedish press has treated no subject about Mormons more frequently and probably with more sensationalism than this one.

At the time Mormonism was introduced into Sweden, marriage was still a very solid, stable, and nearly sacred institution within Luther's concept and the attacks on it in literature, for example, which had been both recent and few, had met with great opposition.

The Emigration

The geographical "gathering to Zion" was an integral part of Mormon practice for nearly a century. This doctrine was also claimed by the Mormons to be built around revelation; that the great Old Testament prophet Moses, himself as a resurrected being, appeared to the Mormon leader and prophet Joseph Smith (Doctrine and Covenants 110), and gave him the incentive, the right, and the authority to "gather scattered Israel home to Zion," which was western America. This gathering had at least a two-fold purpose. It would bring the Saints out of "Babylon," the sinful and wicked world, and give them a chance to grow and develop under more favorable conditions in the heartland of Mormonism, unmolested by persecution. However, it would also gather the scattered together in one place into a nucleus strong enough to build temples, wherein such sacred ordinances as baptism and marriage for
eternity could be enjoyed, both by the living and by the dead through proxy.

The "gathering" of the Saints from Sweden, starting in 1852, came at about the same time as the emigration of more than one million Swedes to the U. S. took place. This put the same social status on the Mormon emigrant as on the regular one; that stamp was not a favorable one.

Because the polygamy and emigration questions caused the Mormon people in Sweden, as in other countries, considerable problems, they are treated in greater detail in subsequent chapters.
CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FEW YEARS

On July 1, 1905, the Swedish Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially born, comprising the lands of Finland, Russia and Sweden. Mormonism had been preached in Sweden for more than half a century, and the separation from the sister nations of Denmark and Norway as part of the original Scandinavian Mission was, it seems, a logical development due to the growth and strength of Mormonism in Sweden.

The change seems to have been affected without any hindering trauma or shock. Districts and branches were functioning and just continued on. Fifty-six missionaries were already stationed and proselyting in Sweden. The auxiliary organizations of Relief Society, Sunday School and the Mutual Improvement Association were functioning. The mission magazine, Nordstjärnan, had been published for over a quarter of a century. The Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, both considered holy writ by the Church, and several pamphlets and tracts were available in the Swedish language. The main difference in the old and new organization was simply the transfer of headquarters from Copenhagen to Stockholm.

The honor of serving as the first president of the new mission fell on the fifty-four year old Swedish born Elder Peter Mattsson from the predominantly Scandinavian town of Mount Pleasant in Utah. He
established headquarters in the "large and commodious Church edifice" at Svartensgatan 3 in Stockholm, the only building owned by the Church in Sweden at that time.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

From the outset the mission consisted of a little over 2,000 members divided into four districts with twenty-six branches. The districts (Appendix B) were Stockholm, Göteborg, Skåne, Sundsvall. After a few months, the Norrköping district was added by a division of the Göteborg district and made up of Norrköping, Vingåker, Västervik, and Kalmar branches. The missionaries from "Zion," numbering between sixty and eighty-four, were very active in their proselyting, visiting about 160,000 homes, holding 20,000 gospel conversations a year until most of them were called back home after a decade at the beginning of World War I. Their efforts resulted in about 1,000 conversions. Despite this work, the membership of the mission sank by about 300 during its first decade due to death (about 250), emigration (nearly 800) and other circumstances. The membership never reached 2,000 again until after World War II, and at the present (1973) stands at more than 5,000.

The proselyting was mostly done, as the figures previously quoted would indicate, by the missionaries visiting homes and engaging the families living there in conversation. The missionaries, working nearly exclusively in pairs after the New Testament pattern, would make an average of about 5,000 house calls a year. Of these contacts an average of about three people would accept the message and convert to Mormonism.  

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1See Appendix A.
During the first decade the main pamphlet distributed seems to have been *Rays of Living Light*, a series made up of twelve small tracts. The missionaries, who paid for the tracts out of their own pockets, would distribute one tract at a time in a home, and hopefully come back twelve times.

The missionary efforts would extend both to city and country dwellers. It was not unusual for a set of missionaries to spend a couple of weeks in the city of their home branch, holding meetings, taking care of branch business, finances, reports, etc., visiting local members to encourage and uplift them (and sometimes also to enjoy a simple home cooked meal) and going from door to door, knocking and introducing themselves as missionaries with a special message. They would then turn their attention to the country side, walking from member to member and tracting in between. They often averaged twenty to twenty-five miles a day with many conversations, sleeping and eating wherever they could find accommodations, often with members, but also in haystacks, etc., as they were often considered outcasts and branded as such by some of the parish ministers of the Lutheran State Church, who would warn their parishioners against listening to or taking in and feeding the Mormon proselyters.

The visits out in the country often followed a regular circuit, as seen from the following letter by the Skåne Conference President to the Mission President.

We held public meetings in the open air in forests and groves. . . . After having held meetings in Kristianstad branch (5 indoor and 8 outdoor meetings) we went to Simrishamn where the Elders from Ystad branch met us. As we could not find any suitable place outdoors we rented a large good templar hall which was filled to capacity with interested listeners . . .
We had planned meetings in Tomelilla and Ingelstorp, but when people heard that "the Latter-day Saints" were the same as "Mormons," they refused us permission to hold meetings in their area. At the last mentioned place the parish minister went to one of our friends and forbid him to house us over night or give us a meal but instead keep us out in the street. But this kind of opposition only helped to push the good work forward. In Ystad branch our meetings were attended by 50-175 persons. We held 12, 6 indoors and 6 open air meetings.

We left Ystad branch July 11 and the Elders from Malmö branch met us in Trelleborg where we held the largest meetings we had. About 500 people were present, some of them ministers. The Spirit of God was present very strongly and we gave them the Gospel straight from the shoulder. After the close of the meeting we talked to one of the ministers who wished "to turn us around to the right road to salvation," for he insinuated that we "blinded the eyes of people." . . . If weather permits we will tour the country side around Helsingborg branch next week. Then on August 10 we intend to visit Halmstad and Kalmar branches.2

The missionaries often served as jack-of-all-trades to the members on these trips, fulfilling not only their spiritual needs, but also lending a helping hand with a pitch fork or a potato digger. The relationship between the local Saints and the missionaries was very close, the Elders being treated as true and valued members of the family.

LACK OF LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Besides their proselyting activities, the missionaries also held the main leadership positions within the mission, such as district and branch presidents. This caused rapid turnovers, as the Elders transferred fairly regularly from one locale and assignment to another, and were released after two or three years to return to their homes in "the valleys of the mountains."

This rapid turnover did not lend itself to the best leadership for the local members or to a consistent training and development program for the new converts. This seems, however, not to have been considered a serious defect. The branch was a holding station for many converts, until they were able to join the main body of the Saints in their Rocky Mountain empire. A marked change in this policy took place, however, around the turn of the century. Employment was scarce in Utah and the U. S. government enforced the immigration laws much stricter than earlier, making it more difficult for the emigrant.  

The members were encouraged to stay in their homeland and not to gather with the main body of the Church across the ocean. 4 This meant that the branches would serve as a permanent religious center for the individual member and not as a transfer point between his baptism into the Church and emigration soon after. It seems, however, as if the branches had a hard time assuming this new position. The Elders continued to serve as leaders and instructors and very little effort was expended in training local leadership. Some minor tries were made in the 1930's and later through the mission-wide MIA conferences, 5 but no really consistent and effective programs were put in force until well into the 1960's. Then significant steps towards member permanency in missions were taken. Temples were erected at Bern and London in Europe. Purposeful chapels were built, and General Authorities and auxiliary General Board members made frequent visits.

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3 See William Mulder, Homeward to Zion, pp. 86-90 for a description of the economic conditions in Utah at the turn of the century.

4 See Chapter III.

5 See Chapter VII.
GENERAL AUTHORITIES VISIT

In its proclaimed responsibility to preach the Gospel to all the world (Mark 16:15), the Church sent its leaders to inspect and oversee the activities in every mission. Several of them visited the Swedish mission in its first decade and gave "words of cheer and encouragement" to both missionaries and local Saints.

The first visit by a General Authority of the Church was made in the summer of 1909 by President Anthon H. Lund, first counselor in the First Presidency, and he was followed a few days later by Elder Charles W. Penrose, the President of the European Mission and a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles. The following summer the new president of the European Mission, Elder Rudger Clawson, also of the Council of Twelve Apostles, held a one-day conference of the Swedish mission in Stockholm.

The President of the Church, Joseph F. Smith, and the Presiding Bishop, Charles W. Nibley, visited a few weeks later, in 1910. As this was the first time a president of the Church had visited Sweden, it is easy to understand all the excitement among the Saints, described by a member of the visiting party.

The coming of these Church officials was made known only a few days previous to their arrival by telegram, but the prospect of being visited by the President of the Church and Presiding Bishop called for hasty preparations. Willing and busy hands were soon engaged in renewing the decorations in the new chapel; and fresh flowers and foliage and hundreds of yards of wreaths greeted the eye everywhere in the beautiful edifice. During the meetings, which were thoroughly enjoyed by all who attended, many instructions and much counsel were imparted by the distinguished visitors. President Smith refuted the story about the Latter-day Saint Elders in Sweden or anywhere else trying to influence the Saints to hasten
emigration to Utah.\textsuperscript{6}

While in Stockholm the Mormon prophet and his party attended the opening session of the Eighteenth International Peace Congress.

The visit of the august leader brought hope and courage to the Mormons in the former Viking country. However, it did not seem to add new converts. The records indicate that twenty-four people were baptized in the Stockholm district during the balance of the year, while the figures for the corresponding period in the previous year (1909) tell of thirty-three baptisms. One reason may be that the visit seemed poorly publicized, and another the strong anti-Mormon feelings. Only a few lines in the Stockholm dailies made mention of the visit.

It may not have been the fault of the local Mormon leaders, who learned that advertising was not accepted in the Stockholm papers, because the Mormons were not considered Christians. The pecuniary interests seem to have taken over, though, as they later were allowed to advertise, but for double fee.\textsuperscript{7}

The opposition to the Mormons was probably as severe at this time due to the emigration and polygamy questions as it had ever been in the history of the mission. The press took an active part, as seen from the following entry.

The leading newspapers in Stockholm as well as in different parts of the conference was daily filled with articles against us and calles was made of the Editors by President Carlquist, with request for investigation by them before such pieces was published, but the answer was that


\textsuperscript{7}\textit{Stockholm Branch Historical Record 1904-1930}, Book E, 1909, p. 18.
they proposed to publish what the reading public demanded and as "Antimormon" stuff was what they demanded that would be published.\(^8\)

A year later, on October 1, 1911, four Mormon missionaries were banished, and given forty-eight hours to leave the country for promoting Mormonism. This was a decision by the Cabinet, leaving no source of appeal. A few months later the Saints felt the oppression so heavy on their shoulders that they set aside Sunday, January 28, 1912, as a special day of fasting and prayer. The whole mission appealed for divine assistance and protection against temptations and troubles that might arise.

In June of 1913, Elder Ezra T. Benson, a member of the Council of the Twelve, held meetings with missionaries and Saints in Stockholm, Norrköping, Gothenburg, and Malmö.\(^9\) He encouraged them to keep their courage and admonished them, as did the Savior in the Sermon on the Mount, in face of prevailing opposition, to "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you" (Matthew 5:44).

MISSION PRESIDENTS

President Peter Mattson, the first president, served faithfully for nearly three years, promoting the proselyting cause, as did his successor Elder Peter Sundwall, from the little Scandinavian settlement of Fairview, Utah. During the former's stewardship, a second edition of the Book of Mormon came off the press in 1907, the first one having been

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 36.

\(^9\)Nordstjärnan, XXXVII (1913), p. 221.
published nearly thirty years earlier in 1878. Some changes were made in the new edition. Footnotes, references, and cross references to the Bible and the Doctrine and Covenants, not included in the English edition until 1879, were now incorporated into the Swedish, as was a short index. The language was basically unchanged, but poor grammar and Anglicisms and Danicisms, of which there were many, were rectified. However, no attempt was made to include the many changes in Swedish spelling, brought about by the nationwide spelling reform of 1906.

In November of 1910, Elder Andreas Peterson of the city of Logan in northern Utah succeeded to the presidency, and was distinct not only for proselyting efforts, but above all for his sober defense against the anti-Mormon movements in Sweden. Only a few months into his presidency he, together with two Elders,

... had an audience with King Gustav V, and delivered to him a memoranda from a number of Utah people of Swedish descent, in which they set forth the misleading and untruthful statements made in a petition from the "Augustana" (Lutheran) ministers in America, who had tried by these statements to have the "Mormon" Elders banished from Sweden. The three Elders were courteously received by the King, who accepted their memorial, listened to their allegations, asked questions, and expressed his willingness to receive whatever literature the Elders might be pleased to furnish him, setting forth the teachings and doctrines of the Latter-day Saints. The King intimated to the Elders that he might change his views in regard to the doctrines of the Saints after he had perused their books, which he promised to read. 10

About a year and a half later, President Peterson managed to have a rejoinder published in one of the largest dailies of the capital against a slanderous article written by one of the chief opponents of Mormonism in Sweden, Pastor P. A. Åslev, which had appeared in the paper a short time before. 11

10Jenson, p. 458.
11Morgenbladet, Stockholm, August 11, 1911.
A little later President Peterson had a communication sent to the Royal Civil Department denying the claims made that Utah missionaries were acting as secret agents and ought to be expelled from Sweden.

Before his release as mission president a new hymnbook, *Songs of Zion*, arrived in Sweden, published by the First Presidency. Its foreword, dated Salt Lake City, Utah, August 14, 1910, states that it would fill a long-felt need, and that the songs, 209 in all, were made up of old, well-known as well as new melodies, mostly from *The Latter-day Saints' Psalmody* and also some patriotic songs, all suitable both for church and home. The efforts to include several "well-liked and well-known American melodies" stranded on the high copyright costs and publishers' denial of copying under any circumstances. This hymnbook served well for nearly half a century.

After nearly two years as president, Elder Peterson was succeeded by Elder A. Theodore Johnson, from Vernal, Utah. Both had arrived in Sweden at the same time. He served for one year and was followed by Elder Theodore Tobison, who presided for nearly three years, returning to his home in Salt Lake City in the spring of 1916.

The presidency of the latter fell during the Mormon debate in the Swedish Parliament, discussed in Chapter IV, and he was permitted to present the Mormon point of view to members of that body.

He also saw thirty-seven of the missionaries being called back to the United States in October 1914, at the outbreak of World War I.

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He called six native members, three of each sex, to fill the largest holes made by the returning thirty-seven, and rallied the local Saints to greater efforts. In the Norrköping conference, for example, the local brethren (five) expressed their desire to keep the rented meeting hall and do their best to continue the work in the conference.

At the Malmö conference held a week later, the members vowed that even if all missionaries were called home to Zion, they "would do their best in the Lord's work, and do what was required of them and testify of the goodness of God towards them."¹⁴

As the first decade ended, the Mission had barely held its own in membership; due to war, it had lost most of its strength from its mother tree, Zion, and it faced as strong and severe opposition from the highest Swedish authorities as it ever had or would.

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CHAPTER III

EMIGRATION

As stated before, one of the topics to cause the Mormons, not only in Sweden but in many places, great problems was the emigration to Utah. In order more fully to appreciate the Swedish emigrant question and its influence on the general reaction towards the Mormons, this chapter will give a short overview of both the general and the Mormon emigration from Sweden to the USA. For nearly one hundred years emigration was considered a sore spot by officials of Sweden, who looked upon the emigrants "almost as traitors of the country." Partly due to this, it was not until lately that research started into this important part of Swedish history.

GENERAL EMIGRATION FROM SWEDEN

There have been people of Swedish blood in the USA for nearly four centuries, but not until the 1840's did a larger stream begin to seek its way across the ocean from Sweden. In the beginning, it was only a trickle. The U. S. Census of 1850 indicates 3,600 Swedish born people, a figure probably too low according to the latest research. During the 1850's, at least 15,000 Swedish people settled in the

1 Sune Åkerman, "Who In Fact Did Go?" The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly, XXIII (January, 1972), pp. 37-41.
"great country in the West." That was the decade for the founding of the dominant Swedish areas of Minnesota, where the first Swede appeared about 1820.\(^2\)

The war between the states (1861-65) did not halt the emigration from Sweden, but delayed a real expansion. Right after that war, a three-year famine hit Sweden, and the small stream of emigrants turned into a wild river. It continued to grow in size until reaching its peak, a veritable deluge, in the decade of the 1880's. After the forty fat years of emigration, 1850-90, the deluge receded around the turn of the century into the wild stream once again and into a trickle during the first world war, where it still remains, even though high runoffs hit once in awhile.

It is generally agreed among historians that the Swedish emigration to the U. S. can be considered a finished historical phenomenon, which was limited to the years 1840-1930. During this short century Sweden lost a net of more than one million persons, young people in their child bearing ages, out of an average population of five million. It can be stated with near certainty that there are few families in homes or cottages in Sweden without distant relatives in the USA.

The dotted line on the chart (next page) shows the total number of Swedish emigrants to the USA. The statistics were compiled by the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. This is one of the oldest and most reliable government statistical agencies in the world, founded in 1749.

***** Total national emigration figured in thousands.
    Maximum total emigration near 55,000 in 1882
    
    ——— Total L.D.S. emigration figured in total
        number of emigrants.
        Maximum emigration being 361 in 1863

FIGURE 1

TOTAL EMIGRATION AND L.D.S. EMIGRATION 1851-1970
Brief comments to Figure 1.

1. The dip in Mormon emigration 1858 was due to the "Utah War."

2. The heavy Mormon emigration in the early 1860's was due to resumed emigration after the war and the great number of converts made during that period.

3. In 1867 the Church did not assist monetarily any of the Scandinavian Saints. Sweden was in the middle of three years of poor harvests, the Saints did not have any means to go, as most of them made their living from agriculture. Only 18 emigrated that year, while 210 left in 1866 and 144 in 1868, when assistance again was forthcoming.

4. The U. S. depression caused the low general emigration in the middle 1870's, while the Mormon emigration remained relatively high.

5. Increase in conversions around the turn of the decade 1880, was the cause of the heavier Mormon emigration.

6. The drop in the middle of the 1890's had its root in the depression in the United States and somewhat better economic conditions in Sweden.

7. The high general emigration of 1902-1903 was caused by labor unrest in Sweden.

8. The high general emigration of 1910 was connected with a Swedish depression and the long and bitter labor strike of 1909.

9. The first world war caused the low emigration in the later 1910's.
10. The peak of the 1920's resulted mainly from a post-war depression in Sweden, causing mostly young, unmarried men from agrarian Sweden to leave.

11. The depression of the 1930's, which was deeper and more severe in the U.S., accounted for the slow emigration of that decade.

12. World War II hindered any emigration in the early 1940's.

13. The general post World War II emigration had held fairly constant at around 2,000 per year.

14. For explanation of the peak of Mormon emigration at the end of the 1940's, see page 33.

Who Were They?

The Swedish emigrants came from the rural areas, from the agrarian population, until about 1890. Thereafter the urban people, mainly from industry, began to increase among the emigrants. Prior to 1890, the rural emigrants outnumbered the urban ones 3.5:1, but during the last great mass emigration just prior to the first world war the figures were 1:1 and after that the industrial group has continually been the larger.\(^3\)

The reasons for the early agrarian dominance is, of course, mainly that agriculture was by far the most important factor in Sweden's economic structure during the 1800's. In 1850, 78% of the population was engaged in farming and half a century later 54%. In 1850, 90% of the total population lived in rural Sweden, while at the beginning of the twentieth century, the figure had been reduced to 75%.\(^4\)

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 47. \(^4\)Ibid.
Among the agrarian emigrants we find very few who owned their own small farms, usually inherited within the family for generations. The sons and daughters of the small farmers made up a much larger group. The relatively small farms were not large enough to feed the large families.

The agrarian proletariat, above all young farmhands and servant maids, made up the largest group wanting to exchange the bondage from powerful farm owners and the small salary for the freedom and economic enticings of the great republic. 5

Similar motives are found behind most of the urban proletarians that left the old country. Many young girls dreamed of "walking around among noble Americans in hat and gloves," as the saying went. 6

The higher social classes did not contribute to the emigration to any appreciable degree.

**Why Did They Leave?**

The reasons for leaving Sweden for the new country far in the West are, of course, many and varied. There were factors that pushed the people away from the old country and there were factors in the new country that exercised a pull on the emigrant—the historian's push and pull theory—little or no land available in the old country, a surplus in the new, low wages in the old country and good pay in the new, etc.

Among the most important factors and not necessarily in the order given would be:


1. Economy
2. Class distinction
3. Political disfranchisement
4. Military service
5. Dissenters

Foremost among the factors was the economic situation. The center of interest is taken by the increase in population with an overcrowded rural Sweden as a consequence.

Scientific inventions like smallpox vaccination, better food, and the absence of war pressed down the death figures, while births still remained high. The Swedish population rose from 2.3 million in 1800 to 5.5 million in 1910 despite the emigration of more than a million people.\(^7\)

The increase in population created a growing group of non-land owners in rural Sweden, an agrarian proletariat of farmhands, crofters and sharecroppers. Despite the fact that new land was broken continually until the 1860's, there was not enough to go around to all. In the 1850's this agrarian proletariat made up 40% of the whole population, double what it had been one hundred years earlier.\(^8\)

To those without land, whose situation was made still worse by very low pay due to the labor surplus, there was really only one solution—to leave the farm life. Two alternatives were open—to go to the growing industries in and around the cities or to the virgin soil of America. Some also used a combination of these, first to the city for some short period and then across the ocean.

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\(^7\) Ljungmark, op. cit., p. 48.  
\(^8\) Ibid.
The desertion from rural Sweden followed very closely the
good and lean years of harvests and prices of the agricultural products.
Later on, when industrial workers made up the larger share of emigra-
tion, the sensitivity to the income-making possibilities was very marked
--good years in the new land or bad ones in the old increased the traffic
westward markedly. 9

Another factor or cause of emigration would be the class dis-
tinction felt, especially among the lower classes on the social scale.
Research in the last few years seems to indicate, however, that the
feeling of under class in itself, was not such a strong factor in the
decision to emigrate. It was not until he heard the glowing descriptions
of how everybody in America was equal that the Swede realized to a
deeper degree the inequities of the society in which he lived.

Associated with this and probably as great a factor in emigra-
tion was the possibility in America to advance on the ladder of society,
compared to the nearly total immobility on the Swedish social ladder.

A third factor on the subject of class distinction had to do with
the earlier-mentioned economic factors in rural Sweden. When the sons
of the small farm owners had to take a paid job within agriculture, on
the railroad (track laying) or within the industry, they came to belong
to a lower social class than they previously had been members of. This
created within them a social dissatisfaction, which disappeared when
they emigrated and became farm owners in the new country. 10

Even though a gradual improvement had taken place, the dis-
franchisement of the lower social classes in Sweden was a fact until

9Ibid., p. 50. 10Ibid., p. 58.
1918, when all adult males received their right to vote. In 1866 only 20% of all males of age could cast their ballots which in the reform of 1909 was increased to about 75%. Swedish-Americans often mentioned the lack of the right to vote as a contributing factor to the emigration but not as a sole factor. The radical press of that day welded together political dissatisfaction and emigration by publishing "Testimonies in Behalf of a General Right to Vote" from Swedish-Americans visiting the old country, thus creating a stir in the mind of the prospective emigrant, giving him one more reason for leaving the old world.

In a class by themselves stood the young men who emigrated rather than fulfill their military obligations. Research has shown that there was a definite connection between emigrating males, age twenty, who stood on the threshold to military eligibility and the lengthening of the military service. In 1866, when the recruit training was thirty days, the twenty-year-old males made up 4% of all emigrants. In 1909, with the training increased to 240 days, the corresponding group had grown to 17%. It may well be that for most young men the avoidance of the military draft was not the only reason for emigration, but definitely the final and deciding one.

Religious intolerance towards dissenter groups was written into the law as early as 1726, when the so called "konventikel" edict was issued. It forbid religious gatherings outside the framework of the ruling Protestant Lutheran State Church. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when a general religious awakening took place in

11Ibid., p. 59.  
12Ibid., p. 61.
Sweden, this edict was considered a symbol of the guardianship exercised over the individual by the State Church. Once again, as in the case of disfranchisement and military service, it may be said that the religious persecution was not the only factor in emigration but often a deciding one.\(^{13}\)

Some emigration specialists indicate that it was more the pull factor from the American side that caused dissenters to emigrate, especially those belonging to churches of Anglo-Saxon origin as Baptists, Methodists, and—yes—Mormons.\(^{14}\)

**Where Did They Settle?**

The following states received the greatest influx of Swedish emigrants in total numbers: Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, California, Connecticut, Washington, Colorado, and Utah.

It should also be noted that the majority of the early Swedish settlers put down their stakes in the Middlewest with its homestead-triangle and land-grant railroads. Later on, around the turn of the century, the emigrating industrial proletariat stayed in the Northeastern States.\(^{15}\)

**THE MORMON EMIGRATION**

Mormonism reached the shores of Sweden in 1850 and only two years later converts were ready to heed the missionaries' call to

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 52.  
\(^{14}\)Ibid.  
\(^{15}\)Ibid., p. 189.
"leave Babylon and gather to Zion." The first ones left late in 1852 and since then about 10,000 have followed in their steps. The number is, of course, in itself quite impressive but put in the context of the whole Swedish emigration, it is not more than a drop in the bucket--10,000 out of 1,000,000, or about one percent. The chart on page 20 shows the annual number of Mormon emigrants from Sweden (solid line).

Who Were They?

Even though no comprehensive study has been made of what social classes the Mormons in Sweden came from, it can be gleaned from what has been written both by Mormons and non-Mormons that the main body was made up of people from the economically poor groups, both in rural and urban areas, especially in the early days of the mission. As time passed the Mormons climbed up the social and economic ladder, until today a Mormon congregation would most likely be a miniature copy of Swedish society.

The emigrating Mormon can thus be said to be a copy of the average Swedish emigrant; in the earlier years from the rural area, sometimes via a few years stay in a city, and later from the industrial areas with some kind of skill beyond farming. He would, in other words, be very little set apart from the other 99% of the emigrants.

Why Did They Leave?

The main reason for the Mormon emigration is well expressed in the following words under the heading "A Strange Longing for Zion."

The gathering of the Saints to the land of Zion is one of the oldest and most influential doctrines of the Latter-day Saint Church. In time it came to be regarded as a token of faithfulness and served as a great unifying theme of Mormonism. As the stream of conversion increased, converts developed an almost
universal yearning to gather with other Saints in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains in America.

This doctrine of the gathering sprang from a literal interpretation of the Scriptures as well as from "the providential reading of history, and from the circumstances of a free-land society in early nineteenth-century America." For the Saints, the Scriptures were clear on the matter: "Flee unto Zion... Go ye out from among the nations, even from Babylon." Shortly after the first Mormon temple was dedicated in Kirtland, Ohio in 1836, Joseph Smith and his companion, Oliver Cowdery, declared that the ancient prophet, Moses, appeared and gave unto them "the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth." They claimed a similar appearance of Elijah, he who was taken into heaven without tasting death. Among other things, they claimed to have received this angelic warning: "The keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands; and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the door." By this means, the concept of the "gathering of Israel" was closely linked with the doctrine of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and the establishment of the millennial era. Also devoutly believed was the concept that the New Jerusalem would be in America, to them the Promised Land.

In the early years of the Church, Joseph Smith and his followers taught the concept that they were literally building the "Kingdom of God" on the earth, a necessary prelude to the millennial reign of Christ. The importance of gathering was therefore constantly impressed upon the minds of converts by the missionaries. The "strange longing" for Zion which overtook converts shortly after baptism was a natural legacy. As Mulder expressed it: NWAfter baptism by immersion... and the laying on of hands at confirmation, came the baptism of desire, a strange and irresistible longing which ravished them and filled them with a nostalgia for Zion, their common home."16

There is no doubt that the great majority of Swedish Mormon emigrants were motivated by this "spirit of gathering." The chart shows plainly that a heavy Mormon emigration preceded the first regular mass emigration from Sweden, which came due to crop failure and hunger during the three years of 1867-1869. The Swedish Mormons settled in Utah, not in the rich soil and forests of Minnesota. They

were distinct in their main reason for emigration. They were pulled into the new world for religious reasons much more than they were pushed off the old soil by hunger, religious persecution, disfranchise-

ment or the draft.

Of course, the "America fever" that started to grip Sweden in the later half of the nineteenth century did nothing to discourage but only advance and assist the prospective "Mormon" emigrant. It made it easier for him to make and hasten his decision.

The push factors discussed earlier in this paper were probably taken into consideration by the Mormon emigrant but only as a hastener of the departure date and were not the deciding factor as in the general emigration. An example of this, which still makes the writer chuckle silently every time he thinks of it, is an incident he came across when translating an anonymous journal of a Mormon missionary. He was of draft age, serving a mission in Central Sweden, but not reporting for military duty. Eventually the sheriff was right behind him ready to clamp the arm of the law on his shoulder, when he received a call from his superior to transfer to a far distant district and continue his missionary efforts. Soon another sheriff was breathing down his neck, and another transfer came. This was repeated several times until there was no more breathing room for him. And just one step ahead of the sheriff he received his release and ticket to Zion and hurried on his way.

Gathering Discouraged

Around the turn of the century, the leaders of the Mormon Church started to discourage the "gathering to Zion."

In 1904 the following statement appeared in the Journal History:
Missionaries abroad are instructed to rather counsel converts against leaving their native lands, than to encourage them to do so. In the early days of the Church it was considered a wise policy to encourage good, strong laborers, in the states, or abroad, who were disposed to emigrate, to settle in Utah, to help build up the country, and to receive the benefit and association with co-religionists. But of late years, the policy has been rather to discourage immigration.17

In 1910, Joseph F. Smith, President of the Mormon Church, attended a conference in Stockholm. He is recorded to have said:

We do not desire, my brethren, and sisters, that you trouble yourselves too much about emigration. At present we do not advise you to emigrate. We would rather that you remain until you have been well established in the faith in the Gospel and until each one of you has been the instrument through the help of the Lord, in bringing one, or more of our fellowmen into the Church.18

The Swedish Saints took the advice of their leaders. This was not too difficult for them to do. The historical events of the day helped very much. A government sponsored comprehensive investigation into all phases of Swedish emigration presented its more than 3,000 page-long findings in 1910. The Mormons were the only group --religious or non-religious--treated as a group in the investigation. The committee combined the problem of emigration and white slave trade (young girls going to Utah), which was a hot issue at that time. The Mormons were strongly indicted on both counts by the committee, which recommended that somehow the Mormon propaganda and recruitment of emigrants must stop.

The combined efforts of the Mormon leadership, the government and the first world war made it easy for the 2,000 Mormons in Sweden to remain where they were without sacrificing any religious

17Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, November 30, 1904, located in the Historical Department.
beliefs.

It is interesting to note that while the investigation went on in 1909 and 1910, the number of Mormon emigrants doubled while after the speech, referred to on the previous page by Joseph F. Smith, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to the Swedish Saints, the number dropped in half. See chart on page 20.

After that time the Mormon emigration was very low, not reaching more than twenty-five persons in any one year, and not above ten in any one year 1930-1947 as a result of the great depression and the second world war, and thus followed the pattern of the general emigration.

The U. S. quota system between the world wars of allowing emigrants into the country does not seem to have affected the Swedish emigration very much, as its quota was never filled with the exception of 1923 and 1924, the years of the bad post-war depression in Sweden. For each of these two years, the general emigration from Sweden was between two and three times higher than the preceding and following years (36,000 as against 15,000). The figures for the Mormon emigration for the corresponding two years, on the other hand, show a reversal—thirty-six emigrants for 1923-1924 and thirty-nine for 1922 and 1925, which once again shows that the Mormon emigration often did not follow the general pattern.

The end of World War II saw a slow resumption of the general emigration to the USA, hovering around the 2,000 mark per year. "Many

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20 Ibid.
of those who now are recorded as emigrants—a few thousand a year—seem to be former Swedish-Americans or pure Americans, who now return to the USA.\(^\text{21}\)

The Mormon emigration seems to follow the general pattern with the exception of the years 1948-1949, when about 250 Saints left for their "Zion in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains."

The writer of this paper was both an eyewitness to and a participant in this event a quarter of a century ago. He knew personally nearly all of the emigrants in the old country and has continued that friendship in the new country. Allow him to express a few thoughts of his own about his emigration friends as an insight into this sudden break in the post World War II emigration lull.

They were the Mormons who had labored diligently to keep the Church organization alive during the war. They made up nearly half of the active membership. The members totaled about 2,000, but only one-third of them were somewhat active. Those who emigrated felt a strong desire to join the main body of the Church, the same inner desire that compelled the first Swedish Saints nearly a century earlier to "go home." Most of them were men of some means; most of them came as family groups. Among them were found office managers, house painters, officers of the King's Guard, police officers, real estate brokers, bakers, book salesmen, automobile mechanics, wholesalers, etc. Most of them left the old country without any illusions about acquiring riches and fame, desiring only a closer relationship with the main body

\(^{21}\)Letter to author from Dr. Sten Carlsson, Head of History Department, Uppsala Universitet, dated 29 April 1972.
of the Church and hoping that their children should have a greater spiritual future and be able to marry within the Mormon faith. They did not leave in haste. Most of them had means to pay the fare for the whole family.

Most of them came from the two branches of Stockholm and Jönköping, while the remaining three major active branches, Göteborg, Malmö and Norrköping, contributed a lesser share of their membership. Three large three-generation families emigrated, consisting of nearly fifty members altogether, in each case led by a family patriarch, who for many years had stood as a great leader in his Mormon congregation.

For this observer, it seems as if this sudden emigration explosion was different from all the previous ones and unique in that it lacked any of the previously mentioned push factors. It was simply a case of the pull, not by America with all its greatness and future, but by "the spirit of gathering" discussed earlier. Why did it subside as sudden as it started? The pull seemed to lose its strength as communications improved, as "Zion," in a sense, was brought to the members in the form of repeated and closely spaced visits by leaders from the Church headquarters, by the possibility of members visiting Zion and by the building of temples in Europe.

And with Zion brought to the members in their homeland, the leaders of the Church repeated their suggestions from half a century earlier—stay in their branches and build them up for the benefit of the local members. And as before, the call was heeded and the Mormon emigration as the regular emigration, lacking both pull and push, dwindled to a trickle where it still remains.
CHAPTER IV

THE MORMON QUESTION IN THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT
1912 - 1915

As one reads the history of the Mormon Church in Sweden, one is struck by the constant struggle it had with the ministers of the State Church and other government officials. It even reached the hallowed halls of Parliament just prior to World War I. This chapter in the Mormon history was significant as the result was tacit permission by the government for the Mormons to continue their proselyting activities without too much interference, even though they still were considered non-Christian.

SWEDISH LAW GOVERNING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Christianity entered Sweden about eight centuries after the death of Christ on Calvary. Around the year 1000 A.D., it was made the official religion of the warring Viking Kingdom. The Lutheran reformation reached Sweden while still in its infancy and was used as a political tool by King Gustav Vasa (1521-1560), in building and welding together a governable realm. He made himself Master and Head of the Church, and appointed bishops and priests, which in reality meant that the Christian Church in Sweden became a State Church, and every citizen a member of it, professing the Lutheran doctrine.

On the cover of a church book from the lumber-water-and-iron-ore-rich area of Central Sweden for the year 1654, the parish pastor made
the following note, giving us a very vivid description of church
discipline in the Lutheran State Church of Sweden:

Church Book in which is recorded all their names, who in
the parish are living over ten years of age, and ought to attend
Catechism examination on Sundays as farmer, wife, sons, sons-
in-law, daughters, daughters-in-law, farm hands, maids, boys
and girls, renters and crofters, mill people, hammer owners,
smiths, their wives, children, farm hands, maids; charcoal-
burners, carriers, sawyers, grist millers, wood choppers, etc.;
and shall be recorded between parallel lines 0 for those who ab-
sent are, but for those who present are, how many paragraphs
he can read (recite) in the Catechism; 2 the explanation and how
they understand it, and shall with sternness this proceed so that
they can correctly answer when requested.

This count or examination shall now begin at Valborg\(^1\) and at
Easter 1655 finished be. Taking three or four, at most five farms
at a time every Sunday, that both cases correctly may be recorded
and afterwards be be better examined.

God grant hereto His Grace and Benediction. Fellingsbro
parsonage, recorded the 23 April 1654. Carolus Ljungh. Pastor
of Fellingsbro. Church Book.\(^2\)

The responsibility of the clergy to see that every parishioner
was in full harmony with the official doctrine was strongly stressed in
the great church law of 1686. However, forty years later it was neces-
sary to issue the famous and infamous "konventikel" edict, wherein it
was forbidden for anyone within the borders of the country to hold
a gathering and espouse a doctrine that deviated from what officially
was called the pure, evangelical doctrine. No dissenters or dissenter
groups were allowed. For the first and second offences, fine or imprison-
ment was the punishment, while the third offence brought expatriation for
up to two years. In 1850, for example, a native Baptist preacher was
sentenced to deportation by the "Götta Court of Appeals" for spreading

\(^1\)30 April.

\(^2\)Carl-Erik Johansson, Thus They Wrote (Provo, Utah: BYU
"false doctrine."³

The liberal mood of the last part of the eighteenth century also reached frozen-minded Sweden and thawed some of the rigid rules of official church discipline. In the new constitution of 1809, the first germs of religious freedom began to sprout through the hard ground of clerical supervision, when right was granted to found sects recognized by the crown (government).

In 1858, the government issued a royal decree, wherein it repealed gatherings for the purpose of preaching dissenting doctrines. However, it also stated that the minister (parish priest) and the parish church council still would supervise religious gatherings of dissenters within its borders, and by the way, that these were not to be held so close to the parish church, that services therein would be disturbed.⁴ The clergy and the police were also given the authority to break up such gatherings, if deemed advisable.⁵

Such was the legal situation on the religious freedom front when the Mormon proselyting activity went on in Sweden. It may be well to mention that a law of complete religious freedom was not enacted until 1952.

It seems quite natural that friction would arise between the zealous Mormon proselyters, who took their charge literally to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the

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⁵Den Svenska Historien, op. cit., p. 274.
Holy Ghost" (Matthew 28:19), and the clergy of the State Church, who by law were responsible for the church discipline, both in doctrine and Christian behavior. To uphold the law the clergy called in various officials and agencies to assist. When, in their estimation, nothing seemed to help, they finally turned to the Parliament to assist in ousting the foreign Mormon proselyters.

The great attention given the Mormon question at this time was centered around two themes—polygamy and emigration, especially of young women, which in some circles was referred to as white slave trade.

The question was debated on five occasions in the Parliament between 1912 and 1915, the only times the Mormons were so "honored" by this centuries-old body.

THE MAJOR CAUSES

In early 1912 the Secretary of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Mr. Fridtjuv Berg,\(^6\) presented a Royal proposition to the Parliament, asking that 8,000 crowns be appropriated to counter the Mormon proselyting activity. This money should be used during 1913 as directed by the Crown in Council, but as much as half of it could be used already in 1912. The proposition passed. It had been five years in the making.

It all started in 1907 when the "Vigilante Committee" sent a letter to the Secretary of Civil Affairs to inform him of the Mormon agitation for emigration to Utah, especially among women. This committee

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had been formed four years earlier in Sweden as a part of an international organization. Its main purpose was to combat the so-called white slave trade.

The letter stated among other things, that:

From January to September (included) 1905, more than 500 women were led from Sweden to Utah. From the information that can be had by outsiders, there is reason to believe that the women who emigrated to Utah will have a very difficult time there. . . . it would seem necessary to study the conditions in Utah among the Swedish immigrants and also gain necessary information at their residence here in this country and during the journey to their destination. 7

The letter was turned over to the Emigration Committee, which "thus had to execute the investigation asked for." 8

The Emigration Committee was appointed in 1907 by the Swedish government to make an investigation of the problem of emigration and other questions connected with it. The result was submitted six years later in the form of a general statement of about 1,000 printed pages, which summarized the content of twenty supplements that made up the findings of the main inquiry.

Supplement number 3 is titled Mormonvärfnngen i Sverige-Uttalande af Emigrationsutredningen, which in translation reads The Mormon Recruitment in Sweden--Statement by the Emigration Investigation Committee.

It is quite remarkable and interesting to find such a great interest in the Mormons as to treat them in a special supplement. They

7Department of Civil Affairs Proposition 1912:202, pp. 527-8. (Original in the National Archives in Stockholm, Sweden; microfilm copy at BYU Library.)

8Ibid., p. 528.
made up scarcely more than 0.5% of more than 1 1/4 million emigrants to America, and no other group was named or treated in the course of the investigation.

The Committee repeated the vigilante story of more than 500 young women being led from Sweden to Utah. It also continued a brief history of the origin of Mormonism, a few samples of which will show its general tone:

No sect possesses truth fully and unmixed, even if blind party worship may proclaim the opposite. In some sects the truth is even so badly crippled and polluted by foreign substances, that we may doubt if they serve the good or the evil. Finally, there are also those sects that without any doubt are demonic ideas of Christian sects. One of these is the Mormon sect. . .

About its founder it states:

Joseph Smith originated from the lowest social classes and this both morally, economically and socially. The Smith family did not rise much above vagrant class . . . it supported itself with just about anything but decent work . . . dreams, visions, and revelations. Thus they got used to living in the border land between fiction and reality, deceit and self-deceit, until they did not know themselves, where the one started and the other ended.

Thus it goes on for four pages and then the pornographic aspersions without which a "true" picture of Mormonism in those days would not be complete:

In Salt Lake City, the new Jerusalem, is still located the center of the Mormon state. Here is found an extremely beautiful "Temple" which no "gentile" is allowed to enter. Within its walls all kinds of secret ceremonies are performed, which partly seem to be of a shameful character.

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9 C. F. Lundins, Kyrkohistoria för Hemmet (Church History for the Home), Stockholm, 1908.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

11 Sanningens Tolk (The Interpreter of the Truth), (Chicago, Illinois), May 18 - August 18, 1904.
The main Committee report was written by a Mr. Åslev. "On the advice of knowledgeable men the Emigration Investigation Committee turned to one of the foremost Swedish specialists on Mormonism, Pastor P. E. Åslev." He was the pastor of the old Swedish Lutheran Congregation in Salt Lake City, 1895-1902. One of the cabinet members felt that he possessed "peculiar possibilities for such a task, as he previously served in Utah as a minister of the Augustana Synod and for this reason is able to tell of the conditions out there from a personal point of view."  

Mr. Åslev reported:

The leaders' motives for their propaganda . . . is to gain money . . . to keep their members in poverty and depending upon the rich priesthood . . . to strengthen those that are weak in the faith. When somebody begins to weaken in his faith on Mormonism he is often called as a missionary. When he has preached Mormonism for two years to others he is also himself believing. He has been lying so long, that he himself believes those things that he has proclaimed to be the truth . . . . Most of the missionaries are young, wild fellows, who need to get out to learn to behave. Many times the young missionary returned reformed on the outside . . to fill the ranks of the apostates . . . in a true Christian sense there is nothing that is good in Mormonism.

Without giving any proof he stated that the death percent among "those baptized to the Mormons is very high. The reasons are found in the sorrows and disappointments that these deceived souls suffer. Many fade away by their fanatic longing for the Mormon Zion." He also

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12 Emigrationsutredningen, Bilaga III, Mormonvärfningen, (Stockholm, Kungliga Boktryckeriet, F. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1910), p.3. In the text called Mormonvärfningen.

13 Riksdagens Protokoll, Första Kammaren, 13 March 1915, Number 34, p. 2.

14 Mormonvärfningen, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

15 Ibid., p. 28.
noted that one reason so many emigrants were not baptized before they left Sweden for Utah was that only the "Utah baptism" was valid for the higher salvation,16 which was contrary to Mormon belief.

Not all of the members of the Parliament were, however, too impressed with Mr. Åslev. "His activity has been sharply, strongly and severely criticized from many sources,"17 stated one of the parliamentarians while another said: "His reliability may be rather so and so, and I would like to see our own parish priests educate our own people in this matter."18

Others expressed strong doubts about his ability and usefulness and one went so far as to say, "This travelling purveyor of Mormon terror, who traverses our kingdom and needs to be recharged now and then -- as stated by the cabinet member--is not a very tasteful thing in our country."19

The Mormons themselves did not feel too happy about most of what Mr. Åslev said, but made very little effort to gainsay him in the press, probably because most papers would not accept their articles.20

The conclusions reached by the Emigration Investigation Committee were that somehow the Mormon propaganda and recruitment of emigrants must be stopped by deporting the missionaries from Sweden and the employment of an expert on Mormonism and the Mormons to spread

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16Ibid., p. 28.
17Riksdagens Protokoll, Första Kammaren, op. cit., p. 3.
18Ibid., p. 5.
19Ibid., p. 9.
20Ibid., August 26, 1909.
this knowledge in the name of enlightenment and information to all Sweden. 21

While the content of the vigilante letter and the conclusions of the Emigration Investigation Committee were considered by the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, more wood was thrown on the anti-Mormon fire by newspapers of different political shades, by the Augustana Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, by the General Swedish Ministerial Association and by the General Swedish Church Council. The press supplied its fire wood by generously publishing hundreds of articles about the Mormons, about one hundred of which, nearly unanimous in their condemnation of the Mormons and echoing the sentiments of the vigilante committee and its supporters, were made part of the official parliamentary record.

The Augustana Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States presented a letter "in the name of 200,000 Swedish-Americans" to direct the attention of the Department to the necessity of fast and immediate action against the Mormon propaganda. The instigators of the letter were four former Synod missionaries to Utah, who claimed that the Mormon institution was a religious sect in name only, and only served to satisfy the material interests of its leaders and that plural marriage, despite the laws against it, still flourished in Utah. 22

The General Swedish Ministerial Association, founded in 1903 as a forum for important ecclesiastical questions among the clergy. 23

21 *Mormonvårfningen*, op. cit., p. 53.
22 Ibid., pp. 529-530.
put another log on the crackling anti-Mormon fire with its letter of support for the conclusion drawn by the Emigration Investigation Committee and suggested that a "tract with authentic information about Mormonism be published and available on request and that the leaders, sent hither from America to propagandize, be deported."\textsuperscript{24}

But the pile of firewood was not yet exhausted. The Church Council, influential and highly respected, made up of fifty high representatives of the clergy and laymen, presented a lengthy memorandum. It urged the civil authorities to remove from the realm "citizens of foreign countries, which arrive in Sweden to agitate for Mormonism."\textsuperscript{25} It also stated that nearly without exception the victims of the agitators were "young persons with little schooling. They prefer to turn to youth and the working class, to crofters, craftsmen, laborers, maid servants, as it is good labor Utah especially wants."\textsuperscript{26}

Finally, it suggested necessary action against native Swedes who participated in proselyting for the Mormons.\textsuperscript{27}

Studying the reports, the Secretary concluded "that the authorities ought to take action to stem the proselyting and emigration-inducing 'traffic,' which long had been going on in Sweden. The only difference of opinion that may arise may be the way or action of reaching the goal."\textsuperscript{28}

As a result of his conclusion, the Secretary recommended to the Parliament that 8,000 crowns be appropriated to counteract through public

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{24}Department of Civil Affairs Proposition 1912:202, op. cit., pg. 530.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 530.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 531.
\item \textsuperscript{27}Ibid., p. 532.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Ibid., p. 533.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
information the Mormon agitation for emigration, the money to be used according to the wishes of the government.

THE QUESTION "ON THE FLOOR"

The question reached the floor of the two houses of Parliament for the first time in 1912, sixty-two years after Mormonism was first heard in Sweden. It was also debated by both Chambers in their regular sessions in 1913, 1914 and in the special session of 1914, while only the Lower House debated it in 1915, the last time it was brought up.²⁹

As the debates followed the same pattern and the same arguments at all five occasions, we will just summarize them here.

As stated earlier, the two main objections to the Mormons were polygamy and emigration. These were connected, since the latter in the minds of many simply meant the emigration of young, fair maidens to Utah where they were the victims of either polygamy or prostitution.

One of the most telling arguments used by the forces who opposed the Mormon activities was the vigilante statement quoted previously, that in "1905 more than 500 young women were led from Sweden to Utah."³⁰ It was quoted many times over by the members of both Houses and nobody seemed to question the validity of those figures. However, a check of the 1905 emigration records of the Swedish mission, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,³¹ shows that ninety-six


³⁰Refer to page 40.

³¹Available at Historical Department or the Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
persons emigrated, and a closer screening of the records indicate that thirty of these were women, not all of them suited for the "white slave trade," as they were between the ages of one to fifty-two. It is regrettable that the vigilante committee did not give its source of information of more than 500 young women, and still more to ponder that the Emigration Investigation Committee itself was not more careful in checking its own published information on page forty-eight, which confirms the figure ninety-six. Even though the official Church figures may be off some, allowing for errors, private and unreported emigration, etc., there still remains a gross credibility gap, which must be ascribed to zealous concern by the vigilantes, propaganda, negative wishful thinking, and sensationalism.

Another point concerning Mormon emigration that was stressed may best be expressed in the words of the Emigration Investigation Committee:

The statistics show clearly that the main damaging consequence of the propaganda by the Mormon-agents is emigration. Their religion is such that each and every one who believes in it must emigrate. . . . Every home into which their agents manage to infiltrate will sooner or later be ruined and destroyed. First of all these 60 or 70 roving agents try to catch the woman in the home. When they arrive back in Utah after their so-called mission, they boast over their shameful acts towards woman.

32 Mormonvärfningen, op. cit., p. 38.

33 Church sponsored emigration stopped, when the Edmunds-Tucker Act made the Perpetual Emigration Fund unlawful (1887).

34 They had reason for concern as in August of 1909 the New York City authorities checked an emigrant home sponsored by the Augu-
tana Synod and could not locate or find a trace of 200 girls at the addres-
ses given by the supervisor of the home. (Utah Posten, August 19, 1909 --a Swedish weekly newspaper owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1902-1935).

35 Mormonvärfningen, op. cit., p. 18.
The small minority of the members of the Parliament, who felt that the anti-Mormon fire was too strong, argued that the Mormon emigration was too insignificant. They suggested that of nearly 47,000 people who left Sweden for the United States during the three years of 1907-1909 only 250 were Mormons--one out of 184. Not fully 8,000 Mormons emigrated since 1850, or about 130 a year, while the total emigration was nearly 900,000 or roughly 1% Mormon. They maintained that the only way to stop emigration was to create a climate within the country for its citizens wherein they could grow intellectually, have freedom from hunger, and receive a good schooling.

In the question of plural marriage, the anti-Mormon forces felt that the Mormons could not be trusted. They contended that the Mormons gave up polygamy with the issuing of the Manifesto in 1890, to gain the material advantages wrought by the change of territory to state for Utah. That did not mean, however, that plural marriage had been given up in their religion. In support of this argument, Section 132:6-7 of the Doctrine and Covenants was quoted.

And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fulness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fulness thereof must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these: All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into and sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power

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in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and keys of this priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead.

Not only these two verses but the whole section was made out to refer to plural marriage, which is contrary to the official Mormon point of view.

When the opposition brought out that Utah was not very suited for polygamy as there were fewer women than men, the reply was that this would be one reason for proselyting to get more women over there.

There was reason for distrust among the anti-Mormon forces about the Mormons having ended plural marriage. In 1906 a Mormon in Indal of Central Sweden received an invitation from a former Mormon missionary there to "come to Mexico to become his plural wife." He lived at Dublan, Mexico, at the time. The content of the letter was circulated through the Swedish press. It was, however, not mentioned in the papers that he was excommunicated from the Mormon Church on initiative of the highest leaders of the Church, when found out.37

The members of the Parliament who stood on the side of the Mormons in the polygamy question brought out that America was capable of enforcing the laws against polygamy and that the public opinion was so strongly against it, that it could not flourish.38

37 Letter by First Presidency, dated December 18, 1906. Copy in the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

38 Riksdagen Protokoll, Andra Kammaren, 12 August 1915, Number 60, p. 79.
Besides the two main questions of emigration and polygamy, a minor debate about religious freedom also took place. The minority suggested religious freedom, but the majority against the Mormons did not see the problem in that light, as seen from the following statement by one of its leaders:

"This is not a question of religious persecution, at least that was not my intention with this bill, but I thought and still think, that it is not good that these foreign subjects are allowed to spread propaganda, which without doubt, is intended to get people to emigrate to foreign countries." 39

THE GREATER PERSPECTIVE

The Mormon problem was not debated or brought to its peak at this time only in Sweden. In Utah a bitter debate and namecalling contest went on in the anti-Mormon and Mormon papers, and all over the USA, Mormons and Mormon doctrines were the objects of the same kind of behavior. Its roots stretched far back in Mormon history. The bitterness engendered in Utah and the USA stretched across the ocean to Europe and its Northern Kingdoms. It finally centered in the world-wide white slave trade problem, and, in Sweden especially, in the burning emigration question.

Sweden felt bled of many of its valuable laborers, who had fled the old sod for the richer rewards far across the ocean. Official Sweden looked upon "these farmhands, housemaids and workers . . . almost as traitors to their country." 40 This feeling was reinforced during the years just prior to the Mormon debate, because of the far-reaching investigation

39 Riksdagen Protokoll, Andra Kammaren, op. cit., p. 75.
into the causes of Swedish emigration to the USA mentioned earlier in this article.

These two great social questions were debated at the same time in Sweden, and the Mormons were caught up in them because of their earlier practise of polygamy and continuing to "gather to their Zion."

THE VERDICT

The first four Parliament sessions (1912, 1913, and 1914 A and B) debating the Mormon question voted in favor of appropriating money to combat Mormonism. This was to be done mainly by Mr. Åslev through speeches and the printed word.

The session of 1915 saw a change of verdict. The appropriation was voted down. The reasons for this change seem to be several.

The anti-Mormon propaganda by Mr. Åslev did not seem to have the anticipated effect. The Parliament felt that towards the end, he did not have the freshness in his arguments that he needed to convince. It also felt that the Mormons really were no problem as they were so few. The first world war had somewhat curtailed the sending of Mormon missionaries from Utah to Sweden, and also drastically curtailed the emigration westward.

The last vote in 1915 denying additional funds for anti-Mormon propaganda was certainly the most important from the Mormon point of view, as it could be taken as a license for its missionaries to proselyte without interference from public officials. And with the two major issues fading away to the taps of the heavy guns of the first world war, a somewhat fragile peace settled over the combatant forces, lasting with very rare exceptions until the law of full religious freedom was enacted
in the same parliamentary chambers on the first day of 1952.41

CHAPTER V

FROM WORLD WAR TO WORLD WAR

The twenty-five years from the beginning of World War I to the beginning of World War II may probably be described as a holding period for the Swedish Mission. Even though many developments took place, it seems as if any real increase in number of members, in missionary activities, in new programs, etc., was very limited. The number of members at the beginning of the period was about 1,750 and at the end around 100 less. There were fifteen missionaries at the outbreak of the first of the two wars and at the start of the second about sixty.

Besides the effects of the war itself, probably the most important event in the mission during this quarter of a century was the renewed government attempt to prevent Mormon missionaries from America from entering Sweden.

Among other events and trends may be included the change in the make up of the missionary force, the shift of editors for the mission magazine Nordstjärnan from "Zion-trained" to native Swedes, new editions of the Standard Works, conscientious public relations efforts, and the beginning of the mission-wide youth conferences, the latter being treated separately in Chapter VII.

THE MISSION DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Even though Sweden was not one of the warring nations, it still felt the consequence of that great war to end all wars. To the Saints it
meant that the number of missionaries from far off Zion was drastically cut and that they themselves had to take over many of the responsibilities the latter previously carried.

The early years also saw the conclusion of the Mormon question in the Swedish Parliament, as discussed in the preceding chapter. Nordstjärnan, the official Swedish mission organ, ceased publication for more than a year, mostly due to financial problems.¹

In September of 1914, the head of the European Mission sent word to the different mission headquarters in Europe to prepare their respective missions and branches to be left without missionaries. The warning had hardly arrived before reality set in.

Many governments of Europe asked American citizens to leave their countries to avoid embarrassing and dangerous situations that might arise due to war activities. The European headquarters in Liverpool ordered missionaries in Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden² back to the United States, with few exceptions, to fill their unexpired proselyting term of about three years. Thirty-seven of these "Zion Elders" left Sweden in October, 1914, leaving a large gap, which the local members, who had promised to carry on the work, tried to fill. They seemed fairly successful; the attendance at Malmö branch MIA in 1914 averaged 31.09 and the following year 31.00.³ The Relief Society in the same branch had a constant attendance of about fifteen through the four war years.⁴

²Ibid., XXXVIII (1914), 360.
³Malmö" Branch MIA Minute Book, 1914-1915, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, No.4047, p. 255.
⁴Malmö Branch Relief Society Minute Book, 1912-1916. Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, No.4027.
The leadership positions in the districts and branches were filled by the few missionaries from Zion still in Sweden, but they seem to have had difficulty, because they were too few. President Tobiason, for example, served for a time as both branch, district and mission president in Stockholm.5

RESTRICTED VISAS

The 1920's may probably be characterized as the low point of esteem for Mormonism in Sweden. The missionaries were few, the press continued to publish anti-Mormon stories and rebuttals were seldom allowed. The depression set in, making it difficult for the Saints, who mainly consisted of lower income people, to meet their obligations and show progress.

The government held up visas, continuing to hold to the idea that the Church had not sincerely renounced polygamy. In 1920, the Swedish government through its Department of Foreign Affairs restricted the issuing of visas to Mormon missionaries. The Swedish consulates in Montreal, New York, Chicago and Minneapolis were not allowed to approve visas for "travelling to or through Sweden for Mormon agents," without special permission in each case.6

An appeal was made to the King, signed by the two native members of the Stockholm branch presidency, in which they asked in the name and behalf of the two thousand Swedish Mormons, that visas should be

5Quarterly Historical Report of the Swedish Mission, July 27, 1919, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

6"Foreign Churches--Mormonism," on file at the Archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, December 17, 1920. (This dossier has been microfilmed and is available at the J. Reuben Clark Library, BYU.)
issued to the missionaries who:

... as a rule are Swedish-Americans and number thirteen. Their activity consists of preaching, teaching and administering the affairs of our congregation at places where branches are established. There are as far as we know no reasons for a denial of passports, but we look upon it as a marked religious persecution, against which we convey our sharpest and most sincere protest to Your Royal Majesty. ...\(^7\)

Enclosed with the petition were excerpts from the Mormon magazine *Nordstjäman*, quoting the protests of United States senators against slanderous newspaper articles against the Mormons.\(^8\)

On April 11, 1921, the American Minister to Sweden informed "The Royal Swedish Government that the Mormon Church invites any investigation which the Swedish Government may desire to make and will be glad to pay the expenses, both to and from Utah, of any investigator which the Swedish Government may desire to send."\(^9\) But eleven days later the Swedish Cabinet turned down the invitation, giving no reason for its action.\(^10\)

There the affairs stood until the end of 1923, when the U. S. minister to Sweden sent a note to the Royal Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that the policy of the Swedish Government not "to grant visas to persons belonging to the congregation 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,' who have had the intention of carrying on missionary work ... may possibly be due to a lack of adequate information."\(^11\)

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\(^7\) Ibid., April 5, 1921.  \(^8\) Ibid.

\(^9\) Ibid., April 11, 1921.  \(^10\) Ibid., April 22, 1921.

\(^11\) Ibid., December 29, 1923.
"In order to remove all possible misapprehension," he further explained that polygamy was abandoned before Utah was admitted to statehood in 1896. He noted with sharpness that

The present attitude of my Government is that Mormon missionaries are entitled to the same impartial protection as that enjoyed by other American citizens in defense of their just and lawful rights and that they shall be treated as other religious propagandists, no discrimination being shown against them for belonging to this particular sect.

The note continued in the same sharp tone:

The action of the Royal Government in denying visas to American citizens on the ground of their being Mormon missionaries, appears to me as a discrimination against my compatriots for which no satisfactory explanation has been made.

The same diplomatic dispatch also noted the inconsistency in the official Swedish position to "permit Americans of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian or Icelandic birth to enter Sweden without a visa" making it possible for a Mormon missionary born in any of the Scandinavian countries to enter Sweden without hindrance.

The key question of the Swedish Government seemed to have been whether Mormons practiced polygamy or not. Through its legation in Washington, D.C., the Swedish Consul in Salt Lake City was asked to submit a memorandum in the question. His reply, marked "confidential," was both a "Yes and No."

His conclusions were that "polygamy is rooted as deeply as ever in the Mormon doctrine, and still exists to a certain degree, but the Mormons of today are forced to obey the laws of the land."  

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12Ibid.  
13Ibid., December 17, 1923.  
14Ibid.  
15Ibid., January 22, 1924.
The confidential reply by the Legation to the Swedish Secretary of State read in part,

Replying to your Excellency's coded telegram whether the Mormons still practice polygamy, the officials have assured that such is not the case . . . . According to the opinion of the consul, it seems as if the Mormons refrain from entering double marriages, while those already entered into remain. The Mormons only wait for the first opportunity to repeal the law against plural marriage.16

However, the sharp note from the American minister, referred to on previous pages seems to have been the deciding factor in the government decision and in June of 1924, the Swedish Government informed the U. S. minister of its decision to apply to persons belonging to the Mormon Church entering Sweden the same visa regulations as those governing other foreigners.17

Thus the issue was settled and since then no Mormon proselyters have had any legal difficulties in entering Sweden, even though the law was not changed until 1952 to allow free worship. Part of these more liberal views and government non-action towards dissenting churches may be ascribed to the change-over of political power from the Conservative and Center parties to the Social Democratic party, which has been in a governing position most of the time since after World War I,18 and has taken a rather lukewarm attitude toward religion.

16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., June 10, 1924.
MISSIONARY WORK

Although no statistics are available, it seems as if the bulk of the missionaries from the beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century until the between-World-War-years was made up of Swedish converts, who had emigrated to their Zion and gone back years later to Sweden to proselyte. However, it appears as if this source was running dry with the very limited Mormon emigration from the beginning of the twentieth century. Instead, a later generation of young Swedish-Americans, born in America, with little knowledge of the Swedish language, began to make up the majority of the missionary force, which meant that the newly arrived missionary would not be as effective as his predecessors had been during the early part of the respective missions. It seems as if no fair comparisons can be made between the groups as to effectiveness due to the many other factors involved; however, the conversion rate in the first decade of the mission was about two persons per missionary per year and in the late thirties about one person per year.¹⁹

NORDSTJÄRNAN

A change in the make up of the editors of the semi-monthly mission magazine Nordstjärrnan also took place in this period. The previous editors came from the same source as the early missionaries, as mentioned above, but in the middle twenties a Swedish editor took over and this practice has continued ever since.

¹⁹See Appendix A.
Nine chapters of *Jesus the Christ,* considered one of the greatest books of Mormon theology, were published in Nordstjärnan from 1932–1935, and chapters ten and eleven in 1937. The balance was never published, indicating a lack of enough capable translators. The book *Added Upon* (*Krönta med större härlighet*), translated in the twenties, was presented during 1936 and 1937. The content of Nordstjärnan was mostly left to the editor to decide, with the mission president usually presenting an editorial in every number.

**PRINTED WORKS**

The three distinct Mormon scriptures beyond the Bible were all issued in the between-years. The new editions conformed to the Swedish spelling reform of 1906, but not very closely to the new official Swedish Bible translation of 1917.

The *Pearl of Great Price,* a volume of Mormon scripture, was published in Swedish for the first time in 1927, being translated in Salt Lake City, and printed by the Church-owned associated newspapers in that city. Prior to this time the members had used the Danish editions which were published in 1883 and 1909.

The second edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants* was published in 1928, forty years after the first. No changes were made in the text

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20 Nordstjärnan, LVI (1932), 374.

21 Ibid., LX (1936), 6.

22 Personal interview with Axel W. Fors, Salt Lake City, a former editor of Nordstjärnan, 21 May 1973.

23 Den Kostliga Pärlan (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1927).
except the spelling, which conformed to language rules adapted in the Swedish spelling reform of 1906. It was printed in double column, contrasting with the previous one which read across the full page.

Six years later the third edition of the Book of Mormon came off the press. It was also printed in double column and the spelling was adjusted to proper form. Changes in the text were made, the most noteworthy of which seems to be in the translation of the idea and word "repentance," which was translated mainly in three different ways: repentance, regret, and do better, the last two being more vague. "Do better," however, conformed to the usage in the accepted Swedish Bible version of 1917.

One of the most beloved books in Mormondom is The Articles of Faith, published in 1899. The Swedish edition was translated in Salt Lake City in 1927, and printed and published in Stockholm in 1930.

PUBLIC RELATIONS ATTEMPTS

In 1936, Gustive O. Larson was called as president of the mission. He was born in Utah of Swedish heritage and was the first president who had never been to Sweden prior to this assignment and as such seems to have been fairly untouched by the defensive attitudes and actions that were naturally so much a part of previous presidencies. He was greatly interested in improving the public image of the Mormons in Sweden and embarked on a public relations program unknown hitherto in the mission. The Mother Church had done likewise, especially since the comprehensive centennial celebrations in 1930 of the founding of the

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Church. The accomplishments of the past hundred years were then enumerated and found great in the eyes of most Mormons. The difficult questions of polygamy, statehood and Mormon finances were settled. A certain aura of respectability began to clothe the Mormon efforts during the previous century. President Larson, above all, tried to transfer this aura into his stewardship.

His thinking was reflected in his statement to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf at an audience in the Stockholm Castle in March of 1938, in connection with the tercentenary of the first Swedish settlement in modern time in America. Of this pleasant experience he wrote:

I hoped to be able to give him the Crown Prince a good impression of the thousands of Swedish-Americans, who are members of the Mormon Church . . .

To the Crown Prince he said:

I wish I could do something to dispell the current misunderstanding while I am in Sweden. I would like to get in closer and more effective contact with the press and publishers of encyclopedias and dictionaries, etc. In America the press has been very favorable to us in later years.

The mission magazine Nordstjärnan began to reflect this increased effort on respectability. Many articles related Mormon accomplishment in the academic, cultural, financial, and other fields.

The public relation efforts received a real shot in the arm with the visit of the Church president Heber J. Grant to Sweden.

The newspapers were interested in him as an American businessman and leader of several financial institutions, interested in him as a leader of an economical and social experiment which recently

25 Nordstjärnan, LXII (1938), 183.
26 Ibid.
27 Refers to newly implemented Welfare Program, which still is in effect and runs on the same principles laid down at the organization in 1936.
has brought him and Mormons to the forepoint in America, but also interested in him as the head of a large religious system. 28

The eighty-one year old president visited the mission August 19–25, 1937, and held meetings in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, speaking to congregations of about 350 in each city. His speeches dealt with the content of the thirteen Mormon articles of faith and of what Mormonism had wrought in its more than century-long existence. He delighted in telling the story of his visit to King Oskar at his previous visit to Sweden in 1904, when the King told him that he had looked into the problem of the Mormons in America and found that "nowhere were the Swedes better off than among the Mormons in Utah." 29

Besides the regular proselyting efforts of tracting from door to door, the missionaries were also organized into basketball teams and singing groups to perform for non-member clubs and associations. Basketball was a girls' sport in Sweden and the press showed little or no interest in promoting it, until the players incorporated as a club and joined the National Athletic Association. 30 Games were played in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Sündsvall; the public interest was slim and the project died as the missionaries left Sweden at the outbreak of the second world war.

The singing group "The Harmony Singers" fared somewhat better than the ball team and sang for society and service clubs. They were also featured on radio at several occasions, but again, the war stopped this budding attempt to present the Mormon story.

28 Nordstjärnan, LXI (1937), 420.
29 Ibid., LX(1936), 420.
30 Ibid., LXI (1937), 301.
President Larson reported his stewardship in the 1939 October General Conference in Salt Lake City, stating:

We have made some progress in Sweden during the time we have been there. Especially in the breaking down of prejudice against our people and in the making of friends among all classes, high and low, we have been particularly fortunate. Never before has the Swedish press responded to Mormonism so liberally and so favorably. The American Harmony Singers, known throughout Sweden as a Mormon Missionary Chorus, have appeared almost each month on the national radio broadcast with their own programs since last winter and always they have left the radio offices with an invitation to come again. The American Harmony Singers have given concerts and song services to which thousands have been attracted who have heard the message of the Gospel.  

This happy presentation took on a more sober tone, when the result of the proselyting efforts were reported. Said he:

... the return on our expenditures, and our efforts in Europe have not been altogether satisfactory ... if we measure in terms of effective preaching of the Gospel as reflected in increased membership, then there is much room for improvement.

MISSION PRESIDENTS

In May, 1916, President Tobliason was succeeded by Anders P. Anderson from Utah, who had served as a missionary for a year since his arrival in 1915. The small missionary force, less than twenty under his command, seemed to work very intensely, distributing in 1917, for example, 169,000 tracts and pamphlets, visiting the homes of 190,000 strangers and holding about 10,000 gospel conversations, adding eighty-three souls to the Church. He found it necessary to discontinue the publishing

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31 Gustive O. Larson, General Conference Address, Official Report of the One Hundred and Ninth Semi-Annual General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 6, 7, and 8, 1939 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, n.d.), p. 51.

32 Ibid.
of the mission magazine in 1918. Elder Tobiason arrived for his second term as president in 1919, and immediately re-issued Nordstjärnan after more than a year's suspension. The following year he dedicated a simple chapel owned by the Church in Gothenburg. Towards the end of 1922 President Tobiason returned to his home in Utah for a short stay, leaving the secretary Oscar W. Soderberg temporarily in charge of the mission. He was not able to get a visa to return, and what could be classified as "caretaker" presidencies took over for some years. 33

Isaac P. Thunell came as a baby to Utah from Stockholm and served his second mission in Sweden when called to preside. He managed to stay his full term, even though threatened by banishment during the visa problems described earlier in this chapter. After a little more than a year he appointed Gideon N. Hulterstrom his successor, who with his wife Signe had served in the mission field since 1920. The missionary force started to grow at this time after having been held under ten during the years 1918-1922 due to problems associated with the first world war. After less than a year, Hugo D. E. Peterson took charge of the mission. He saw the visa problem solved, and answered many scurrilous newspaper articles, being a newspaper man himself. In this process he engaged in a written dialogue with the world famous Swedish Arch. Bishop Nathan Soderblom, who made what the Mormons consider a very intolerant attack on them, stating, "My study of the rise and history of the Mormon Church makes it impossible for me to count it in with the Christian Church." 34 The Arch Bishop, however, only echoed the official

33No derogatory implication intended.

Government position, grouping the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints among non-Christian sects.

Elder Peterson was followed by John H. Anderson, born in Logan, Utah, where he had served as mayor, but due to failing health he was succeeded after a year by the editor of Nordstjärnman, Andrew Johnson, a native Swede, who had lived about thirty years in Zion prior to his return as a missionary.

A law permitting funerals to be conducted outside the jurisdiction of the State Church was enacted during this period in 1926. It seems as if only the branches in Stockholm and Gothenburg were able to take advantage of this, while the humble meeting halls at other places did not lend themselves to such services due to their small sizes and narrow doors, etc. With the advent of the Church-owned chapels in the 1950's, this picture changed and funerals became part of Mormon services.

The "caretaker" presidencies ended with President Johnson's release a year later, having successfully weathered the visa storm, kept the mission organization and membership fairly intact and deployed the growing missionary force.

Elder Hulterstrom filled his second term as president, 1927-1931, publishing new editions of the Standard Works and preaching mightily all through the country. He led the special celebration at the one hundredth birthday of the Church on April 6, 1930, culminating in the "Hosannah" shouts, so distinct in Mormon solemn celebrations.

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The same year the Primary auxiliary organization was introduced in the mission, Göteborg branch starting out and soon followed by the others. This organization was founded in 1878 to give the pre-teenagers a midweek activity with religious instruction, and to prepare the young boys for receiving the priesthood.

An accomplished businessman, Gustave W. Forsberg, who emigrated to Utah at age twelve, served the next three years. He spent two full months translating lessons, showing a growing need for translators, as expressed by a later mission president at the issuing of a new booklet:

This booklet presents a good example of the difficulty of our translation problem. The original Swedish manuscript for this project passed through the hands of four translators and then was finally rejected.36

Hugo D. E. Peterson came back to his second presidency 1934-1936, during the depression years, which cut the missionaries from about forty-three in 1930, to twenty-four five years later. The valuable annual mission-wide youth conferences had their beginning in his stewardship. He had introduced picture slides and pictures as lecture helps in his first presidency and continued using this proselyting tool about the history of the Church.

The last president before World War II was Gustive O. Larson, whose great contribution of public relations effort is described earlier in this chapter. He organized mission presidencies for the Relief Societies and the MIA, with most leaders coming from the Stockholm branch. However, shortage of leaders due to this added burden caused the Young

36Quarterly Historical Report of the Swedish Mission, December 20, 1937, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Men's MIA mission presidency to be drawn from the young men in the Göteborg branch, while Young Women's was located in Stockholm. It did not make for the greatest efficiency, but taught the young people a greater vision. The experience won by these presidencies during those first few years stood the mission in good stead, when at the outbreak of World War II, it was left without any leaders from Zion.
CHAPTER VI

THE WORLD WAR II PERIOD

With the outbreak of the second world war in Europe, Mormon leaders and missionaries were called back to America. For the first time since the 1850's, the mission stood without leadership from the Church headquarters in Utah.

Elder C. Fritz Johansson\(^1\) was called to preside. He and the mission faced a situation never before experienced by either. The president of the mission had to act on his own in nearly all decisions, as communication between the headquarters in Stockholm and Salt Lake City was severely hampered. All leadership in the mission, the districts and branches and all the auxiliary organizations had to come from the local members. All funds to pay for upkeep of the Church-owned mission headquarters and the rented meeting halls, for the printing of the mission magazine *Nordstjärnan*, tracts, books, and lesson material had to come from within the mission, as no funds could be or were sent from the Church headquarters in Salt Lake City.

MISSION PRESIDENTS

President Gustive O. Larson left Sweden in August of 1939, after his release by the First Presidency. However, a successor to him was not announced. The mission was in temporary charge of Elder Eugene R.

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\(^1\)Not related to the author.
Krantz, a young missionary, who had served as mission secretary to President Larson. On him fell the great responsibility of evacuating all the missionaries at the outbreak of the war, which was completed by October. Most of them departed from Copenhagen and Gothenburg on any ship available, passenger or cargo, and it seems to have been accomplished in an orderly fashion.²

Elder Joseph Fielding Smith of the Council of Twelve (later President of the Church) visited the European Missions and directed the evacuation of all the missionaries in Europe. Before leaving Copenhagen, he appointed the President of the Norwegian Mission, John A. Israelsen, to preside also over the Swedish. However, he was not able to get a passport to Sweden before his departure for the United States. To the Swedish Saints he wrote, "Therefore I have to assist Elder Johansson and the other local officers the best I know from Oslo by correspondence." This was the only correspondence between them, however, due to the evacuation of President Israelsen for America soon after.³

Before Elder Krantz left Stockholm in October 1939, he turned over the presidency to C. Fritz Johansson, who had served as a missionary since the beginning of the year.⁴ He was a convert of a few years and had sold his little grocery business in order to volunteer his services as a missionary. He was president of the Vingåker branch when set apart by Elder Krantz as Mission President, by the laying on of hands.

During the war, Elder Thomas McKay, an Assistant to the Twelve

³Nordstjärnan, LXIII (1939), 345.
Apostles, supervised all the European missions from the Church Head-
quarters in Salt Lake City, and the correspondence went through him, 
President Johansson was able to forward information, letters and reports 
from the presidents of the occupied Danish and Norwegian missions, 
which understandably had to be handled in a very delicate way.

EVERY MEMBER A MISSIONARY

President Johansson decided at the outset that no curtailing of 
activities should take place unless absolutely necessary:

... I had this thought: "If we only can hold the line, until 
the new president arrives." That was my goal. 
We held the line, for the most important was the quality of 
the members of the whole mission and their attitude towards the 
Gospel, for that was something we could build on, even if we 
were not very many.\(^5\)

In a few months the districts and branches were meagerly, but 
properly, staffed.

An editorial appeared in the Church magazine *Nordstjärnan* early 
in 1940, with the challenge, "Every Member a Missionary."\(^6\) It indicated 
to the members not so much a proselyting effort as a very serious admoni-
tion to set their own lives in order, to conform more closely to the teach-
ings of the Church and to a greater personal dedication to service in 
Church callings. President Johansson viewed the situation in the follow-
ing light:

I considered of greatest importance to us to keep the branches 
we had, for the day would come, when the war would be over and 
the missionaries be back. How would it be if we did not have our 
branches as pillars or centers for them to work from, so I concluded

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\(^5\)Taped interview with President C. Fritz Johansson, January 27, 

\(^6\)*Nordstjärnan*, LXIV (1940), 88.
immediately what we needed in the mission—the most important of all was to preach repentance.  

The result was not long in coming, according to him:

We had a few men in different places, who were real pillars and we preached repentance, and I must say that it was like turning a hand, and from that day the members began to realize the value of doing and living the Gospel.

The editorial and the preaching of repentance seemed to have stirred the members. The mission held its own and the members increased in devotion and spirituality. The mission became self-supporting, increasing the tithing by nearly 300 per cent, and keeping the meeting halls held at the outbreak of the war, or renting new and better ones.

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS AND THE MILITARY

Even though Sweden was not in actual warfare, its people were nevertheless put on war footing; its army stood guard along the outstretched borders of the realm. All the Latter-day Saints, as far as known, who were eligible for military service, served in the armed forces. Many of them volunteered and others unhesitatingly fulfilled their several tours of duty. They seemed to have no problems in obeying the Twelfth Article of Faith in being "subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." It is estimated that one-third of about one hundred and fifty priesthood bearers who were of military

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7 Oral History Program, "C. Fritz Johansson," (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), February 23, 1973. (Only available on tape.)

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Joseph Smith, "The Articles of Faith," The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952).
age, twenty-one to forty-six, served in the Army. This naturally caused
problems in the branches where leadership was at a premium all the time.
Before the war the missionaries very often exercised leadership in the
branches besides carrying out their proselyting activities, consequently
the local priesthood was not well prepared for leadership as the war broke
out. Even though the mission presidents had made some efforts to train
the local members for leadership, it had not been done on a systematic
and thorough scale. President Johansson stated:

They were not prepared ... one of the branch presidents said
to me, that they didn't know what to do. When a child was to be
blessed or any other sacred ordinance needed to be performed, they
seemed lost and did not understand what it was all about.\(^{11}\)

Upon one other occasion he said:

The problem we had was that the Priesthood was very untrained.
We were scared when we visited the branches; we could hardly call
on anybody, even though they held the Melchizedek Priesthood, to
officiate, to bless a child, or perform some other ordinance in the
Church, even to speak or to testify. Part of this came probably from
too much dependence on the missionaries. It was customary that
they were the pillars in the branches, for they handled everything
... and the /local/ priesthood had, it seemed, turned over too
much of its responsibility to them.\(^{12}\)

Since military service caused the branch leaders to move around,
they were not able to perform their duties consistently. It was quite
common that a man of military age would be in the service for six months
to a year and then be discharged, and then again be called back into ser-
vice for a similar period of time, depending on how threatening the situa-
tion was close to the Swedish borders. However, through the moving
around, the priesthood was at times able to participate in the activities


\(^{12}\)Oral History, C. Fritz Johansson.
of other branches and with other Saints at different locations, creating a closer friendship and a stronger bond between them. Due to the Church-wide youth conferences, which had been held annually since 1934, the members had had an opportunity to get to know each other, and the soldiering Saints were not total strangers when they appeared. In fact, it was common for them to write to the Mission Office for information about members living in the general area where they were stationed. They would then visit the scattered Saints, whenever possible, on foot, on bicycle, or by train. This bond between the Saints became so strong, that at the end of the war the active members of the mission felt like one big family in which everyone helped each other in difficult and perilous times. In fact, this feeling is still strong at this writing, more than a quarter of a century later, and is stretching across the ocean. It is more than a strong friendship or a brotherhood and is often subject of conversation, when participants of those years meet.

Another contributor to this feeling of oneness was the annual mission-wide conference as discussed in Chapter IX.

HELP TO SISTER MISSIONS

The bond of friendship did not stretch only within the bounds of Sweden, but also to the neighboring countries. All of the Swedish people, themselves spared occupation, felt a very deep kinship for their sister nations, when on April 9, 1940, Denmark and Norway were overwhelmed by German troops. The same feeling had been expressed towards Finland in its courageous fight against Russia during the winter of 1939-1940.

The Swedish Saints experienced a special feeling of warmth and
brotherhood towards the war-torn surrounding missions. It was expressed in concrete terms especially towards Finland and Norway. Packages of food and clothing were sent to the fellow members of those two missions. Denmark, though occupied, was able to supply its people with the necessities of life in greater abundance and had no real need of this kind of assistance. In fact,

... In Denmark, they were able to send foodstuffs to Norway. On September 8, the Oslo Relief Society gave a good dinner to a number of the aged members. On that occasion those Saints greatly enjoyed such food as had not for a long time been seen in many homes in Norway.13

It was natural that the members in Sweden would turn to Finland first, as it was a part of the Swedish mission. In early 1940,

... when the calamities of war came upon our neighbor Finland, the Swedish Saints were filled with a burning desire to show their love and sympathy towards their suffering fellow members within the Church. A separate collection of clothing and money was started for those who needed our help the most.14

Close to 200 pounds were shipped through the official government agency on this occasion to the about thirty Finnish Saints. Many more relief packages were sent throughout the war years to Finland and Norway. Both food and clothing had to be taken out of the "rather meager rations allotted to each individual, as 'flour, bread, and fats' were rationed already in 1940 and meat the following year and later textiles and shoes."15

Still etched as in marble on the mind of this writer is the picture

13Deseret News/Salt Lake City, December 11, 1943.
14Nordstjärnan, LXV (1940), 128.
of a small and financially humble family, who packed the recently bought boots of both husband and wife with a hope and a prayer, that they would fit the recipients in the Oslo Branch. The senders would have to go without boots for a long time in the rough winter climate, until enough ration cards could be saved for new pairs. Such acts were multiplied manifold as a deep, sincere feeling of brotherhood was developed with the Saints in the suffering nations to the east and west.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The local members were not able to fill the gaps left by the proselyting Elders from America. The military duty was an obstacle, of course, to filling full-time missions. Another obstacle was the financial situation of the Saints, which probably was not strong enough to support a large number of missionaries. Another was the lack of people to serve in a group numbering only a little more than 1500. Another important obstacle would be the attitude of the Saints, who had not been taught to fill missions, as the members in America had.

Despite these problems, several members served, both male and female, the latter especially at the Mission Office in Stockholm. Early in 1945, for example, eight Elders and one sister served full-time, the largest group during the war. During the previous year, thirty-seven persons had been baptized, some of them children of members.

The main activities of the missionaries were, however, to encourage the members to increased spiritual activity. Much time was spent in trying to locate members living too far off to visit regular

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16 Nordstjärnan, LXIX (1945), 126.
meetings. One missionary related, for example, that he spent the whole summer of 1945 on bicycle in Central Sweden, trying to find members. Some of those located thought that they were completely forgotten by the Church, as they had not been visited for fifteen to twenty years. This writer remembers many hours spent in the Mission Office in Stockholm, going through the membership records in an effort to bring them up-to-date and trying to establish the whereabouts of many members. The local Saints were also sent by their leaders to visit members living within a day's travel by bicycle or train, as automobiles were reserved for the most "essential services."

While a lot was accomplished through these different means, they did not cover the membership of the whole mission. It was left for the large group of missionaries from America after the war to continue.

SOME PECULIARITIES

Being on one's own and nearly completely isolated from the Church Headquarters might sometimes lead to what some may call deflections from the true orthodoxy. This writer has chosen to include in this chapter what he rather calls a few peculiarities, distinct for this period, having to do with the translation of certain titles and ordinances, the Word of Wisdom and the use of candlesticks and candles, the latter, however, not distinct only for this period.

A change in the title "president" was made during the war. The word is used in few connections in regular Swedish and sounds somewhat foreign in the Swedish language.

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We tried to adhere to the national feelings during the war and use Swedish expressions, so when we had branch presidents, we called them "congregation leaders" (forsamlingsforeständare). It was especially when visitors would attend, we did not want to appear foreign, especially during the war, because of the prevailing circumstances around the world. We tried to appear as a Swedish church of the Mother Church in Zion. Thus, instead of "president" we used and encouraged the use of "leader" (foreständare). They are the expressions found in the Bible. I did not consider myself a president but a mission leader. 18

It may be noted that the title of President was restored soon after the War.

A retranslation of, at least, the baptismal ceremony, different from the standard earlier used, was also introduced during this period, but it was changed back to the wording in the Swedish Mormon scriptures later. This change can, of course, be ascribed to a matter of translation rather than a change in belief.

The Mormon law of health, called the Word of Wisdom, 19 was especially stressed during the war years, as it had been for years in the Church as a whole. It was part of the personal spiritual purification mentioned earlier. It seems, however, to have been carried a little too far, advocating at times total abstinence of meat, and in some instances also fish and eggs. The mission president saw it in the following light:

We tried to keep all of the programs of the Church; we had genealogy and we stressed the Word of Wisdom. But then there was a group of health enthusiasts and we even baptized one of them. ... He brought with him some of their ideas ... and then one (member) who went too far in nearly everything, but I thought that if you want to hit the forest, you should aim at the sky, so if they stepped out of bounds sometimes, still they would not reach high enough anyway. But we lived the Word of Wisdom, anyway. The

19Doctrine and Covenants 89.
drinking of coffee seemed to have been a problem in the mission, so we encouraged them to drink herb tea instead. 20

The mission magazine Nordstjärnan also contained many articles on the use of fruits and vegetables during these years.

A third peculiarity may have been the appearance of candelabras and candles in some meeting halls. This practice, however, was not general and not peculiar to the war period. The candlestick or candelabra is considered a very distinct gift in Sweden. A group of Norwegian Saints, for example, presented the Malmo Branch a five-armed candelabra of sterling silver in appreciation of what the branch members had done for them during the 1945 youth conference. 21

We never encouraged the Catholic custom and worship of candles (light) in the Swedish Mission. Perhaps a candle on a stick was found in some branches, but it was only used as decoration. None of our members worshipped Catholic Saints as we understand, but we considered it a token of light, and the victory of light and beauty over sin and darkness. 22

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The film "Brigham Young," which in Swedish was called Mormonernas kamp (The Battle of the Mormons), was shown during the early war years in many theatres. However, it did not draw the expected attendance, according to the theatre owners, but was probably still the greatest public relations effort. The branches and members were organized to use this film wherever shown in their missionary efforts. They passed out hand bills, advertising meetings, etc. to the people who went

21 See Chapter VII.
to the show. No increase in membership was evident as a result of the showing, but it seems to have given the Saints a lift. In the words of the Mission President:

"We did not see any increase in membership through the film "Brigham Young," but here, as in missionary work, the results do not show immediately, but I think that it strengthened the members generally, for those who knew the story enjoyed to see Brigham and his great work.... The activity that the branches received from it was very welcome, as it was a kind of missionary work."

The press, both the dailies and the weekly magazines, published some factual and complimentary articles about the Church now and then. At several occasions they praised the Word of Wisdom, as it had in it the idea of a healthy body, which the Swedish people as a whole tried to develop during those perilous days. It seems to this writer that the "worship" of a healthy body has been in the Swedish blood at least since the days of the Vikings.

Several efforts were made to gain access to the airwaves, "to speak, hold morning services and send a sacrament meeting." The applications were denied by the government-appointed Radio Board, which supposedly is independent of the government and controls Sweden's only broadcasting company. President Johansson asked for an explanation to the repeated refusals and was told that

... according to our rules, principles, and statutes, only Christian--State Church and dissenters--organizations and sects, expressing Swedish religious life and whose membership in Sweden is of any consequence, may be given airspace within the program-format of the broadcasts by the Swedish radio."

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24 Nordstjärnan, LXIX (1945), 69.
25 Ibid.
Several applications have been made later, but the Mormon Church in Sweden has not yet been able to fulfill what is still the basic requirements for broadcasting. However, members have appeared on a few special programs of news value and some reportages from Utah have been broadcast.

Thus through the war years the Swedish Saints had managed to keep the Mission going without too much curtailing of activities, leaving a springboard for the accelerating programs that were to follow.
CHAPTER VII

THE YOUTH CONFERENCES

The year 1934 brought the dawn of a new activity, the mission-wide youth conference, which has continued annually until the present with a few breaks and a somewhat changing character. During its many years it has played different roles to different generations of Latter-day Saints. During the 1930's the Saints got to know each other, during the isolation of the war years of the forties they got to strengthen each other, and after the war they met and rejoiced with liberated fellow Scandinavians and newly arrived missionaries from Zion. During the fifties and sixties they learned of the Church-wide program which taught them how to govern and act for themselves and associate with youths across the neighboring borders on internordic levels.

BEGINNING STEPS

The first conference was held in the capital of Stockholm during the Midsummer (June 24) holidays. This was mainly for the MIA leadership, and "a goodly number of youths from Jönköping, Norrköping, Malmö, Göteborg, Västerås, Uppsala, and Stockholm"¹ attended and "all gathered in a leadership meeting, where the different branches reported and problems were discussed concerning the MIA."²

¹Nordstjärnan, LVIII (1934), p. 216.
²Ibid.
The following Midsummer a similar conference was held in Gothenburg, attended by about 125 members:

The first evening of the conference, the local organizations presented a pleasant and interesting program. Sunday morning the MIA officers, teachers, and representatives from the different branches gathered to a report and instruction meeting. . . . Midsummer day, a pleasant excursion took place. . . . with games, walks, swimming, and lunching for the physical well-being; an open air meeting was held afterwards for spiritual food, reminding all of their duties and the deeper joys of life, and giving opportunity to a number of non-members to hear the gospel doctrines. . . . The following day a lengthy discussion meeting was held, where many good suggestions were made.3

Even though the conferences during the next decade followed the pattern of the first two with food for both body and spirit in the form of excursions, instructions, public meetings, both indoors and out of doors, new features were added continually.

In 1937 the missionaries in Sweden participated for the first time. The following year the MIA handbook was introduced. This proved to be of great value as a guide during the war years of the forties when contact with the Church headquarters in America was very scant. The last conference (1939) prior to World War II saw a speech contest with participants from the larger branches, earlier MIA themes being the subjects. Track and field events and softball were also a new feature, wherein both men, women, and missionaries took part. The missionary orchestra played at the closing dance.

Only four branches seemed large enough to handle the conferences, Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö, and Jönköping. The arrangements were sometimes primitive as can be seen from the following invitation to the 1939 conference:

The last few years, Gothenburg has been entrusted with several big tasks, such as arranging these popular youth conferences. We have had the honor twice before--this year it will be the third time. If the first conference, held in Stockholm, was considered primitive, then the first conference arranged in Gothenburg was no less so--we will probably never forget that experience. Among others, no arrangements for lodging, so everyone had to arrange for himself as best he could. The committee tried to do what it could, but as mentioned before, everything was rather primitive. Therefore, one person took an old car and got some old mattresses here and there, and these were laid out in an old attic. The same went for the programs during the following days--nothing was planned or prepared ahead of time, instead the person in charge went around the same day the meeting was due, and sometimes even half an hour before, asking this and that person if he could participate. It is quite understandable that it did not always work, but nevertheless, it was a wonderful time. The main thing was that we all had a good time, because we did. But we did plan a few things, the excursions for example. But now each conference is planned and prepared as if it were an Olympic Festival. Nothing goes wrong, so we have progressed in the right direction.4

This writer, having had the good fortune of being an active participant in the conferences from the beginning through the war years, heartily agrees with the above statement.

CONFERENCES DURING WORLD WAR II

World War II and the political situation in Scandinavia prevented the holding of a mission-wide conference in 1940. The sad and somewhat terse announcement of the cancellation, reflecting the general mood of the whole country, was made in the following somber words: "MIA members, as you all certainly understand, we can have no conference this year. Circumstances do not permit it."5 The conferences of 1941-1945 took on a very special meaning. They became the high point of the total activities, devotion, and commitment of the faithful members. The

4Nordstjärnan, LXVII (1943), p. 178.
5Ibid., LXIV (1940), p. 192.
gatherings were pregnant with national feelings, with thoughts of the neighboring Saints and nations occupied by enemies, with a desire to serve the Lord to the utmost and to develop a personal pureness of heart. They were in reality not youth conferences any longer but general gatherings for the Saints.

Our MIA conferences are becoming for us here in Sweden, what the General Conferences in Zion represent to the people there. Therefore, we wish that still more of the members of our Church here in Sweden would have the opportunity to be present at the conferences. Then our Church would grow still more than it does now. For all those who attend such a conference go back home with a strength and faith and a desire to work still more intensively for the good cause of God.⁶

An added feature at the war year conferences was the so-called riksdag (parliament) which was a discussion period lasting several hours. Among subjects discussed were: cooperative activity, purchase of a summer home for all of the members for vacation, how to get in contact with non-members, and calling full-time missionaries. The feeling and spirit of these conferences were best summarized in the statement by the MIA mission president after the 1943 gathering:

When we think back, the memory of a group of united MIA youths comes to our mind. We were not thinking of our own comfort, only that the whole group would have a good time. We all enjoy to be together . . . . There's a feeling that no disunity can creep into our group. There is no place for envy and meanness. And if we had expected a violent discussion with sharp replies, that is often the result of MIA's riksdag, then we were thoroughly disappointed. The discussion around the subjects: the MIA bulletin, the missionary question, youth camp, vacation home, and cooperative activity did not cause any disputes. Those suggestions that could unite us, so that we would grow closer, were the ones that were accepted. We now dared to discuss, even the subject of cooperative activity, which had been ridiculed at the midsummer conference in Jönköping in 1941, and many good thoughts and ideas were brought out, and they will certainly be ventilated during the coming year. Another proof of the unity was the collection for a good purpose, that was started then. There is something in Frank Lindberg's words: "I can smell the United Order just a little bit."⁷

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Additional features of the conferences were the meetings of other organizations besides MIA. Priesthood meetings were held and in 1944 sixty-one priesthood bearers attended, probably the largest gathering of local priesthood members since the creation of the mission in 1905. The Relief Society also held its meetings. During the war years public open-air meetings were also held and have continued as a part of the conferences. The attendance rose to a little less than 200 of all ages during the latter years.

MEETING THE LIBERATED

The 1945 conference in Malmö was held just a few weeks after the end of the hostilities in Europe and Scandinavia. Some of the leading Norwegian Saints were able to attend, and their presence highlighted the gatherings. Hardly a dry eye was seen in the large hall which was draped with the Swedish, Norwegian, and United States flags when the Norwegian Saints were introduced. Later they expressed their official thanks in the following words:

The conference was a beautiful time, we all felt God’s spirit working on us and abundantly being with us, not only during the meetings but also privately. It was as if we were all guided by a higher power, so that the spiritual feast that we attended left its mark on us. Such gatherings stimulate and give strength and courage to continue the work longer than through the year. And then, as little children, we look forward again to meet you at the next annual conference in Gothenburg. We hope that before then all the trouble in our land will have ended, so that we won’t be a burden to you, but on the contrary, that we can return something for all you have given us. We didn’t think such sacrifice and love possible. It surprised us to such a degree that we felt almost ashamed.8

The tender feelings of brotherhood and compassion, held by the

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8 Nordstjärnan, LXIX (1945), p. 334.
Swedish Saints for their less fortunate brethren during the years of occupation, could finally be expressed in a tender embrace and a solid handclasp. A Norwegian brother spoke for all in one of the meetings when he expressed his joy at being present, of having longed for this opportunity for many years, and wanting to leave the dark years behind and look towards the future with work and joy.9

The feelings of deep solidarity among the Scandinavian Saints gained added expression in the decision by the riksdag that a Nordic conference would be held the following year, hosted by Gothenburg. This turned out to be the only one in the next twenty years.

By this time a fair amount of "normalcy" had been restored to Europe and Scandinavia, and Saints from Denmark and Norway participated as well as the newly arrived mission president from Zion and missionaries. The Saints had come to love the conference during their days of isolation from Zion and with restrictions lifted, with fellow members from Denmark and Norway, they looked forward to many more Nordic gatherings under the MIA banner. However, the reconstruction efforts did not include inter- or intra-mission conferences for several years.

BUILDING A NEW GENERATION

After a break of six years, due mainly to the post-war emigration, which drained nearly all the strength from the organizations for some years, the youth once again had an opportunity to gather in Stockholm in 1952 under the MIA colors to "inspire and learn to know each other, to build and strengthen each other's testimonies and faith and to

9 Nordstjärnan, LXIX (1945), p. 331.
have fun together under good conditions and in a good spirit..."10 as the invitation read.

The Church President, David O. McKay, and his party graced the conference with their presence and gave inspired messages to the more than 400 participants. One of the highlights of the conference was the introduction of the Master M Men and Golden Gleaner programs. It was the largest and most comprehensive conference up to that time and

... everyone that came to Stockholm enjoyed a real MIA program with various general meetings, program meetings, open air meetings, discussions, picnics, parties, and sports contests, and the different participants from the whole country showed an impressive spiritual as well as physical standard.

We hope that these conferences will come again each year, so that we all can get to know each other better. All those who participated in the earlier annual conferences know what a tremendous significance the mission conferences have had for the members and the Swedish Mission.11

The following gatherings during the fifties were carried on in the same spirit as the 1952 conference, with the main purpose of spiritually strengthening and building up all of the members and not only the youth.

The first MIA handbook was translated and introduced in 1953. Drama and speech festivals were made a part of the conferences. The last conference of the decade was held in Jönköping where Elder Le Grande Richards of the Council of the Twelve thrilled the audience of over 500 people at the different meetings with his enthusiastic and spiritually overpowering sermons, "which would leave not even the stone pillars in the mighty meeting hall untouched."12

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10 Nordstjärnan, LXXVI (1952) GUF, p. 3.

11 Ibid., p. 206.

The local press coverage of earlier conferences had been scant and the national nonexistent, but this conference was a turning point.

The Church has probably never before drawn so much public attention in the press and even in the radio as this time. It has been made known over all of Sweden that the Church of Jesus Christ was gathered in a conference. Even if the press comments haven't always been too kind or correct, we can still be happy about the positive sides. It was a wonderful moment for us here in Jönköping, when we were given the opportunity to present the Church of Jesus Christ in the Radio of Sweden for the first time in the history of the Church in Sweden. We are sure that the Eko-program gladdened the hearts of those members who were at home and hear the announcer say: "Mormon Conference in Jönköping." 13

AREA CONFERENCES

By now it was thought that the conferences had grown too big and that not enough participants were actively engaged in them. As one of the goals was to train local leaders, the presidents of the European and Swedish missions expressed their desires that only members of the three southern districts, Gothenburg, Malmö, and Karlskrona, were to participate. During the following two years the districts in central and northern Sweden were to hold conferences, and then on the fourth year all would meet together again. The reports from the conferences speak a very plain language of good instructions but poor attendance.

According to President Omer the instructions were of such quality that he had never heard any better at the conferences in America and both President and Sister Omer expressed their joy over the good organization. As far as attendance goes, it was perhaps the poorest. When our courage began to fail, President Omer gave us, however, a new way of looking at it. This year's conference is the first one to be arranged completely without missionaries, and all work in the Swedish Mission is shaky right now, since our support of many years, the missionaries, have been removed from the branch activities. So we noticed during

13 Nordstjärnan, LXXXIII (1959), p. 369. (Elders Ezra Taft Benson and Alma Sonne were interviewed in the regular radio news program "Dagens Eko" (Today's Echo) in 1946.)
the conference that their support in the form of attendance during the earlier conferences had been a very valuable asset . . .

Once again an MIA conference made history. This year's conference signifies a turning point for the work of MIA. We have proved that we can make it without the missionaries, and we have formed a little nucleus that we know will grow big and strong, so that we sometime in the future will have an MIA in Sweden, that will give the members all the development the Church has in its program. 14

THE NEW GENERATION MATURED

The idea of regional conferences was abandoned, and for the next three years over 200 members met annually in Stockholm for conferences. The missionaries were, however, not involved or attending since the young members and their leaders had grown large enough both in number and spirituality to carry on. In 1964 the MIA mission leaders appraised the situation as follows:

Every branch and district now possess exceptionally capable MIA leaders and the new meeting schedule has permeated everyone so that MIA can work more efficiently than ever before in its great work to give the youth a testimony, that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only true church on the earth, and the only way to eternal salvation and exaltation. 15

During the conferences of the early sixties, the first handbook in Swedish for the Beehives was presented and special emphasis was given to the Church-wide programs for Girls and Vanguards.

A dance festival was held as part of the conference for the first time in 1965, and the highest Vanguard and the Honor Master M Men and Golden Gleaner awards were presented, also for the first time.

The 1965 conference was a showcase of the best

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accomplishments within each of the five districts of the participating youths. The leadership training, which was the main objective of the first conferences thirty years earlier, was transferred to other occasions, mainly in district meetings, and the conference was one great contest between the districts in sports, song, speech, and dance, with worship services being conducted on the final day. The attendance was limited to youths fourteen to twenty-six years old, and nearly 300 participated.

FESTINORD

In 1966 a dream of twenty years came to fruition; the first youth conference for the Nordic countries since 1946 was held. Over 600 participants from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden gathered in Stockholm to

... build testimonies, to know bonds of friendship, to gain cultural experiences and to spread eternal truths and return to the respective countries with a stronger feeling of belonging both to the work of God and to each other."16

Invited to attend were "all youth in the Nordic countries, fourteen to twenty-six years of age, all two-week missionaries, MIA officers and teachers, tour guides and the priesthood leaders of the missions."17 A special effort was made to invite non-Mormon friends to participate.

The MIA program during the months prior to the conference in mid-year was built as a preparation for the conference. It included practices for roadshows, dance, music, sports, fashion shows, photography, etc. The conference itself became

... a success without comparison thus far of a youthful, sparkling kind with one activity following another, and the following day better than the previous one. The whole conference became something of a constant crescendo reaching its climax on Saturday evening. Sunday was, as it should be, the final spiritual culmination, during which about one hundred youths stood up and bore their testimonies; and when the meeting had to be closed, there were still fifty young people waiting to bear their testimonies.18

Similar conferences were held the following five years, 1967-1971, but without the participation of the Finnish youth, as the language problem proved too much of a barrier for them. They were held respectively in Copenhagen, Denmark; Oslo, Norway; Borlänge, Sweden; Aalborg, Denmark; and Skien, Norway, attended in several cases by a General Authority or a member of the MIA General Board from Salt Lake City. These visitors always lent extra dignity, strength and encouragement to the gatherings.

As Festinord went on, however, there developed a practice

... that the various countries would develop a strong team in for instance football, and basketball, and other things, and it became the goal of the various countries to go in there and beat the others. The Danes wanted more than anything to beat the Swedes and the Swedes wanted to beat everyone else. The Norwegians could not beat anybody, their numbers were too small. This meant that the elite played and the ones who were not quite so skilled or capable looked on and in some instances they didn't look on, they wandered out in the forest or took the bus downtown and we lost a little control of them. I felt personally that we had to get more kids involved and more activities.19

This practice and the high cost of the conference made it impractical to continue the Festinord every year. The participants had to bear the total expenses of the gatherings since the Church stopped subsidizing them in 1963.20 At the Skien conference in 1971

18Ibid., p. 294.
19Oral History, Spencer.
20Nordstjärnan, LXXXVII (1963) GUF, p. 2.
... the cost had gone up due to more expensive travel, also the facilities were more expensive, inflation had raged and at this point it had got to where it was costing about forty dollars per individual to get to that youth conference. We decided that we could hold one in Sweden for about half the cost and double the number of participants. This was battled back and forth between the mission presidencies and the MIA leaders with President S. Dilworth Young taking part in the discussion and he felt also strongly that not enough people were participating, so we finally decided that we would hold this Festinord every other year on a Scandinavian basis, but that during the interim years we hold a mission wide local conference.21

On that basis the 1972 conference was held in Alingsas with about 300 participants. The minimum age was raised to sixteen, making the competition much more even, and married people were allowed only as chaperones. The fourteen to fifteen year olds were treated to a summer camp, and in the words of the mission president: "... everyone, I think, agreed this was the finest youth conference they had attended."

A special by-product or dividend through the years has been the marriages of couples who first met at any of the conferences. According to the feelings of former mission presidents: "Our MIA mission conferences contributed greatly to so many of youth marrying."23

One of the highlights of the conferences, especially during later years, was the spiritual meeting in which the young people voluntarily one by one stood on their feet and testified of the goodness of the Lord and the thankfulness of their hearts for belonging to what they considered the only true church. "I suppose the most enjoyable time was the testimony meeting ..."24 a participant echoed for the many, displaying a mature spiritual outlook.

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21 Oral History, Spencer.  22 Ibid.
23 Oral History, Johnson.  24 Ibid.
The growth of the youth conferences through their four decades of existence, from the relatively unassuming leadership meetings to today's contests carried out with military precision, is a clear indication of the great growth in both numbers and spirituality of the mission.
CHAPTER VIII

MEETING PLACES

EARLY MEETING PLACES

When Sweden was made a separate mission in 1905, the meeting hall situation was, to say the least, pitiful, with the possible exception of Stockholm. There the Church had bought a large apartment building the previous year and established headquarters "... with offices in the recently erected large and commodious Church edifice at Svartensgatan 3, on which property a beautiful, roomy and modern chapel had been erected."¹ This was the first and only Church-owned building in Sweden for many years.

The Saints outside of Stockholm held their meetings in rented halls until after World War II, except in Gothenburg and Vingåker where the Church owned some minor buildings for shorter periods in the thirties and forties. Most of the halls were located in the inner and more humble parts of the cities and were quite inconspicuous. For example, the Malmö Branch, the third largest in Sweden, rented quarters in a large, dirty, five-story apartment house. One of the older members of the branch gave a very vivid description of both conditions and reasons:

After fifty years of existence, the Malmö Branch dared take the immense step of renting a place which could be used both as

meeting hall and living quarters for the two missionaries usually stationed in Malmö. Of course the rent had to be cheap, but we also had to convince the landlords that the Mormons were not the same as the nihilists who began to appear at this time. They used bombs and weapons in their propaganda. But I think that our Church had as bad a reputation at that time because of the propaganda of priests and other authorities. Eventually we found a landlord, owner of the house at Kornettgatan 9, who took the tremendous risk of renting to us. The probable reason was his difficulty in finding renters. But it was fairly centrally located and this meant much.

The hall consisted of one room and kitchen on the bottom floor and a larger room one flight upstairs. The street entrance was through a dark gate into a high-walled courtyard where the sun probably never had a chance to reach. Through the windows of the hall we had a "beautiful" view of the garbage cans and outdoor toilets. Some extra spice was added once in a while by a rat staring at us unwelcome renters. For we were unwelcome, which was plainly shown by the other renters. They never showed up at any of our meetings. It was a great event for Malmö Branch when we were able to furnish the hall with about sixty wooden chairs of the very simplest kind. But however simple, it still was a great event for the members of that day to have a place to hold to, to gather for meetings and invite friends and acquaintances to listen to the gospel. This may not be fully understood and appreciated by the present members of the Church, especially the young or new ones. Just as we, who participated then, have difficulty in realizing the difficulties of the pioneers.

It was quite natural that financial problems would arise. The times were such, many without work, and poor pay for those who had work. An older member illustrated this on many occasions in the following words, "I was poor but joined those who were poorer still." That poverty prevailed among the members at that time was just an indication of the general poverty in Sweden at that time among the working class. It was people of that class who joined the Church.²

This hall in Malmö, which was among the larger and better ones of the branches in Sweden, served for thirty years; then it was replaced by a better one, located on the second floor with entrance through a dark gateway, where the steady clacking of the balls from the pool hall below could be heard. Despite this, it was the envy of nearly all the other branches in Sweden during its two decades of service.

POSTWAR DEVELOPMENTS

No appreciable change in the situation took place until after World War II. By then the dire poverty among the Saints had been relieved, as it was among the Swedish people in general. The suspicion towards the Latter-day Saints was gradually being replaced by some degree of tolerance or maybe rather indifference, as was and is the case towards all non-state churches, as irreligion continued to grow in Sweden. The desire for United States dollars immediately after the war, as this writer recalls, as well as the Swedish law of religious freedom in 1952, helped in acquiring Church-owned meeting halls. Prior to this time the Stockholm property had been held in the name of a real estate trust signed by some of the local members.

To all of these factors should be added the desire and long-standing policy of the Church leaders to have the members remain to build up the Church and the branches in the mission field. Church-owned meeting halls lent an aura of permanency to this desire. The time was ripe.

The post-war period saw a rapid expansion of the proselyting efforts. It did not take long before more than one hundred missionaries were stationed around the country. They needed places to hold services, but there were few available. During the years of warfare Sweden had expanded all of her efforts in building a defense—a ready-to-defend-herself porcupine—strong enough to deter most enemies. Nearly all civilian building construction stood still during these years. After V-day, a lot of catching up was attempted, but capital and material were scarce. The government instituted building restrictions, regulations,
and priorities to solve the problem. For these reasons the Church was not able to build new chapels, however needed, but bought buildings and villas which were remodeled into meeting halls and chapels. Most of these were fairly modest in both appearance and size, holding about fifty people. However, those in Gothenburg and Malmö were fairly imposing structures, with a chapel holding a little less than one hundred people. Over two hundred people could be accommodated at special occasions with the use of all the extra facilities.

The cash for the buildings was furnished by the Church, while the branch members supplied the willing hands, the sinewy muscles and the sweaty brows required for the tearing down, building up, painting, and landscaping which was estimated at an average value of twenty per cent of the building cost. This practice of buying and remodeling old buildings continued until 1961, which gave the Saints places to call their own, to hold and to cherish, in about thirty different locations. The following table indicates the location, cost, and dedication date of Church-owned buildings (page 98). The map (page 99) shows the location of these same buildings during the first decade and a half of the post-war era.

THE BUILDING MISSIONARY PROGRAM

During the time the Swedish members were buying and remodeling old buildings into acceptable places of worship, the Saints, halfway around the world in Tonga, Samoa, and other South Pacific Islands, called young native members to serve as labor missionaries due to a labor shortage. They learned the building trade while actually building houses of worship. This program was so successful that it was
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<tr>
<td>Fagersta</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sold 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>23000</td>
<td>Sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>34000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg I</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>33100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg II</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>220000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>19000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hälsingborg</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>32000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jönköping</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
<td>Torn down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jönköping</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jönköping</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>181000</td>
<td>Built on lot of torn down chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlskrona</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>17000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>16000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kristianstad</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luleå</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td>Torn down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>350000</td>
<td>Built on same lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandviken</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sold 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skellefteå</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>27000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenungsund</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>24000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>475000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>32000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Södertälje</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>30000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trollhättan</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>33000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umeå</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västervik</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>22000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västerås</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>16000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Växjö</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orebro</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>36000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information obtained from the Building Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
CHAPELS

- Mission Headquarters
- Chapels
- Remodeled villas etc., used as chapels

MAP 1
introduced into Latin America and Europe in 1961. In that same year the first labor missionaries, later called building missionaries "to more adequately describe the importance of what was being accomplished," were called to erect a new chapel in Sweden. This was the first one built from the ground up during the more than one hundred years that Mormonism had been in Sweden. It was located in a southern suburb of Stockholm, called Gubbängen. Soon additional chapels were started in Gothenburg and Malmö. It took nearly three years to complete these three specially-designed brick chapels. They looked like places of worship in contrast to the older remodeled ones, and they were specially-designed for the needs of a Mormon branch—a simple but lofty chapel seating about 125 persons, a cultural hall opening into the chapel to accommodate overflow crowds, and eight to nine teaching stations. The Gubbängen chapel was planned to serve the special need for a gathering place for the mission-wide activities and to serve as headquarters for the Stockholm District. The chapel accommodates two hundred fifty persons and houses about ten teaching stations for classroom instruction. The combined chapel and cultural hall seat seven hundred persons.

With the exception of the electrical, heating, and plumbing work which was contracted to local firms, the six or seven building missionaries and the local members built the edifices themselves. This was a mighty accomplishment for the few members in the respective branches even though it took them up to three years to finish. As in the earlier program, the members did not have to supply any extra cash

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outside of that which already had been gathered into some building funds. Instead they had to satisfy the needs of the building missionaries in food, lodging, and a three-dollar weekly allowance. In the Malmö Branch, for example, this meant that all able members had two building missionaries living in their homes every six weeks, besides spending all of their spare time at the chapel site with hammer and trowel in hand.5

The cost of the Gubbängen chapel amounted to about $300,000, and the Gothenburg and Malmö chapels $250,000, respectively. The cost of the building lots was not included in these figures. Malmö Branch tore down the old chapel acquired in 1947 and built on that lot. Land policies in Stockholm and Gothenburg did not allow outright ownership of the land. The Church obtained a sixty-year lease for a very low fee with the right of renewal for another sixty years. This, in fact, saved the Saints a tidy sum of money.6

The cooperation of the civil authorities was excellent in all cases, according to the Church supervisor of all European building, Karl Lagerberg, and the Saints added their strength through faith and prayer. In Malmö, for example, it would have taken seven years, according to the City Planning Department, to get the building permit. However, through the friendly bonds existing between Mr. Lagerberg and some city government officials, the red tape was cut to a small fraction of what it normally would have been. Mr. Lagerberg also

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related that the Building Board and the City Council of Stockholm turned down the original request for a building permit in Gubbängen. The Saints, however, were not dismayed. They called a day of fasting and prayer, went before the Building Board, were turned down again, but requested that the application despite this be presented to the City Council. This request was granted. To the astonishment of everyone but the Saints, a favorable vote by this body decided the issue.

BUILDING BY CONTRACTING

The last half of the sixties saw the completion of additional chapels in Gothenburg and Jönköping. The old ones were torn down and new ones erected on the same lots. They were, however, built by general contractors and not by building missionaries. The members supplied twenty per cent of the cost in labor and cash. This was the first time that the local members had been called upon to contribute in cash. The switch in the building program from mainly building missionaries to general contractors took place as the affluence of the Saints continued to grow until they could afford to pay their cash share of the total cost. The Church also felt that the young people could be used more efficiently as proselyting instead of building missionaries to fill the growing need and desire around the world for the former. Not less than twenty-five building missionaries had been called in Sweden in a two-year period, 1963-1965, while only thirteen proselyting missionaries were sent in the same period.\footnote{Alvin W. Fletcher, "Progress Report, Missionary Activities," pp. 3, 5.}
THE MISSION HEADQUARTERS

Headquarters were established in the newly-bought building at Svartensgatan 3 in Stockholm at the start of the mission in 1905. It served well for more than half a century. However, a larger and more convenient and purposeful place was needed. In August of 1961 a large tract of land was acquired in Botkyrka, some ten miles southwest of Stockholm proper. Two years later, a beautiful mission home was ready to receive the mission president and his staff. There were visions and dreams among the Saints of using the more than one hundred acres as a site for a temple, a church school, and as camp grounds for the young. However, the presiding officers of the Church never issued an official statement to this effect. In the words of a former mission president:

I well remember ... and followed with great interest the subsequent purchase of a piece of property south of Stockholm where the mission home was later built and completed in 1963. This was known locally as the temple property. It was the understanding of the Saints; they had been given to think this at the time of the dedication of the building and also at the time when a service had been held with some of the General Authorities present on that property. This was discussed.

Discussion had also been given to the possibility that the Church would establish a junior college on that property. Interestingly enough, a few years later when I was back as mission president, when I was going through the files one day, I found a letter from President McKay. He said he had noticed among discussion of the building department and also in correspondence going back and forth to Sweden, that talk and reference had been to this property as the temple site, and that hereafter it would be known as the Stockholm-Alby Property. So at that point everything changed, all talk of temple sites ceased at least officially, and the property became known as the Stockholm-Alby Property. This was very interesting because shortly after the mission home was built, the city announced that they were going to build a new suburb out there and they needed the property.8

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8 Oral History, Spencer.
Less than a decade later the city fathers wanted the land back for industrial development, and the Church sold it back for $1.7 million. A new home for the mission president was procured in Danderyd in a convenient location halfway between Stockholm and its airport at Arlanda. A mission office was also purchased in Enebyberg, a few minutes' drive from the mission home.

THE FUTURE OF BUILDINGS

Herbert B. Spencer, a missionary in Sweden around 1950 and mission president during the years 1969-1972, summed up the future of buildings in the following words:

We have about twenty-five of the older, converted buildings, which we are progressively selling off, and we have plans to replace these smaller ones now with the smaller-type LDS chapel, which the building department will build from the ground up. Negotiations are under way in a number of cities to get a suitable lot and when we do, we will sell off the old building and start the construction.

There was a great hiatus previously. The Church either provided nothing or else their minimum plan was for a building which would cost in the vicinity of even better than $200,000, which is an impossibility for a small group of just thirty to fifty people in attendance. But they now have a smaller chapel which can be built for about $40,000, and it will seat about eighty-five people if you stretch it to take use of all the space and open all the folding walls, and this now is a distinct possibility. So if we can get about fifty people in attendance, the Church will be very willing to put up the building once we get the property to build it on.

Now interestingly enough, money is no problem in Sweden. Almost all the branches have enough funds either tied up in their present building or in a savings account, that they could right now go ahead without any further cash contribution and construct a building. So just as fast as we can get them built, we can put them up. In some instances, buildings have been sold that belong to branches which now have been deactivated, and the membership has been amalgamated into another existing branch. These monies have been kept available on a mission basis. So if there is a branch that needs a building and does not personally have the money, we have a mission building fund, and we have got all the money we need to put

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9 Quarterly Historical Report of the Swedish Mission, January 31, 1969, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
up all the buildings we can. We could put up three buildings a year for the next five years, and we have got the cash on hand now.¹⁰

The members, of course, like the new buildings and are "wildly enthusiastic about it, and they are discouraged with trying to maintain old buildings."¹¹ The chapels, all located in pleasant suburbs, also indicate that the Latter-day Saints are serious in their efforts to build up a permanent organization in the community.

In the eyes of the people, it gives us an air of permanence. When people in the town see that we are constructing a distinctive, real LDS chapel, then we become accepted as a part of the town. Whereas previously we were just that wild-eyed group that is meeting in that old house off some road somewhere.¹²

The building progress reflects the temporal affluence and growth of the Church in Sweden, from nothing at the start in 1850, to humble gathering places for nearly a century, shunned by neighbors, to permanent stately chapels of today with lofty spires. These are a credit to the neighborhood, giving the Saints a feeling of acceptance, making them able to raise their eyes heaven-ward and not having to bow earth-ward as outcasts.

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¹⁰ Oral History, Spencer.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.
CHAPTER IX

A NEW ERA

The twenty-five years following World War II may probably best be described as an era of growth and development. The mission looks different at this writing (1973) than it has ever before. Its membership of about 5,300 is nearly three times higher than during any previous period. The members meet in their own chapels, some of them quite imposing church buildings, erected originally for the very purpose they serve. The leadership on nearly all levels, but the highest, is in the hands of local Saints. The priesthood is organized into quorums. The districts are functioning units. Many Saints have been through the temple and visit there regularly. Printed material, books, lessons and instructional films are available.

The thought of emigration to Zion is almost completely replaced by the idea of building "the Kingdom," of creating a Zion right at home in Sweden.

Due to the very narrow historical perspective, this chapter deals mainly with those features that this writer feels would have a lasting impact on present and future growth, especially proselyting, organization, temple work, microfilming and literature.
THE PROSELYTING

As soon as post-war conditions allowed, the Church sent missionaries into the mission fields in larger numbers than ever before. By this writing more than 17,000 serve around the world in more than 100 missions.

In 1946 Sweden had received 66 missionaries and by mid-century the number had reached 164. The figures have fluctuated between 100 and 200 since then. At the present time the figure has settled around 100.¹

The harvest averaged around one convert per missionary per year. In 1950 the statistics showed 100 converts by 164 missionaries, a decade later 258 by 123, and in 1970 corresponding figures were 159 and 127.²

Varied proselyting methods were used, the main one being door-to-door contact. Among others were exhibits. At the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Mormonism into Sweden, a special exhibit was held in Stockholm in 1950. It was arranged by the missionaries and depicted various phases of Mormon belief. About 1000 persons visited per day.

A display of the "Dimensions of Life" was sent to cities with available space as a missionary tool.³ It consisted of pictures and posters of Mormon families with explanations of the intellectual, social

¹See Appendix A.
²See Appendix A.
and spiritual "dimensions of life."

The film "Man's Search for Happiness" was shown to provide a way to fulfill the spiritual aspect. A short picture poster display of the Book of Mormon was presented, and copies of the Book of Mormon were sold. A guest book was used to supply the missionaries with future contacts.

Missionaries were placed outside on the sidewalk to invite people to go through the display while others took the people on a guided tour inside.

There was a follow-up by the missionaries. Several people were baptized, having been initially contacted at the exhibit.

One mission president described the main points of the missionary activities during his three years as leader in the following terms:

Conferences were held with the full-time missionaries on the average of once every seven to nine weeks, with workshops being conducted to help the missionaries become more effective. . . . Recognizing the need for better missionary supervision. . . . the mission was reorganized into regions and districts, replacing the older system of District Leaders and Traveling Elders. . . . the only change since is in the names--Zone and Zone Leader replacing Region and Regional Elder respectively.4

The report continued,

. . . there was very little cooperation between the members and the missionaries. Recognizing the need for greater cooperation, the fellowshipping program and the Youth Missionary Committee were introduced. . . . Friendship cards were introduced. The branches called certain families as "Contact Pair." The missionaries met with the Branch Presidencies every week to discuss investigator progress. . . . There are now fifteen organized Youth Missionary Committees in the mission.5

The Book of Mormon was used extensively as a proselyting tool.

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5Ibid.
The following figures give some indication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Books Sold</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963 March to December</td>
<td>4,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>11,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>20,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966 January to June</td>
<td>12,858</td>
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</table>

The report also stated that "many people were baptized as a result of the Book of Mormon program." This picture was somewhat different from the one given by a missionary twenty years earlier, saying that he never sold a Book of Mormon for the simple reason that none were available. The 1934 edition was sold out soon after the war, and a new one was not off the press until 1950.

An interesting comment on proselyting methods was made by another former mission president after a conversation with his supervising General Authority, Elder Marion G. Romney, at this writing a member of the First Presidency of the Church.

...go out and inform people of the message of the restoration, to tell them that there had been a prophet here on the earth, that the Book of Mormon was true... that if we stood up and bore personal witness that we knew these things were true that people would hearken to the voice. So as a result, we didn't employ any gimmicks or tricks, we didn't have any surveys, we didn't represent ourselves to be students in Europe, we had very few public relations endeavours, by that I mean displays and exhibitions, although we did have some and some good came from it. By and large the main thing we did is go around, stand face to face with the people, tell them this message, assure them it was important for them than anything they could hear, and ask them to give us an honest hearing. And as I look back on all of the effort we did make, I think that that one was the most

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6Ibid.
7Ibid.
8Oral History, Johnson.
successful. It built great faith in the missionaries, the people who
did respond to that were solid substantial people who really
developed a testimony.9

How the missionaries got "face to face with the people" was
told in this manner,

... probably eighty per cent of the missionary's time was
spent knocking on doors. We also had them stop people on the
streets and ask them the Golden Questions /What do you know
about the Mormon Church? Would you like to know more?/,
invited them to Church, handed out literature, but I think by and
large they went up and down the stairs hour after hour, knocked on
doors, buttonholed people whenever they could. We asked them to
get to know the people in the stores where they shopped and in the
post offices, and invite everybody they met in the stairwells and
everywhere they went to investigate the gospel.10

The efforts, then, of missionaries with assistance of the local
Saints accounted for a steadily growing membership, while most other
churches experienced a decline in membership.11

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The foresight of President Johansson to hold on to the meeting
halls during his war-time administration proved to be of great value.
When the missionaries started to arrive from America in great numbers,
they needed places as anchors for their activities. They were found in
the four existing district headquarters of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö
and Norrköping.12 However, the proselyting spread and in May 1947 two
new districts, Luleå and Sundsvall, were organized in the north. The same
year the Jönköping district was added.13

9Oral History, Spencer.
10Ibid.
11Oral History, Johnson and Spencer.
12Appendix B, map 4. 13Appendix B, map 5.
In order to properly administer the added burden of these districts and additional branches, the mission president was assigned two counselors July 19, 1947. For nearly one hundred years since the Mormons entered Sweden, the mission president had presided alone, so this signaled in a sense a new era with further developments.

The following year, 1948, the districts of Gävle and Karlskrona were added. This organization of nine districts lasted for about fifteen years, when very drastic and significant changes took place in the administration of the mission. The districts were geared to serve the proselyting efforts of the mission, and were through the years presided over by a missionary. They set the geographical bounds within which the Elders were proselyting. Once every six months a conference, lasting two to three days, was held. The mission president gave instructions and encouragement in public and special meetings to the missionaries and Saints, who gathered from near and far within the district.

In 1962 the districts were restructured to meet the needs of the members. The number was cut to five, Skellefteå, Gävle, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö, "in order to get stronger organizations and make it possible for the mission presidency to hold conferences more often." The district organization was strengthened with a district council of five to twelve priesthood members, much as a regular High Council in a Mormon Stake would function. Local members began to serve as leaders in all of the districts, not only the larger ones. Full district boards of

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14 Quarterly Historical Report of the Swedish Mission, July 1947, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

15 Appendix B, map 6.

16 Doctrine and Covenants Section 102.
the auxiliary organizations were appointed. The role previously assumed by the mission boards to deal directly with the branches were more and more given to the districts, when they were able to furnish capable leaders. The father of this writer served as president of Malmö district just prior to the change. From correspondence and conversations between them, a picture was drawn of a president without counselors, without clerk, without auxiliary boards, practically a one-man operation, not because he wanted it that way, but because leadership was lacking to fill positions. It was hard enough to staff the branches.

After the change, district conferences were held every three months and a systematic leadership training program for the different organizations was inaugurated. About the same time the activities of the Elders Quorums were stressed. The latter were made up of mature priesthood bearers, according to the regular pattern in the Church.17

The second quorum, located in Stockholm, intended in its infancy to visit every member, to use Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith as a lesson book for three years, to spend ten minutes of each meeting for instruction in priesthood responsibility and a thorough study of the handbook, but it had financial difficulties borrowing funds from the branch.18

A 1966 review stated

In 1963, the third and fourth quorums were organized. Up to this time there were only two Elders' Quorums, and the Elders knew very little about quorum activities and priesthood responsibilities. Quorum and general priesthood meetings were introduced in the Swedish Mission and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Quorums started to conduct

17Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107.

18Swedish Mission, Elders 2nd Quorum Presidency Minute Book, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, P 1987.
monthly quorum business meetings. Here the Elders for the first time were taught priesthood responsibilities.

Previous to this, there had been no group leaders, so the priesthood meetings were conducted and presided over by the Branch Presidencies. Now the Quorum Presidents chose group leaders and instructed them to take care of a group and to conduct priesthood meetings. 19

Concerning finances, the same report painted a different picture than the one ten years earlier, quoted above.

A quorum and missionary fund was proposed and approved by all the Elders in the mission. The quorum fund was set to 5 Sw. crowns ($1) and the missionary fund to 10 Sw. crowns ($2) a month. In 1965 about 17,000:-Sw. crowns ($3400) were paid out from the missionary fund to help support missionaries who could only finance part of their mission. At the same time, about 13,000:-Sw. crowns ($2600) were used to finance several quorum projects. Together this makes a total of 30,000:-Sw. crowns or approximately $6000, and yet we have had more money left in our quorum and missionary funds than ever before. This shows that the Elders have understood the importance of these funds. 20

In 1964 the quorums placed about 600 copies of the Book of Mormon in hotels, motels, public libraries and bookstores. 21

By 1971 there were six quorums—two each in Stockholm and Göteborg districts, one in Malmö and one in common for the two northern districts. The officers of these quorums "were called, set apart and instructed by the district presidencies," 22 indicating as mentioned before, a continued trend of added responsibility to the districts.

The four quorums of Central Sweden have an active membership at the present of about 60 per cent, which is high on a Church-wide basis, while the others are somewhat less active. 23

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19 Fletcher, Melchizedek Priesthood, p. 1.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Oral History, Spencer.
23 Oral History, Johnson.
As the quorums contain the bulk of leaders in the mission, active quorums are an indication both of the present vitality and status of the mission, and of hopes for the future.

Since 1962 only some minor changes have taken place in the district jurisdictions. In 1968 the Sundsvall district was created from the Gävle district. 24

The leadership training on a district level has been strengthened, especially through the recently inaugurated program with a Regional Representative of the Council of the Twelve travelling to Sweden a couple of times a year, and conducting training sessions, wherein the district leaders do most of the instruction. 25

Thus a pattern of the basic district organization around the three century-old main districts in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, has prevailed since the 1850's with additions in the north and central Sweden now and then.

THE TEMPLES

It may well be that when an evaluation in the future is made of what single event in the twentieth century contributed most to the spiritual development of the individual Saints in Sweden, the answer would be erection of temples in Europe.

To the Latter-day Saints the temple represents purity of soul and body, a sacred place in which they reach closer to God than any other place. To them it is the place where they, as husband and wife, are

24 Appendix B, map 8.
united in matrimony for "all" eternity and where the ties between past and future generations of the same family are bonded together in an eternal patriarchy. One reason for the Saints to emigrate to Zion had been the opportunity for them to attend to temple work.

In 1955 the first Mormon temple in Europe was dedicated in Bern, Switzerland. It was followed by one near London, England in 1958. This meant that the Swedish Saints could enjoy the ordinances of the temple without having to travel to the United States, which was almost impossible for them due to time and money involved.

A special temple service in Bern was held for the attending 150 Swedish Saints on September 16, 1955, in connection with the dedication of the temple. The trip through Europe was made in four chartered buses, named Nephi, Lehi, Mormon and Moroni, after great leaders in the Book of Mormon. The whole trip lasted ten days.

As the years went by, the travel was made by chartered planes, indicating a stronger financial position by the Saints and a greater dedication to their cause, as the number of trips grew from one a year to four in 1972. In 1966, for example, two excursions were made in chartered planes and a little over 200 members went that year. Ten newly married couples participated to have their civil marriages solemnized by the vows for eternity.

About 350 adult members in the mission held recommends to the temple by 1970, and nearly all of them visited there during the year.27


27 Oral History, Spencer.
The effect of the temple on the Church and on the individual was expressed in these words by a recently released mission president:

...when the members came back from the temple, they were thrilled and filled with enthusiasm and fire and determination, stronger in the faith, very much encouraged having been together, to go back into their little towns and their little branches and carry on undeterred by the criticism of the world and by the difficulty of the local circumstances.  

He continued

I think it made a spiritual awakening within the mission and was responsible for a great deal of growth... the members became much more effective, they functioned better on the local level in branches and districts. Our tithing increases I think were 67 per cent in the years I was there /1969-1972/. I think that temple work had a great deal to do with that renaissance in spirituality which we experienced.  

The trip itself also left its mark on the participants. Traveling together in close quarters for a week or more caused, of course, the participants to learn to know each other better, to discuss things on their minds, to exchange ideas and experiences, etc. A participant in 1959 gave the following picture of life in "his" railroad car.

It never ceases to be a real experience during these trips, walking around greeting brothers and sisters, all with the same goal, ... looking into a compartment: "Listen brother... have you considered this scripture in the Doctrine and Covenants" ... and in another compartment... "Great to see you, what do you think of this statement by Brigham Young..." and somebody stopped you in the corridor: "Say, don't you think that it is easier to understand this scripture if...", and in another compartment they discussed genealogical research and from another was heard "Come, Come Ye Saints."

Is this the Millenium? Is it not this way—it will be, when righteousness shall comfort those who hungered and thirsted for it.  

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28 Oral History, Spencer.

29 Ibid.

One of the peculiar and distinct features of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the doctrine of salvation for the dead. Closely connected with the ceremonies and ordinances in their temples, the Mormons believe that they may perform ordinances as baptism, marriage for all eternity and the sealing together of families for their deceased ancestors, who were themselves not able to participate while in life. They gather genealogical data on their own ancestors to insure that their families are united together forever. In order to facilitate the genealogical research, the Church embarked after World War II on a large and presently a world-wide program of gathering records, mainly by microfilming.

In 1947, representatives of the Church's Genealogical Society made an initial contact with the National Archivist in Sweden, asking for permission to microfilm genealogical records in the National and the Provincial Archives.

The request came at a most opportune time for both the Archives and the Mormon Church. In 1944 genealogical circles in Sweden had discussed the subject of microfilming the invaluable vital records, covering several centuries, and the Swedish Genealogical Association had petitioned the National Archivist so to do.\(^3\)

The proposal was endorsed by the Central Bureau of Statistics, the National Archives and the Department of Civil Defense, and the King in Council instructed the two first-named institutions to work out plans.

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\(^3\)Genealogiska Föreningens medlemsblad, No. 36, September 1944, pp. 10-12.
whereby the proposal could be accomplished.  

In the fall of 1947, the Genealogical Society of the Church received written permission from the Swedish National Archivist to microfilm an estimated 24 million pages in the archives, as Sweden "would receive a copy free of charge, and a safe protection against the threat of modern war, of the irreplaceable archive records, scattered all over the country."  

Eleven months later the Genealogical Society let a contract for microfilming the archives to the Recolid Company of Stockholm. Its owner had read a little article in a newspaper about the Mormon plans of microfilming and made contact with the Genealogical Society and received the contract for microfilming not only in Sweden, but also in Finland and Norway.

Even though some microfilming of newer records still is going on, the symbolic end to this great feat by the Mormon Church was celebrated on March 26, 1963.

One of Sweden's leading newspapers reported,

The last of 54,400 rolls of microfilm of Swedish Church books and archive records, containing 1000 exposures on each, representing

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33 Genealogical Society, Minutes of Board of Director Meetings, October 14, 1947.
35 Genealogical Society, Minutes of Board of Director Meetings, September 3, 1948.
a value of 5.3 million Swedish crowns over $1,000,000 was presented symbolically to King Gustaf VI Adolf in the beautiful Bernadotte Library at the Royal Castle yesterday. In reality it was the National Archives, that received all these rolls of copies, and it is the largest donation ever received by the Archives. The donor is the Genealogical Association, the large genealogical institution in Salt Lake City, Utah, which is lead by the Mormons, or the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose president Alvin W. Fletcher presented the roll of films.36

The microfilming seems to have given the Mormon Church in Sweden at least one bonus beyond the original purposes contemplated. Many sources, including the press and government officials concerned, have shown a special interest, good-will and admiration for the project, and speak with fondness of the "Mormon rolls," which have helped to create a better and truer image of both the Church and its members.

TRANSLATIONS AND LITERATURE

In the early decades of the mission most translation work seems to have been done in Utah. Not until the mid-twenties were local members used in this work, probably because none were to be found that would possess the ability. Few of the active members had any schooling beyond the required seven years. When this writer had the opportunity in the early thirties to attend a secondary school, there would probably be no more than ten Mormons in all of Sweden enjoying the same opportunity.

The mission, no doubt, could have used more Church-published lesson material in Swedish, but capable translators were lacking in the thirties and forties, when the mission had to do its own translation work. In fact, so great was the need that some MIA lesson books were procured from the Danish Mission in the 1930's.

36Svenska Dagbladet, op. cit.
After World War II, the Church organized a translation department at its Headquarters and one Swedish translator was permanently employed late in 1948. New translations or rather revisions of the Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price were published.

The Swedish name of the Doctrine and Covenants was changed from Förbundets Bok (Book of the Covenant) to Låran och Förbunden (Doctrine and Covenants) to give a more accurate interpretation of the English original.

The title of the Pearl of Great Price was changed from Kostliga Pärlan to Kostbara Pärlan to avoid the ambiguous meaning of kostlig, meaning both "of great price" and "funny." 37

The translations were modernized and made to conform to each other and to the latest Swedish Bible version of 1917. They were also made to conform to translations into other languages used by the Church, mainly German, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Norwegian, Danish, and Samoan. Lesson material for priesthood and auxiliary organizations were also translated, sometimes in a rather primitive way—directly from the English text to a stencil in the typewriter, without any step between. Quality suffered, no doubt.

A hymn book was published in 1956. 38 The songs were selected by the non-English speaking missions in Europe. The notes were the same and set in Germany for all languages, and then the words in respective languages were added. This experiment did not work out very well, partly


38 Sånger (Stockholm: Jesus Kristi Kyrka av Sista Dagars Heliga, Svenska Missionen, 1956).
because a very limited time was given for the translation of many hymns. A revised edition came off the press in 1968.

Around 1960, most of the translation work was moved from the Church Headquarters in Utah to respective missions. This would indicate membership with better scholastic training than earlier generations.

In early 1964, the translation work was assigned to a special literature committee, as the burden became too much for the Mission Office. In mid-1966 this committee reported that,

There are about 50 translators, of these about 25 are translating at the same time, 131 translation assignments have been given out. Almost all the material has been stenciled at the Mission Office and printed there. Several books have been printed and beautifully bound, such as A Marvelous Work and a Wonder by Elder LeGrand Richards, and Jesus the Christ by Elder James E. Talmage.

Besides the lesson manuals and handbooks, the committee has also translated the new great programs that have been published by the Church such as the Home Teaching Program, the Family Home Evening Program and the Correlation Program.

A great job has been done in compiling a word list for the translators and proofreaders, that the many special terms and words for the priesthood and the auxiliaries may be adequately translated and the same expression be used every time.39

A Church-wide translation organization under the Presiding Bishopric with a coordinating office at Church Headquarters and translators, reviewers, etc. in the mission field, was set up in 1966.

Two full-time translators were engaged that year in Sweden and 3,000 pages were completed.

At the present time the organization consists of nine full-time personnel, one secretary, one language coordinator, two reviewers, three translators and two typists. More than 14,000 pages were translated in 1972, with the help of some part-time personnel.

39Fletcher, Literature Committee, p. 1.
Five motivational and instructional films, including "Man's Search for Happiness," have been dubbed into Swedish and three times more have been subtitled.

Among the more prominent Mormon doctrinal books translated and published were A Marvelous Work and a Wonder, Jesus the Christ, Articles of Faith, Kingdom of God Restored, The Way to Perfection, The Miracle of Forgiveness, Gospel Ideals, The House of the Lord, Truth Restored, Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and Gospel Doctrine.\textsuperscript{40}

\textit{Nordstjärnan}, the official monthly magazine of the Church in Sweden, had been the responsibility of the mission president since its first number in 1877. After 90 years, the Church took over the editing and made it part of the Unified Magazines, printed in the official Church languages. The format changed to larger size, after having remained the same all through the years. The translation is done by the mission translators and the printing at the Church press in Frankfurt, Germany, the first volume being issued in March of 1967.\textsuperscript{41}

For a few years in the late 1960's, the printing of all Swedish material was done at the Church Distribution Center at Lynge, just north of Copenhagen. In the interest of economy, the printing was later moved to the Church press in Frankfurt, Germany, while the distribution still goes through the Copenhagen Center.

\textsuperscript{40}Memo from the Translation Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 8, 1973.

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Nordstjärnan}, XCI (1967).
MISSION PRESIDENTS

Elder Eben R. T. Blomquist arrived in Sweden in 1946, succeeding President C. Fritz Johansson. During this three year administration, the proselyting efforts were carried to all of Sweden by the large group of missionaries mentioned earlier. He also acquired several buildings for chapels to accommodate the growing activity (see Chapter VIII). He organized new districts and carried on an intense program to strengthen the auxiliaries by mission leadership, mostly exercised by the missionaries.

The intensified proselyting efforts caused opposition to the Church to grow, especially in clerical circles, both in and out of the State Church. President Blomquist was well qualified to counter it. He served a mission in Sweden as a young man during the anti-Mormon years early in this century, was sentenced to jail on bread and water and had constantly defended the Church and himself. He seemed to thrive on the attacks, printed rebutals, etc. as had several mission presidents during the years between the world wars.

In 1949 he was succeeded by one of his counselors, Elder Dale M. Ensign, who served until Clarence F. Johnson arrived a few months later. He was a highly spiritual man and his presidency might well be characterized as one building the spirit of the individual members rather than organizations.

A law establishing religious freedom in Sweden took effect on January 1, 1952. It meant that the Mormon Church had equal status with all other churches and that the label of "non-Christian" was removed. There is, however, nothing in the new law mentioned about the Mormon Church at all. One member in a high civil position in Sweden, who
wished to remain unnamed, put it this way:

Well, the de-Christianized Sweden probably did not have the energy even to discuss the question whether the Mormons were Christians or not. Thus we are accepted, because none have the interest or the strength to oppose it.

The most obvious result of the new law was the authority for dissenters to perform marriages. After a special examination concerning the marriage laws and statutes, every mission president was granted this right, and many couples availed themselves of their service.

The law, however, said nothing about the right of dissenters to use the state-controlled radio and television networks, the only ones available in Sweden. The old rule is still at this writing in effect:

Only the larger churches are allotted time on Sweden's radio and television. We are too small according to these "rules" to be allowed our programs. If we were extremely talented in song and music, for example, we could participate in pure entertainment programs, which, for example, the Pentecostals are allowed. Single programs, where our Church has been presented in a series with others, have been sent.

It will probably be very long before we are able to use radio and television.

Concerning the other media, the press, a recently released mission president stated:

We had a mission public relations committee which sent out news releases when noteworthy things happened, but we found that almost without exception, except in the smaller towns, that these were totally ignored. They felt that we were not newsworthy. The great era when anything Mormon was interesting to the newspapers is past and now they really don't even care if a General Authority comes. Occasionally, we'd break ground for a building or dedicate a building and we'd have some representation in the press, but in general it was difficult. They also, if we tried to present the beliefs, for instance now and again there'd be something come out of America in a distorted form or something unfavorable would be mentioned, then we would write an article explaining the beliefs of the Church, but we never succeeded in getting any of those published.

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43 Oral History, Spencer.
After five years' stewardship, President Johnson was succeeded by Elder Bloomquist in his second presidency, 1951, in which he prepared the members to attend the dedication of the Swiss temple and to do continuous temple work. He also continued his strong defense of Mormonism against accusations of polygamy, etc.

Elder Harry T. Oscarson, an office manager by profession, took over the leadership in 1956 and consolidated and firmed up the organization that had been growing rather rapidly during the preceding decade. He, in turn, was followed by A. Gideon Omer, who above all concentrated on teaching the Saints their individual responsibility as members of the Church. He felt that some of them were not as spiritually mature or as dedicated to the Church as they ought to be. He also felt that a member in Sweden had the same obligations as Saints anywhere else. The result was a deeper dedication by the members, which among others meant that the tithing contributions for the first time was large enough to make the mission self-supporting.

The districts were also cut down from nine to five in 1962, so that all three members of the mission presidency could attend each conference. He strengthened the district organization by introducing the district council, mentioned earlier in this chapter.

After four years, Elder Alvin R. Fletscher took over in 1963 as leader of the mission. He especially stressed leadership training, so that the local Saints should be able to fill every leadership position both on mission, district and branch level. The quarterly district conferences were especially used for this training. The Home Teaching Program.

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44 Oral History, Johnson.
whereby priesthood bearers were assigned to assist individual families and members in learning more fully their duties, both in temporal and spiritual matters, was introduced. The Family Home Evening Program began in 1965, wherein the whole family got together once a week to read the scriptures, to discuss family matters and to enjoy the company of each family member. The latter two programs were Church-wide programs.

A youth missionary activity, wherein older teenagers served for two weeks as missionaries with the Elders, begun. Sixteen youth participated in 1963, the first year, and were followed by eighteen, twenty-four and twenty-eight respectively each succeeding year.

After three years of making "things happen," Elder Fletcher was succeeded by Reid H. Johnson in 1966. The latter emphasized the importance of the quality of family life and the eternal family. Two-day training sessions were held for district, branch and quorum leaders once a year in Stockholm.

In 1969 President Johnson was followed by Elder Herbert B. Spencer. Both of these latter presidents refined the programs to assist the members in their striving for perfection and to make the organizations work for that purpose.

During President Spencer's administration, a contraction of the proselyting activities took place. The number of missionaries was reduced to about 100 in Sweden, which meant the withdrawal of missionaries from

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45 Fletcher, General, p. 3.  
46 Oral History, Johnson.  
47 Oral History, Spencer.
certain areas. The fellowshipping of new members into the Church and branches seemed to be "the great problem," and for this reason, the proselyting activities were limited to the areas around the functioning branches, to use the resources of members, chapels and proselyters to best advantage.\footnote{Ibid.}

A General Authority would usually visit the mission once a year. However, after World War II, when the pace of proselyting quickened, when travel became much faster and new Church-wide programs developed, the visits became more frequent. Also, as the organizations on mission and district levels grew in the sixties, and as handbooks, lessons and instructions were translated and made available, members of the general boards of the auxiliaries visited.

The main responsibility of the Mission President lay in the proselyting. Both Presidents Johnson and Spencer indicated that they ought to spend about 80 - 90 per cent of their time in this area and the balance with the members. However, they had to share their time about equally between the two, indicating that the local members should take over more responsibility.\footnote{Oral History, Johnson and Spencer.}

This is taking place at this writing; for example, the responsibility for the Elders' quorums is being shifted from the mission president to respective district presidents, and for the building of a chapel to the branch president.

The increased personal dedication to the Mormon cause may also be seen in the call of young people on full-time missions, some serving

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Oral History, Johnson and Spencer.}
in Sweden but also in other countries. In 1967, for example, they numbered 18. 50

In the summer of 1972 Ronald L. Folkerson succeeded Elder Spencer as president. He has seen the pace of the leadership training program quickened with the appointment of a Regional Representative of the Council of the Twelve to Sweden, Reid H. Johnson, the former Mission President. Under the direction of these two men the church-wide leadership training program is being carried out.

From the slow progress at the end of World War II, the mission has grown in numbers, in organization and in personal dedication in an effort to build "the Kingdom."

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE

The preceding pages traced a history of the Mormon Church during recent decades. It mentioned methods, programs, districts, branches, etc.—mechanized things in a mechanized world. But in the center of it all stood the Mormons, men and women with hearts and souls, with blood and bones. About them nothing or nearly nothing was said. But their history would be incomplete without a look at them, their joys and sorrows, their hopes and despair, their lives together. Admittedly, that should be the task of the sociologists, not of this writer. But because he has been one of the Mormons for more than half a century, some observations may be allowed, and even justified.

In the early days the members were poor. Occasional collections at Relief Society meetings before World War I averaged less than one öre per person (one-fifth of one cent) in one branch. Today that is changed. They shared in the general prosperity of the Swedish people, probably more than average. Some of them today pay more than two-thirds of their earnings in taxes, because of their high income.

They had little schooling. Today that is changed. With prosperity came the opportunity for schooling.
THE SAINTS AND THE MISSIONARIES

They loved the missionaries. That has not changed. The Elders were part of their lives. They had seen the Mormon Mecca, they had seen the temple, they had traveled far. Their tales replaced some of the adventures the Swedish Mormon had only dreamed about. They knew the scriptures and their statements—right or wrong—were law, often quoted ten or twenty years later. They had different clothes, and a different language which they patiently taught. What a thrill to be able to say a few phrases in the language of the prophet in far off Zion, to be able to spell through some of the books the missionaries had. They also came from a different world, looked different and were treated with greatest care.

The Elder who transferred was given a party, cause for both sadness and joy. Mormon tea or, once in a while, cocoa; flowers for the departing; speeches; gifts, often from emptied pockets and purses—only the best was good enough for the missionaries—specially written poems, both good and bad in language and rhythm; songs, "Farewell to Thee," "God be with You"; and tears of sadness, very often from young and old, male and female, but most often from young girls! Accompanied to the railroad depot, often by the whole branch or at least the younger ones, the missionary slowly disappeared to the strains of "Come, Come ye Saints." Both the sadness of the departure and the spirit of the song, with everybody around looking at the singing Saints (the Swedes were not used to emotional scenes in public) gave them enough strength to carry on until the next meeting.

The Elders represented a whole new world, and that put the members also in a new world, apart from their regular surroundings.
A WORLD WITHIN A WORLD

The Saints were somewhat isolated from the rest of the community. They had different ideals, different interests and usually had to make a choice between the Church and other things. This writer had to decide between the Scouts and the MIA. There was not time for both. So life centered in the branch with the simple meeting hall as the focal point. There everyone had his joy.

After the Sunday night meetings, many would stay, set a table, serve Mormon tea (warm water with sugar and cream), serve some pastry from a nearby "konditori," paid for by a collection, wherein the Elders very often were the heaviest contributors. What a relief to sit down at a table and not have to explain why you were so odd as not to drink coffee!!

Baptism was a special occasion. It was Sunday night. After the regular meeting, all walked or maybe took the streetcar to one of the dear old sisters, whose worldly possessions were few, whose little apartment several narrow flights up close under the stars had a special atmosphere. Mormon tea was served in the over-crowded room, where more than half were sitting on the floor, where boy and girl managed to get next to each other any way. The choir, more often than not more like a quartet or double quartet, sang some of the favorite Mormon hymns, "O, My Father," "I'm a Stranger, I'm a Pilgrim," "Beautiful Zion." Then it was time to leave by streetcar for the ocean shore. One circle of all women, another further away of all men provided needed shelter for change of clothes. Those involved walked into the ocean, the baptism was performed, and all somberly returned to their homes by streetcar or on foot, feeling spiritually uplifted. Later the community
bath houses would open their doors at after hours for baptism, and today the modern chapels have a special font.

The Christmas morning worship in all Swedish churches, with lighted candles en masse, is centuries old. The branch most often followed the custom of having its own early morning service. Often the old year would be bade farewell by what branch members would consider an elaborate party, play, pageant and program, prepared in secret by part of the branch members, so that some surprise would result.

During the first few decades of this century, a special welcome guest and friend in the homes of the Saints was the weekly Utah-Posten, a Church-sponsored Swedish paper, published in Zion. It contained news of life in Utah, another link with that special world so dear to the Saints. It radiated a special flavor in style, found nowhere else, a mixture of poorly translated English, of "funny" Swedish and special Mormon expressions. Seldom has a paper been loved more or brought greater joy and sometimes amusement!

Sometimes the human foibles would color life in a branch. Somebody did not like somebody else. A word in anger would poison the relationship. Factions would arise. When one attended, the other would stay away. After some time, somehow a turn around would take place. The absent faction would become the present one and vice versa. Especially in small branches this splitting would take place. Forgiveness was hard to come by, as was repentance. The contending parties often forgot their reason for membership in the Church, for attendance at the branch, for Elders to come from far away, for sacrifices by the many who had gone before. Those cases were few but left their imprints on all.
The life in the branches today is certainly different as times and circumstances changed. Again, this writer leaves to future generations to evaluate what would be unique to the present generation.

STRENGTH OF THE CHURCH IN SWEDEN

What is the strength of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden today? Its position seems much stronger than at any time; its organization stronger, its future more secure from all outward signs. Another measuring rod was suggested by the President of the Church, when he said:

The strength of the church is not to be measured by the amount of money paid as tithing by faithful members, nor by the number of the total membership of the church, or the number of chapels and temple buildings. The real strength of the church is to be measured by the individual testimonies to be found in the total membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹

Measuring with that rod, one has to look into the heart and soul of man. Judging from the author's experience through the years with the Swedish Saints, young and old, the mission is strong, for their testimonies are strong.

¹President Harold B. Lee, "Message of Inspiration," Church News (Salt Lake City, Utah: June 23, 1973).
APPENDIX A
APPENDIX A
CONDITION OF MISSION EVERY FIVE YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Branches</th>
<th>Members</th>
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<th>Converts</th>
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<td>1905</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2058</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>194</td>
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<td>1915</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1627</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1616</td>
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<td>1930</td>
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<td>1627</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>24**</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>1946</td>
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<td>1525***</td>
<td>164</td>
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<td>2093</td>
<td>92</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td>2850</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td>4142</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4969</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
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*Aftermath of World War I.
**Depression.
***Heavy emigration.

Statistics taken from:

Compiled statistics of Historical Department.
Monthly reports of Missionary Department.
APPENDIX B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Districts and Branches at Creation of Mission in 1905</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Districts and Branches after 1905 Division</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Districts and Branches--1925</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Districts and Branches--World War II</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Districts and Branches--1947-1962</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Districts and Branches--1962-1968</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Districts and Branches--1968-</td>
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</table>
DISTRICTS AND BRANCHES
At creation of Mission in 1905

MAP 2
DISTRICTS AND BRANCHES
after 1905 division

MAP 3
DISTRICTS AND BRANCHES

World War II

MAP 5
DISTRICTS AND BRANCHES
1947 - 1962

MAP 6
DISTRIBUTIONS AND BRANCHES
1962 - 1968

MAP 7
APPENDIX C

PRESIDENTS OF THE SWEDEN MISSION*

Peter Mattsson 1905-1908
Peter Sundvall 1908-1910
Andreas Peterson 1910-1912
A. Theodore Johnson 1912-1913
Theodore Tobiason 1913-1916
Anders P. Anderson 1916-1919
Theodore Tobiason 1919-1921
Oscar W. Soderberg (pro tem) 1920-1921
Isaac P. Thunell 1921-1922
Gideon N. Hulterstrom 1922-1923
Hugo D. E. Peterson 1923-1925
John H. Anderson 1925-1926
Andrew Johnson 1926-1927
Gideon N. Hulterstrom 1927-1931
Gustave W. Forsberg 1931-1934
Hugo D. E. Peterson 1934-1936
Gustive O. Larson 1936-1939
John A. Israelson** 1939
C. Fritz Johansson 1939-1946
Eben R. T. Blomquist 1946-1949
Dale M. Ensign (pro tem) 1949
Clarence F. Johnson 1949-1954

*Name changed June 10, 1970 from Swedish to Sweden Mission.

**Temporary headquarters in Oslo as he could not get a visa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eben R. T. Blomquist</td>
<td>1954–1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry T. Oscarson</td>
<td>1956–1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Gideon Omer</td>
<td>1959–1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvin W. Fletcher</td>
<td>1963–1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid H. Johnson</td>
<td>1966–1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert B. Spencer</td>
<td>1969–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Ronald Folkerson</td>
<td>1972–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

PRESIDENTS OF THE DISTRICTS IN THE SWEDEN MISSION

Gävle District (In existence 1921-1932, 1936, 1948-1962)

Mathias Erickson 1921-1922
Morris C. Johnson 1922-1923
Charles Anderson 1923-1924
Oskar Sander 1924-1925
Vance O. Lind 1925-1926
Knute T. Borg 1926
Gustave E. Anderson 1926-1927
Franklin S. Forsberg 1927
David H. Larson 1927-1928
Emil G. Thedell 1928
William W. Millerberg 1928-1929
Carl J. Sanders 1929-1930
Kenneth F. Fredrikson 1930-1931
Francis E. Morrison 1931
Erik A. L. Olson 1931-1932
C. Herman Olson 1932

Frances C. Lindblom 1936
Horace A. Carlson 1936
Carl C. Clawson 1936

Alf L. Bostrom 1948-1949
Keith H. Collins 1949
Harold C. Anderson 1949
Keith H. Collins 1949-1950
Pay C. Hillam 1950
Herman C. Thorup 1950-1951
Oscar Sander 1951
Egon V. Johnson 1951
Kenneth Monson 1951-1952
Robert E. Borg 1952
Richard A. Willits 1952
E. Hugo Wiklund 1952-1956
Niels E. Larsen 1956
Nils Hedberg 1956-1957
Joseph Fernelius 1957-1958
Raymond Thunell 1958-1959
Brent Sorensen 1959
Raymond M. Jones 1959-1960
Frederick K. Lundquist 1960
Lennart J. Viklund 1960-1962
Gävle-Sundsvall District (in existence 1962-1968)

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Göteborg District

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<td>Andrew Eliason, Jr.</td>
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<td>Armand F. Rundquist</td>
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<td>Birger E. Lundevall</td>
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**Jönköping District (In existence 1947-1962)**

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<td>Lorentz C. Pearson</td>
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<td>Axel Ståhl</td>
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<td>Gosta I. Malm</td>
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<td>Tore Bommgren</td>
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**Karlskrona District (In existence 1948-1962)**

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<td>William R. Flint</td>
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<td>Egon V. Johnson</td>
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<td>Charles C. Clawson</td>
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<td>Donald Janson</td>
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<td>Wilbur T. Walton</td>
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<td>Torsten Wiklof</td>
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<td>Roy Swenson</td>
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<td>Paul Quist</td>
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### Luleå District (In existence 1947-1962)

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<td>Cleo Y. Olson</td>
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<td>Leon G. Clark</td>
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<td>Bertil Lindberg</td>
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<td>Dean Ashby</td>
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<td>Lennart Wiklund</td>
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<td>Ralph Carlson</td>
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<td>Gösta Rönnbäck</td>
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### Malmö District

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<td>Joseph N. Anderson</td>
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**Norrköping District** (In existence 1905-1962)

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Calvin M. Allred 1950-1951
Richard P. Anderson 1951
Nils Karlsson 1951
Jackman G. Poulson 1951-1952
Roy A. Spjut 1952
R. Lennart Olausson 1952-1962

**Norrländska Distrikt** (In existence 1937-1939)

Joseph C. Jenson 1937
Charles E. Barnes 1937-1938
Ferron P. Nilson 1938
Alvin M. Anderson 1938-1939

**Skellefteå Distrikt** (Organized in 1962)

Gösta Rönnbäck 1962-1967
Gustav Mannberg 1967-1971
Einar Näsström 1971-1972
Eskil Karlson 1972-

**Stockholms Distrikt**

John Felt, Jr. 1905-1906
August Carlson 1906-1907
Charles V. Erickson 1907-1908
Emil W. Weed 1908-1911
Carl Arvid Carlquist 1911-1913
Carl O. Johnson 1913-1914
Ernest E. Monson 1914-1915
Erick W. Larson 1915
Theodore Tobiason 1915-1916
Andrew P. Anderson 1916-1919
Theodore Tobiason 1919-1920
Gideon N. Hulterstrom 1920-1922
Elon Keding 1922-1923
Hugo D. E. Peterson 1923
Axel R. Bostrom 1923-1924
Anthon Pehrson 1924-1925
Arthur Fagergren 1925
Henry C. Krants 1925
C. Axel Soderberg 1925-1927
Willard O. Ohlson 1927-1928
Wilford F. Peterson 1928-1929
Gideon N. Hulterstrom 1929
Otto A. Spjut 1929
Carl J. Sanders 1929-1931
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Axel F. Youngberg</td>
<td>1931–1932</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Herman Olson</td>
<td>1932–1934</td>
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<td>Frans Janson</td>
<td>1934–1935</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis C. Lindblom</td>
<td>1935–1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Lynn Christopherson</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phillip R. Clinger</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<td>Morris E. Sorenson</td>
<td>1936–1937</td>
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<td>Wayne F. Cook</td>
<td>1937–1938</td>
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<td>Reid A. Rosenvall</td>
<td>1938</td>
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<td>Keith S. Kirkham</td>
<td>1939</td>
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<td>George Lundgren</td>
<td>1939–1947</td>
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<td>Gordon H. Weed</td>
<td>1947–1949</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph V. Ball</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>Wayne T. Blomquist</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>Melvin Nielson</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>Dean A. Collett</td>
<td>1949–1950</td>
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<td>Earl G. Bladh</td>
<td>1950</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert G. West</td>
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<td>Clas E. Johansson</td>
<td>1950–1956</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eric Malmkvist</td>
<td>1956–1962</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bo G. Wennerlund</td>
<td>1962–1964</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holger Hardsten</td>
<td>1964–1966</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per-Erik Boden</td>
<td>1966–1971</td>
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<td>Gustav Wiman</td>
<td>1971–1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holger Hardsten</td>
<td>1972–</td>
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**Sundsvall District** (In existence 1905–1921, 1947–1962, 1968–)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carl E. Peterson</td>
<td>1905–1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustaf A. Hoglund</td>
<td>1906–1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armand F. Rundquist</td>
<td>1907–1908</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. W. Schade</td>
<td>1908–1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthon Pehrson</td>
<td>1909–1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William O. Beckstrom</td>
<td>1910</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frederick Anderson</td>
<td>1910–1912</td>
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<tr>
<td>John W. Anderson</td>
<td>1912–1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathias Erickson</td>
<td>1913–1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. A. Hanson</td>
<td>1914–1915</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anders P. Anderson</td>
<td>1915–1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Holmquist</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Johnson</td>
<td>1916–1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph A. Johansson</td>
<td>1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jonas Ostlund</td>
<td>1918–1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joel Erickson</td>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>Mathias Erickson</td>
<td>1920–1921</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alf Bostrom</td>
<td>1947–1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. Viktor Viklund</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Doyle Robison</td>
<td>1948–1949</td>
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Morgan B. White 1949-1950
Richard Anderson 1950-1951
Donald G. Janson 1951
Gerald N. Atkinson 1951-1952
C. Herman Olson 1952
Robert G. Safsten 1952-1953
Delbert C. Sandstrom 1953
Clayne Sandstrom 1953-1954
Richard K. Borg 1954
Manfred Nelson 1954-1955
Willard Jenson 1955-1956
Lowell R. Smith 1956-1957
Bengt Birberg 1957-1958
Fritz E. Johansson 1958
Ralph DaBell 1958-1959
Einar Näström 1959-1962

Einar Näström 1968-1971
Sven Holmgren 1971-
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Department of Civil Affairs Proposition. Stockholm: 1912.
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Riksdagsprotokoll (Swedish Parliament). 1912-1915. (This dossier has been microfilmed and is available at the J. Reuben Clark Library, BYU.)
The study traced major developments in the Swedish Mission. A decided help in this undertaking was the author's own long association with the Mormons in Sweden. The government attempted to prevent Mormon proselyting in the first two decades. This ended in a tacit approval for the Mormons to carry on. The conditions between both world wars induced fairly successful "hold-the-fort" efforts. Youth conferences were especially vital in building a spirit of unity among Swedish Mormons.

The period after the second world war showed several definite trends. Membership increased three-fold to more than 5000. Chapels were acquired. Organizations on the mission and district levels were developed. European temples increased the personal commitment of the members greatly. The intensified training prepared them for mission, district, and branch leadership. It was part of a planned effort to have the members stay in their homeland and build "the Kingdom" instead of joining the Saints in America.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

Richard O. Cowan, Committee Chairman

John P. Fugal, Committee Member

LaMar G. Berrett, Department Chairman